

# The Works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbī

*An English Translation*

VOLUME 1



EDITED BY

MATTHEW S. GORDON

CHASE F. ROBINSON

EVERETT K. ROWSON

AND MICHAEL FISHBEIN

BRILL

# The Works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī

## Volume 1

# Islamic History and Civilization

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The editorial team wishes also to express deepest appreciation to the National Endowment for the Humanities for its support of this project. Our conviction is that this project reflects precisely the NEH's contribution to the intellectual and cultural life of the United States and, indeed, the global community, and at a moment in history when communication across cultural, religious and regional divisions is so pressingly important.

We also extend lasting thanks to Maurits van den Boogert, Pieter te Velde, and the staff of Brill Publishing, for their invaluable role in this project. Our thanks go also to Alan Hartley for meticulously proofreading the text, and to Jacqueline Pitchford for preparing the index.

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### The Editors

If I might add a personal note, I am, first of all, deeply grateful to my three co-editors, Drs. Robinson, Rowson, and Fishbein. Each in turn contributed immeasurably to the completion of this project. Dr. Robinson, to whom I

turned early on for support and ideas, has provided these on a consistent basis over the many years. He not only contributed one section of the translation of the *Ta'rikh* but also served as a wise and generous host to our meetings at the Oriental Institute at the University of Oxford. Dr. Rowson has been a constant source of guidance, both on the editorial front and in grappling with myriad questions of Arabic translation. He also played a critical part in handling the trickiest section of the *Ta'rikh*, Ibn Wāḍiḥ's account of the transmission of Greek-language material. And, without the participation of Dr. Fishbein, I very much doubt the project would have reached a successful conclusion. At several late and critical points in the project, he took on the translation of sections of the *Ta'rikh* as well as the *Mushākala*. I also very much appreciate his part in translating the short but valuable anecdotes, attributed to Ibn Wāḍiḥ, from Ibn al-Dāya's *Mukāfa'a*. His skills as editor, translator, and scholar of early Islamic history and letters inform every page of this project.

Lasting thanks as well to my colleagues in the Department of History at Miami University. I am especially grateful to Drs. Allen Winkler, Charlotte Goldy, Carla Pestana and Wietse de Boer—each of whom served in turn as chair of the department over the past two decades—and their patient backing for my work on this project. Dr. Andrew Cayton, who probably heard more about the project than he deserved, will forever be missed by us all.

Finally, the members of my family—Susan, Jeremiah and Katharine—will no doubt share my relief and astonishment that the project is finally complete. To Susan there is no expression of gratitude appropriate enough for these many years of encouragement, companionship, and love.

Matthew S. Gordon

# List of Contributors

**The Geography (*Kitāb al-Buldān*)**  
**(Pagination Based on Leiden Edition of 1892)**

	Contributor	Topics/Regions
232–308	Elton Daniel	Baghdad, Samarra, Iran and the East, governors of Khurāsān.
308–373	Paul M. Cobb	Iraq, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and al-Andalus

*Fragments*

Paul M. Cobb, Matthew S. Gordon, Michael Fishbein

**The Book of the Adaptation of Men to Their Time and Their Dominant Characteristics in Every Age**  
**(*Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānihim wa-mā yaglibu ‘alayhim fī kull ‘aṣr*)**

Michael Fishbein

**The History (*Ta’rīkh*)**

	Contributor	Historical period/topics
VOLUME I (ed. Leiden) (pagination based on the Houtsma [Leiden] edition)		
2–89	Sidney H. Griffith	Adam, Old Testament Prophets, Israelites, Jesus, Ancient Near Eastern Kings.

(cont.)

	Contributor	Historical period/topics
90–106	Michael Fishbein	Kings of India.
106–204	Lutz Richter-Bernburg, Everett K. Rowson, Michael Fishbein	The Greeks, Greek and Roman Kings.
204–246	Lawrence I. Conrad	Kings of China, Egypt, North Africa, Ethiopia and Yemenite Kings of al-Ḥīra.
246–315	Lawrence I. Conrad, Michael Fishbein	Kinda War to the pre-Islamic Arabs.
VOLUME II (ed. Leiden)		
2–98	Michael Fishbein	Introduction, the Prophet Muḥammad (to his son Ibrāhīm).
98–186	Fred Donner	The Prophet Muḥammad (cont.) and the Caliphs Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.
186–303	Wadad Kadi (al-Qāḍī)	The Caliphs ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī, and the Umayyad Caliphate to Mu‘āwiya II.
303–403	Chase F. Robinson	The Marwānīd (Umayyad) Caliphs to Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd.
403	Matthew S. Gordon, Michael Fishbein	Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd
404–524	Layla Asser, Matthew S. Gordon	Marwān II (Umayyad Caliphate) to Hārūn al-Rashīd (‘Abbāsīd Caliphate)
524–625	Matthew S. Gordon	Al-Amīn to al-Mu‘tamīd (‘Abbāsīd Caliphate).

# Introduction: The Ya‘qūbī Translation Project

Matthew S. Gordon

Given the early date of the works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya‘qūbī (fl. late third/ninth century) and their remarkable historiographic value, the decision to translate them came easily.<sup>1</sup> The execution of the project, however, has been over two decades in the making. It is with relief, gratitude, and a bit of wonder that we bring it to fruition.

The Ya‘qūbī Translation Project began as correspondence in 1994 with Lawrence (Larry) Conrad, then at the Wellcome Institute in London. To my innocent proposal to translate al-Ya‘qūbī’s *Ta’rikh* (*History*), Dr. Conrad gently responded that even a seasoned Arabist would find it a daunting task. We soon decided to invite a small group of colleagues to take part in a collaborative project to translate all that survived of al-Ya‘qūbī’s oeuvre. This includes not only the *Ta’rikh*, but also his work of geography, the *Kitāb al-Buldān* (*The Book of Countries*), a short political essay, the *Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānihim* (*The Book of Adaptation of Men to Their Time*), and a set of short fragments scattered across various later medieval Arabic-language works. Dr. Conrad and I divided the texts into manageable sections and assigned them to our collaborators.

To kick start the project, we held three meetings, each in conjunction with the annual gathering of the Middle East Studies Association (1997, 1998, and 1999). Two further meetings of the editors and contributors followed in July 2001 and 2002; these were held in Oxford University, with financial support from the British Academy. In 2003, we were pleased to receive a generous five-year grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Changes in editorial leadership occurred thereafter. Dr. Chase Robinson, who first joined the project as a contributor, agreed to become a co-editor in 2000. Following the departure of Dr. Conrad from the project in 2006, Dr. Everett Rowson agreed to replace him. Finally, in 2008, Dr. Michael Fishbein accepted our invitation to serve as copy editor, and subsequently assumed responsibility for the final draft of three sections of the *Ta’rikh* as well as a new translation of the *Mushākala*. The completion of the project is due in largest measure to the contributions of Drs. Rowson and Fishbein in this later phase of the project.

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Drs. Fishbein and Robinson for their close comments on a draft of this introduction.



The aim of the project was clearly stated from the start, that is, to serve two groups of readers. In the first group are scholars in related fields who, in most cases, are unable to read al-Ya'qūbī in the original Arabic. These include historians of Late Antiquity; scholars whose work treats regions neighboring the premodern Islamic world (for example, Armenia and the Caucasus region, Central Asia, India, Saharan Africa, and southern Europe); and world historians, concerned as they are with broad, hemispheric trends. We also hope that the translation will benefit historians and other scholars conducting comparative study from outside the fields of Arabic and Islamic studies—for example, on the formation of dominant religious communities; the shaping and decline of empire; or the role played by complex urban centers in premodern history. Al-Ya'qūbī's interests being so broad, we do not doubt that historians will find much to draw on from his writings.

The second group of readers consists of students of early Near Eastern and Islamic history. An increasing number of colleges and universities offer degree programs in Middle East and Islamic studies at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Many more offer courses in these areas within departments of history, political science, religious studies, and other fields. Those of us who teach Middle Eastern, Arab, and Islamic history rely on texts in translation (from Arabic as well as the many other languages of the Near East and Islamic worlds), but are often faced with the difficulty of locating material that is both compelling and accessible. Students often struggle with the ornate and intricate styles that are characteristic of much of early Arabic/Islamic prose. A virtue of al-Ya'qūbī's writing is his direct, unadorned language; a well-annotated translation of his works should find a ready audience in our students.

Interest in the translation of al-Ya'qūbī's writings was sparked in part by the eager welcome met by the translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History*, which was completed in 2007 and has become an invaluable resource for scholars and students alike.<sup>2</sup> We trust that the works of al-Ya'qūbī—a slightly earlier contemporary whose approach and background contrast with those of al-Ṭabarī—will prove a useful complement.

### Al-Ya'qūbī and His Writings

Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbī appears only rarely in the Islamic biographical literature: a detailed account of his life cannot be written. Although no secure death

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<sup>2</sup> Please see the Bibliography for a full citation.

date can be established, it seems likely that he died shortly after 295/908. The biographical essay contained in this volume treats the available information, including invaluable references by Ibn Wāḍiḥ himself. Here it suffices to point out that al-Ya‘qūbī was of notable Iraqi birth and education, and that he spent much of his professional life in the employment of provincial governing families of the late third/ninth-century ‘Abbāsid empire. His own statements indicate that he worked in Armenia, perhaps at an early point in his career, and that he took up subsequently with the Ṭāhirid family in the Iranian province of Khurāsān. We have no direct evidence, but it seems that Ibn Wāḍiḥ then made his way to Egypt following the fall of the Ṭāhirids around 258/872. There he lent his skills to the administration of the Ṭulūnid state (254–292/868–905), which was among the first autonomous regional dynasties to challenge the ‘Abbāsid state, founded roughly a century earlier.

The content and style of the *Taʾrīkh* and the *Kitāb al-Buldān* bespeak a busy life of travel and service on the part of a cosmopolitan scholar and imperial bureaucrat, an impression that is strengthened by indirect evidence contained in what was apparently an independent work on fragrances (the fragments of which are included in our translation). The two major works provide exceptional detail on matters provincial (for example, his accounts on late first/seventh and early second/eighth-century Armenia and third/ninth-century Egypt) and metropolitan (for example, his descriptions of early Baghdad and Samarra, the two capitals of the ‘Abbāsid empire). Our sense of the physical and socio-political fabric of the early Islamic Near East is enhanced immeasurably by his writings.

That later Muslim biographers say little about al-Ya‘qūbī likely relates to the early fate of his books: while scholars of subsequent generations made use of the *Buldān*—Ibn al-ʿAdīm in the seventh/thirteenth century is a case in point—Ibn Wāḍiḥ’s *History* appears to have mostly fallen into oblivion; the meager manuscript tradition is discussed in the accompanying essay. This may have had to do with his sectarian identity. Al-Ya‘qūbī’s religious views were clearly Shīʿite, but they seem to conform neither to the Imāmi Shīʿite tradition that would prevail later, nor to what would become the Zaydī Shīʿite tradition. Sean Anthony, in an essay published in *al-Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* (2016), argues convincingly that Ibn Wāḍiḥ likely held to a relatively hard-line theological view that was in conflict with a quietist, proto-Imāmi viewpoint then predominant in Iraqi cities.<sup>3</sup> Writing as he did before ‘classical’ Shīʿism crystallized, al-Ya‘qūbī held religious views that later Muslims likely found difficult to categorize.

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3 For the full citation, please see the Bibliography in this volume.

Because his *History* is a digest that only rarely contains unique information, it may also be the case that it was considered expendable by scholars and scribes of the Arabic/Islamic historiographical tradition. Paradoxically, the limited circulation of his work may also have been a function of his cosmopolitanism: his geographical and historical coverage is as wide as his accounts of Islamic history can be selective and succinct. The breadth of his vision is clear from the *History* and *Geography*, as it is from his minor works, both preserved (the likely volume on fragrances and aromatics) and lost (a history of the Byzantines and an account of the Arab conquest of North Africa).

### The *Ta'riḫ* (*History*)

The text, of which we possess two manuscripts, is a universal chronicle consisting of two parts: a pre-Islamic section covering a variety of empires and peoples that is primarily sequential in organization, and an Islamic-era section that tracks the history of the Islamic polity from the prophet Muḥammad's day until roughly 259/872–873.

Dr. Rowson discusses the two closely related manuscripts in the essay contained in this volume. Each—one from Cambridge, the other from Manchester—is missing the title page and introductory material; in its present form, each begins with Adam and Eve already on the scene, but it is safe to assume that the text originally began with Creation. It then treats the Patriarchs and Prophets of ancient Israel, followed by an account of Jesus and the Apostles. (Previous translations of the sections dealing with ancient Israel and Jesus are now obsolete in several respects.) Subsequent portions of the *History* treat Assyria, Babylon, and India; the Greek and Persian Empires, including valuable comments on the transmission of Greek philosophical, medical, and other texts; various other regions and their dominant communities (Turks, Chinese, Egyptians, Berbers, and Abyssinians); and, finally, a portion on the pre-Islamic Arabs that includes comments on the Arabs as the progeny of Abraham's son Ismā'il (Ishmael).

The presence of this material underscores the value of Ibn Wāḍih's work to historians working in a variety of fields. For one thing, al-Ya'qūbī does preserve unique material; for example, the Biblical passages appear to have come directly from then available Syriac texts. For another, the *History* reflects an ambitious cosmopolitan view of history. Nothing in what survives of the contemporaneous Christian world approaches the *History* in its command of ancient and late antique history; the quantity of direct quotations from Jewish, Christian and Greek texts is striking. And, from early medieval Islamic letters,

only the work of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī (d. c. 345/956), the well-known Baghdadi polymath, compares favorably with that of al-Ya'qūbī in this regard.

The second half of the *History* contains a concise narrative of Islamic and Middle Eastern history, beginning with a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad and proceeding with his immediate successors (the so-called 'Rāshidūn' caliphs, a designation that does not occur, however, anywhere in these texts), followed by the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid rulers to about 259/873. Throughout, al-Ya'qūbī follows a fairly consistent scheme: he begins with each ruler's accession and (often) the horoscope for the date of accession, then provides a brief narrative of the major events of his reign; the circumstances of the caliph's death; a list of the major officials and religious scholars active during his reign; and a brief assessment of his character and male progeny. Ibn Wāḍih's employment of horoscopes ought not be viewed as a bow to superstition; instead, it reflects—and, perhaps, champions—the broad cultural tastes of his still Late Antique readership.

As an example of caliphal history, there is nothing extraordinary about the work, although the author was certainly a gifted digester. But compared to those who followed him in this form—such later authors as Ibn al-'Imrānī (d. 580/1184) and 'Alī ibn Anjab ibn al-Sā'ī (d. 674/1276) can be cited among other medieval and premodern writers—he succeeds in covering an astonishing amount of political history. This is why the text ought to be so useful for students with little background in Islamic and Arab history: within a historiographic tradition that was frequently prolix and complex, the *History* delivers a coherent and concise narrative of the early Islamic period.

Ibn Wāḍih distinguishes himself from other historians in a number of respects. As already suggested, he proposes a Shi'ite reading of Islamic history, which is made clear in his accounts of the Prophet's life and the First Civil War of 656–661, and especially so in his generous obituaries of the descendants of the Prophet's son-in-law and cousin, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. History here, as elsewhere, both describes and prescribes. And, unlike most contemporaneous historians, al-Ya'qūbī also dispenses with the chains of transmission and the multiple, overlapping and/or inconsistent accounts that are so characteristic of the prevailing traditionalist historiography, exemplified by al-Ṭabarī himself. The only gesture towards expertise and indication of his Islamic source material comes in a brief bibliography, which stands at the beginning of the Islamic section of the *Ta'rikh*. The result is an altogether clearer authorial voice. Finally, we have already noted his broad vision of history and culture. A single example suffices: premodern Muslim learned men were no more comfortable with astronomy than were premodern rabbis, and thus al-Ya'qūbī's inclusion of the caliphs' horoscopes suggests a readership beyond the religious elite. Top-

ics such as these—the author’s Shī‘ite sympathies, his method, and intended audience—deserve further investigation.

### *The Kitāb al-Buldān (Geography)*

As indicated by the available Arabic editions (Leiden, 1892, and Beirut, 1988), and a partial French translation by Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1937), we possess only an incomplete version of the work.<sup>4</sup> S. Maqbul Ahmad and André Miquel have situated the text in the formative period of Arabic geographical scholarship.<sup>5</sup> Arab/Islamic geography, as a body of knowledge and praxis, emerged in the second/eighth century, and retained its vitality from that point on in all languages of the Islamic realm into the premodern period. The rise of geographical writing in Arabic is to be situated against the backdrop of the multivalent transmission of ancient Greek, Pahlavi, and Sanskrit writings. That process probably began, in the case of the Sanskrit texts, through Pahlavi, and in the case of the Greek, through Syriac. It did so in the late Umayyad and early ‘Abbāsīd period—the middle decades of the second/eighth century—in large measure through patronage offered by the caliphal court.

Mathematical geography likely appeared first, with the translation and adaptation of Ptolemy’s *Geography*. The development of a more practical or applied “administrative geography” can be tied to the concerns of ‘Abbāsīd imperial governance. Ibn Wāḍih’s text is among the exemplars of this trend, along with the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, and al-Maqdisī (Muqaddasī). Of particular concern to Ibn Wāḍih would have been to provide his fellow regional functionaries with the kind of information required to carry out their administrative duties. In this sense, the *Buldān* is properly described as an ‘imperial’ digest. Composed perhaps in the final decade or so of the third/ninth century, by which time the author may have been in residence in Egypt, it provides detailed (if formulaic) descriptions of the major towns and cities of the contemporary ‘Abbāsīd Empire and the chief features of the principal routes linking one population center to the next. The text comments on distances; agricultural infrastructure, production, and yield; local crafts and products; and the religious and ethnic composition of local populations.

The *Buldān* thus offers much practical data, and Ibn Wāḍih’s eye for detail is impressive. To cite one example, his description of Samarra (the ‘Abbāsīd

4 I wish to thank Dr. Jean-Charles Ducène for his helpful comments on al-Ya‘qūbī as geographer.

5 For full citations, please see the Bibliography in this volume.

capital for much of the third/ninth century) reads as if one were led by its author on a walking tour of the city, this at a fairly late point in its history as the imperial hub (and at a point when the ruling dynasty was facing crushing fiscal and political challenges). He provides a brief history of the city's foundation and comments on the distribution and recipients of land grants that gave rise to its military and urban character. He also identifies the location of the houses of Samarra's elite families; the size and location of its major cantonments; the city's main markets, bathhouses, and mosques; and, finally, its annual tax yield. Several generations of archaeologists who have worked on the ruins of 'Abbāsid Samarra testify to the value of al-Ya'qūbī's account. The *Buldān* begins with a no less valuable description of Baghdad, the original 'Abbāsid center, and, within a few years of its founding, the cultural and commercial axis of the early Islamic world.

Three manuscripts of the *Buldān* are known, as Dr. Rowson points out. The work was translated into French by Gaston Wiet in 1937 as *Les Pays*, but a new translation is in order. Wiet's version of the text is occasionally inaccurate, and, published early in the previous century, the volume is difficult to find. It is also out of date: seventy years of research on Islamic urbanism are behind us and the archaeological record alone sheds new light on the text. The version proposed here will provide the full text in English translation, additional fragments discovered in other early Arabic texts, and a more complete annotation than provided by Wiet. Because the *Geography* sets the scene for some of the events narrated by the *History*, the two texts are complementary.

### *The Mushākala (The Adaptation of Men)*

The title of the essay, the shortest of al-Ya'qūbī's extant works, suggests a work of socio-political theory. It consists, in fact, of a collection of pithy anecdotes arranged chronologically by caliphal reign. The intent seems to be to highlight the conduct and tastes of the caliphs, beginning with Abū Bakr, as a model for their clients and followers, and, indeed, the wider Islamic community—for the better, when people adopted their virtues, and for the worse, when people embraced their vices.

In some sense, it is a work of panegyric: the dynasts set the style and tone for imperial society. William Millward, in his treatment of the work, noted its resemblance to the type of early Arab/Islamic letters known as the *Awā'il* literature, that is, a genre that concerns itself with 'firsts'—archetypal or prototypical examples of deeds and conduct. Millward's full and still useful translation appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1964). The

decision to retranslate the essay here was informed principally by the wish to provide a more accessible translation consistent with the style and level of annotation of the other works of al-Ya‘qūbī included in this project.

# Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya‘qūbī: A Biographical Sketch

Sean Anthony and Matthew S. Gordon

Historians of the early Islamic world have long recognized the importance of the historical and geographical works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya‘qūbī. The earliest printed editions were published in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Arabic text of al-Ya‘qūbī’s *Ta’rīkh* (*History*) was first edited by Martijn Theodor Houtsma and published by Brill in 1883.<sup>1</sup> Several reprints appeared in the Arab world after the publication of Houtsma’s edition, the two most widely used published in Beirut (Dār Ṣādir, 1960) and Najaf (al-Maktaba al-Ḥaydariyya, 1964). The incomplete Arabic text of al-Ya‘qūbī’s geographical work, the *Kitāb al-Buldān* (*The Book of Countries*), was edited by M. J. de Goeje, with quotations from fragments discovered in other works.<sup>2</sup> De Goeje published the edition in 1892, also with Brill, in volume VII of his groundbreaking series of Arabic geographical treatises, the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (BGA).<sup>3</sup> The *Ta’rīkh* and the *Kitāb al-Buldān* remain indispensable staples of the source material utilized in the modern study of Islamic history.<sup>4</sup>

The works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ date to the third/ninth century and, therefore, represent some of the earliest historical and geographical writings to survive in Arabic literature. Not only does his corpus contain early specimens of these categories of Arabic writing, it is also of an exceptional quality. His chronicle endeavors to do no less than cover the entire stretch of human history, from the creation of Adam and Eve to the dramas of early Islamic history and the political fortunes of the ‘Abbāsid caliphate and the luminaries who served the

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1 *Ibn Wāḍiḥ qui dicitur al-Ja‘qūbī Historiae*, 2 vols. For a discussion of the manuscripts of this work, see Everett Rowson’s essay in this volume and T. M. Johnstone, “An Early Manuscript,” 189–195.

2 The present translation of the work includes two new sets of fragments not identified by de Goeje.

3 De Goeje had already published portions of the *Buldān* as part of his Ph.D. thesis (Leiden University, 1860). See Jan Just Witkam, “Michael Jan de Goeje,” 4. The following year, however, the first edition of the *Buldān* was published by T. G. J. Juynboll, *Kitābo’l-buldān (Sive librum regionum)* (Leiden: Brill, 1861). All citations of the *Buldān* hereafter refer to de Goeje’s edition published in the BGA.

4 Less influential is al-Ya‘qūbī’s brief treatise, *Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānihim*, which was discovered and edited by William G. Millward (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1962). Millward produced a translation of the work in 1964 (“The Adaptation of Men”). Michael Fishbein’s new translation appears in this volume.



dynasty in his own day. If his corpus is relatively small compared to the writings of his peers, among them the historians al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), it is rarely derivative.

And al-Yaʿqūbī's voice is distinct. Unlike al-Ṭabarī, for example, a paragon of early Sunnī historiography, al-Yaʿqūbī in his chronicle reflects a worldview that modern scholars have occasionally characterized as recognizably Shiʿite. His work, however, defies such facile sectarian categorization.<sup>5</sup> A keen observer of ʿAbbāsid society, al-Yaʿqūbī offers penetrating and discerning descriptions of the political, cultural, and geographical landscape of his own era. His is the perspective of a man whose ken is the endlessly fascinating, and often perilous, world of the ʿAbbāsid-era bureaucrat and writer.

Sadly, despite the significance of his work, there is little that can be known for certain about al-Yaʿqūbī and his life. His family history and personal biography have long been recognized as difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct with certainty. Prior attempts by modern historians to do so have been characterized by frequent missteps, as recent scholarship has made clear.<sup>6</sup> So, for example, the statements that he was born in Baghdad and that he spent his childhood in Armenia appear to be little more than informed guesses.<sup>7</sup>

It would be best to begin by letting Ibn Wāḍiḥ speak for himself. In a rare and fragmentary autobiographical note that begins his *Kitāb al-Buldān*, he gives us our best insight into his life and the sort of experience that shaped his work. He represents himself as follows:

When I was in the prime of youth, possessed of an adventurous spirit and a sharp mind, I took an interest in reports about countries and about the distance from one country to another; for I had traveled since childhood, and my travels had continued uninterruptedly and had taken me to distant places. So whenever I met someone from those countries, I asked him about his homeland and its major city<sup>8</sup> ... Then I verified

5 The question is addressed in more detail in S. W. Anthony, "Was Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī a Shiʿite Historian?"

6 See Elton Daniel, "Al-Yaʿqūbī and Shiʿism Reconsidered," 209–231, and Anthony, "Was Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī a Shiʿite Historian?"

7 The first statement appears to have originated with Gaston Wiet. See the introduction to his French translation of the *Kitāb al-Buldān* (*Les Pays*), viii, xvi. It is repeated by Muhammad Qasim Zaman in his article on al-Yaʿqūbī in the *EI*<sup>2</sup>. The second comment, regarding Armenia, was perhaps first made by Carl Brockelmann: see his brief comments on al-Yaʿqūbī in the *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (*GAL*), 2nd edition, 226–227.

8 De Goeje read the Arabic term as *miṣr*—understood here in the sense of administrative

everything he told me with someone I could trust, seeking assistance by questioning men of one nationality after another until I had asked an enormous number of people during the pilgrimage season and at other times, from both eastern and western lands. I wrote down their reports and related their stories.<sup>9</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī states all of this, however, without informing his readers of the trajectory of these journeys or where he began them. His comments suggest a figure who was curious, highly literate, and well-travelled, but offer little else. It certainly helps al-Ya'qūbī's case that the contents of the *Ta'rikh* and the *Buldān* reflect a life's work of this kind. His accounts of contemporary cities and monuments stand out as among the most vivid extant descriptions in the Arabic geographical literature. A striking example is his description of the recently founded caliphal capital at Samarra and its expansion in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861): modern archaeology has largely affirmed the accuracy of much of his account of the palatial city.<sup>10</sup>

The small amount of additional information on Ibn Wāḍiḥ derives from two sources: first, the accounts of other historians, geographers, and scholars who cite his work or (far more rarely) write about him; and, second, what can reasonably be inferred from a close reading of his own extant writings. Each of these sources poses distinct challenges of interpretation, but reading them carefully in aggregate suggests the basic outlines of his life.

The longest biographical notice for al-Ya'qūbī appears in the *Mu'jam al-udabā'* by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229), a biographical dictionary of Arabic belletrists and authors of a variety of backgrounds. Yāqūt wrote the entry almost entirely from information transmitted by a predecessor whose own text no longer survives, the Egyptian historian Abū 'Umar al-Kindī (d. 350/961). The entry is exceedingly laconic. It includes al-Ya'qūbī's name and lineage (*nasab*); notes that he was a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Hāshim (the clan of Quraysh to which both the Prophet and the 'Abbāsīd caliphs belonged); lists select titles from his oeuvre; and records his death as taking place in the year 284/897.<sup>11</sup>

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center—but the context suggests that the original might have read *mudun*, the Arabic plural of “city.”

9 Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 232–233.

10 Alastair Northedge, *Historical Topography*, 29–30, 267–273. Northedge suggests that al-Ya'qūbī resided in Samarra for only a limited time, perhaps the 860s, and knew the city mostly in a private capacity.

11 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 2:557.

Yāqūt also refers to him as *al-akhbārī*, indicating that he was known as an historian (a purveyor of historical reports, or *akhbār*), and calls him *al-‘Abbāsī*, revealing that he was not merely a client of the Banū Hāshim but also a client of the ruling caliphal house, the ‘Abbāsids.

Yāqūt attributes the following works to Ibn Wāḍiḥ, adding that he authored many others as well: a large book called *Kitāb al-Ta’rīkh* (*The History*); a single volume called *Kitāb Asmā’ al-buldān* (*The Names of Countries*); a small book called *Kitāb Fī akhbār al-umam al-sālifa* (*Stories of Nations Past*); and *Kitāb Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānihim* (*The Adaptation of Men to Their Times*). Arguably, all these works can be regarded as extant in some fashion, especially if one regards the *Kitāb Fī akhbār al-umam al-sālifa* as referring to the first volume of the work known today as *Ta’rīkh al-Ya’qūbī* inasmuch as it deals with pre-Islamic history.

Yāqūt’s entry is our best source on al-Ya’qūbī’s life. Unfortunately, it seems to err on at least one count: the date of Ibn Wāḍiḥ’s death. Citations of al-Ya’qūbī’s poetry on the fall of the Ṭulūnid dynasty of Egypt (see below) and his own reference to the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Muktafī (r. 289–295/902–908) prove that he must have lived beyond the latter’s death in 295/908.<sup>12</sup> Yāqūt, perhaps, is not entirely to blame for botching the death date, as he derives it from his source, the Egyptian historian al-Kindī. The root of the error appears to be confusion between Ibn Wāḍiḥ and a similarly named figure who appears in biographical dictionaries of the scholars of Prophetic reports (*ḥadīth*). These works record a minor Egyptian scholar named Abū Ja’far Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Wāḍiḥ b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Wāḍiḥ al-‘Assāl (‘the honey merchant’). He, too, is described as a client (*mawlā*) of Quraysh and as having lived and died in third/ninth-century Egypt. The same works also report the honey merchant’s death date as falling in Ṣafar 284/March–April 897—a date matching the death date that Yāqūt records for al-Ya’qūbī exactly.<sup>13</sup>

The biographical literature places *this* Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Wāḍiḥ al-‘Assāl squarely in the orbit of contemporary Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholars. He appears, for example, as a minor *ḥadīth* scholar and authority in the works of al-Ṭabarānī (260–360/873–970), as having transmitted traditions from the Egyptian scholar

12 On the Ṭulūnid references, see Wiet, *Les Pays*, viii; Ḥusayn ‘Āṣī, *al-Ya’qūbī*, 50–51; Daniel, “Al-Ya’qūbī and Shi’ism Reconsidered,” 209 and n. 2. The verses are treated in greater detail below. On the references to al-Muktafī, see al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’*, 2:534.

13 Al-Sam’ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 9:291 (citing the *Kitāb Ghurabā’* of the Egyptian scholar Ibn Yūnus al-Ṣadafī, d. 347/958), and al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām*, 6:668.

Sa'īd b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī Maryam (d. 224/839)<sup>14</sup> and Ḥamid b. Yaḥyā al-Balkhī (d. 242/857), a scholar who resided in Tarsus but who had a large number of Egyptian students.<sup>15</sup> Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Wāḍiḥ al-ʿAssāl also makes scattered appearances as a *ḥadīth* transmitter in the works of the Andalusian scholar Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071). The latter transmits these traditions from the Egyptian scholar ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. al-Ward (d. 351/362),<sup>16</sup> who cites Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Wāḍiḥ as an authority for reports from Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889), the compiler of the *Sunan*, the famous Sunnī *ḥadīth* collection.<sup>17</sup> The impression left by these references is that Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-ʿAssāl—the honey merchant—was a minor *ḥadīth* transmitter known locally in Egyptian scholarly circles. But is he to be identified with al-Yaʿqūbī, the historian and geographer? There is good reason *not* to do so, but it requires us to broaden the scope of our analysis.

A method that modern historians use in gleaning further biographical details about al-Yaʿqūbī relies on the scattered references to his writings in the works of later medieval authors. Viewed collectively, these texts strongly recommend against identifying the author of the so-called *Taʾrīkh al-Yaʿqūbī* with the honey merchant. These citations indicate that, although our Ibn Wāḍiḥ certainly lived and worked in Egypt in the late third/ninth century, he was unlikely to have been of Egyptian origin like the honey merchant. The citations also indicate that the chronological scope of Ibn Wāḍiḥ's life makes a death date of 284/897 for the author of the *Buldān* and the *Taʾrīkh* untenable.

In reading these later references, two points are to be kept in mind. First, few medieval Muslim scholars seem to have read al-Yaʿqūbī's chronicle; citations of the *Taʾrīkh* are rare. The earliest confirmed citations of this kind appear in a fifth/eleventh-century work, *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa l-tuḥaf* (*The Book of Gifts and Rare Treasures*),<sup>18</sup> and in a treatise on Qurʾānic exegesis by the theologian al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), who cites al-Yaʿqūbī's sectarian account of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's collection of the Qurʾān.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, scholars such as Ibn al-ʿAdīm

14 Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 10:393. Cf. these traditions in al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 2:73; 7:70; 9:99; 10:26–27, 191, and 12:47, 91.

15 Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaḡhīr*, 1:25; cf. al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 5:325–357, for Ḥamid b. Yaḥyā's Egyptian pupils.

16 Originally from Baghdad, Ibn al-Ward settled in Egypt later in life; see al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar aʿlām*, 16:39.

17 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, 7:142.

18 Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir*, 245 (§ 359) = *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, tr. al-Qaddūmī, 225; cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1:24–25.

19 al-Shahrastānī, *Mafātīḥ al-asrār*, 1:24 ff., calling the work *Taʾrīkh Ibn Wāḍiḥ*. Cf. al-Yaʿqūbī,

(d. 660/1262), al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) cite al-Ya'qūbī's geographical work, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, far more frequently.<sup>20</sup>

The discrepancy—the difference in the number of times that medieval scholars refer to al-Ya'qūbī's *Ta'rikh* and the *Kitāb al-buldān* respectively—raises a second important point. The modern convention of referring to the author of these works as 'al-Ya'qūbī' is simply that—a modern convention. The designation derives from the version of his name that appears on the colophon of the extant manuscripts of his works. Medieval authors who do cite al-Ya'qūbī call him by many names: Ibn Wāḍiḥ, Ibn Abī Ya'qūb, Aḥmad b. Wāḍiḥ, and Aḥmad al-Kātib.<sup>21</sup> The last of these versions of his name is very helpful: the term *kātib* indicates that he was known to be a secretarial scribe or bureaucrat by profession and, hence, a member of the cosmopolitan secular elite of 'Abbāsīd society.

At no point do medieval sources refer to al-Ya'qūbī as “the honey merchant” (*al-ʿassāl*). Most notably, al-Ya'qūbī's contemporary and fellow geographer Ibn al-Faḥīh al-Hamadhānī (d. c. 289–290/902–903), cites the author of the *Kitāb al-Buldān* as 'Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Iṣfahānī,' indicating that the author was at one point in his career known for being of Iranian rather than Egyptian extraction.<sup>22</sup> Elton Daniel has dismissed Ibn al-Faḥīh's reference as isolated, but in fact, it is not. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1039), a fifth/eleventh-century Arab scholar, includes “Aḥmad b. Wāḍiḥ” in a long list of literary elites who hailed from Iṣfahān.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, if Ibn Wāḍiḥ indeed hailed from Iṣfahān, this would

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*Ta'rikh*, 2:152–154, and Th. Nöldeke et al., *The History of the Qur'ān*, 220 (2:9–11). Earlier citations of the *Ta'rikh* might be found in the Leiden manuscript of an anonymous history of the 'Abbāsids called *Dikhr Banī 'Abbās wa-zuhūrihim* (Leiden Or. 14.023), which cites al-Ya'qūbī's *Ta'rikh* directly. See al-Sāmarrā'i, “Hal kataba l-Tanūkhī kitāban fi l-Ta'rikh?” 531. For a description of the manuscript, see Jan Just Witkam, 15:11.

20 Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 1:88, 107–108, 123, 141, 150, 156, 173, 219, 263, 265, 478; al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, 187 (citing al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 333–334). See Daniel, “Al-Ya'qūbī and Shi'ism Reconsidered,” 216 n. 43 for references to al-Ya'qūbī's *Kitāb al-Buldān* in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*.

21 For these variants, see the material collected by de Goeje in *BGA*, 7:361–373.

22 Al-Hamadhānī, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-buldān*, in de Goeje, ed., *BGA*, 5:290–292; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 1:222. The passage displays the same familiarity with the pre-Islamic history of the Persian Sasanid dynasty that characterizes al-Ya'qūbī's chronicle. Shi'ite sources know of an Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb al-Iṣfahānī, but he is a figure of the mid-fourth/tenth century who died in 354/965 and, therefore, too late to be identified with the author of al-Ya'qūbī's chronicle. See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Madīnat al-Salām*, 6:479–480; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 45:105, 88:267, and 92:225.

23 Al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 3:299 (citing the lost *Kitāb Iṣfahān* of Ḥamza b. al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī, d. between 350/961 and 360/970).

accord well with his suggested familiarity with the Ṭāhirid dynasty of Iran. This familiarity is attested, however, only in a single, internal reference: al-Ya'qūbī states in his *History*, referring to a document—the well-known letter written by Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn on the execution of the caliph al-Amīn in 198/813—that he intended to place the letter in “a separate book.”<sup>24</sup>

The reference is, in fact, only one of very few indications of the locations in which al-Ya'qūbī apparently lived and worked outside of Egypt and North Africa (see below). A second reference occurs in the fragmentary passages that de Goeje collected for the *BGA*, although he opted only to provide the opening phrase.<sup>25</sup> The passage derives, again, from al-Hamadhānī. It places our author in Armenia at some undisclosed point in time:

Aḥmad b. Wāḍiḥ al-Iṣbahānī mentioned that he resided for a long time in the land of Armenia, worked as a secretary for a number of its kings and governors, and had never seen a land more abounding in amenities or richer in wildlife than it.<sup>26</sup>

It is worth pointing out that, while such references come to us directly from Ibn Wāḍiḥ, none are at all clear. The one reference says nothing of where he might have worked for the Ṭāhirids, if, in fact, he did: he might well have done so in Iraq, where members of the illustrious family held key administrative positions.<sup>27</sup> The reference regarding Armenia is more helpful, although it seems impossible to date his sojourn in the province or identify the officials under whom he served. It is also difficult to understand what is meant therein by “kings”: did al-Ya'qūbī provide services to local notables and in what capacity? It is very difficult to know.

The role of Egypt in al-Ya'qūbī's career seems clearer; the indications, including citations of his writings, suggest a long tenure there during the latter portion of his life. These indications can be subtle. For instance, the early sections of the *History* rely on an early Arabic translation of a Christian work, *The Cave of Treasures*. The Arabic translation of the work was also utilized by the Cop-

24 Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:537.

25 *BGA*, 7:314.

26 Al-Hamadhānī, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-buldān*, 290–291. Carl Brockelmann's comment on our author's childhood in the province, noted earlier, occurs in his entry on al-Ya'qūbī in *ET*<sup>1</sup>. It is repeated in later biographical sketches: see Lawrence I. Conrad, “al-Ya'qūbī,” 12:717; Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 36; and Muhammad Qasim Zaman in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ya'qūbī.

27 See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭāhirids.

tic historian, Eutychius of Alexandria (d. 940 CE), a fact that points to the two authors sharing a common Egyptian milieu.<sup>28</sup>

Other indications, especially his familiarity with the Ṭulūnids, the semi-autonomous dynasty of late third/ninth-century Egypt, would seem more telling. The Egyptian official and historian, Ibn al-Dāya (fl. early fourth/tenth century), knows al-Ya'qūbī as an administrator of the land-tax (*kharāj*) for Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn in Barqa (modern-day al-Marj in northeastern Libya) during the rebellion of Ibn Ṭulūn's son al-'Abbās in 265/878.<sup>29</sup> The reference is our clearest indication that he earned his livelihood as a member of the secretarial class. Al-Ya'qūbī also provides a detailed entry on Barqa in his geographical work, a fact that lends Ibn al-Dāya's assertion more credence.

Additional evidence suggests that al-Ya'qūbī fondly remembered at least some moments of his tenure with the Ṭulūnids and that he ultimately lived to see the dynasty's collapse. The historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) ends his account of the Ṭulūnid dynasty with an anecdote about how, on the night of 'Īd al-Fiṭr in 292AH (5 August 905), Aḥmad<sup>30</sup> b. Abī Ya'qūb found himself pondering what had befallen the Ṭulūnids. In his sleep, he heard a spectral voice (*hātif*) declare, "Kingship, glory, and glamor vanished with the Ṭulūnids' departure (*dhahaba l-mulk wa-l-tamalluk wa-l-zīna lammā maḍā Banū Ṭulūn*)."<sup>31</sup> These sentiments towards the Ṭulūnids are affirmed in several lines of poetry that an earlier Egyptian historian, al-Kindī, attributes to al-Ya'qūbī in his *Kitāb al-Wulāt*.<sup>32</sup>

If you would know the grandeur of their kingdom,  
 turn aside and enjoy the Great Square's green expanse.<sup>33</sup>  
 Behold these palaces, what they contained;  
 delight your eyes with the beauty of that garden.  
 But ponder well: a lesson lies there, too,  
 that tells you of the fickle ways of Time.

28 Sidney Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, 186.

29 Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā l-Maghrib*, 122: *kāna yatawallā kharāj Barqa*.

30 Reading "Aḥmad" for "Muḥammad" in the printed text, a reading supported by al-Kindī's *Kitāb al-Wulāt* cited below.

31 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ* (ed. London), 1:2, 112 and n. 1.

32 Al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt*, 250.

33 The Great Square (*al-Maydān*) is probably to be located in al-Qaṭā'i, the new city north of al-Fuṣṭāṭ founded by Ibn Ṭulūn to be the seat of government. See al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn*, 54.

The evocative call of these verses to ponder the urban topography of al-Fuṣṭāṭ under the Ṭulūnid dynasty—and, specifically, it seems, the Ṭulūnid center at al-Qaṭā’i—speaks to the authenticity of their attribution, inasmuch as they mirror the rich depictions of urban landscapes in the *Kitāb al-Buldān*. Yet, they reveal more, too, about al-Ya‘qūbī’s attitudes towards the fortunes of the Ṭulūnids in Egypt. If, at first, nostalgic for the glory days of the Ṭulūnids, by the poem’s end al-Ya‘qūbī seems to welcome the ‘Abbāsīd assault that brought the Ṭulūnid reign to an end. On this ‘Abbāsīd victory, he subsequently declares:<sup>34</sup>

Egypt, like a bride, was escorted to the house of Prophethood and  
Guidance,<sup>35</sup>  
and torn away from Satan’s partisans.

The poem’s seemingly contradictory turn against the Ṭulūnids, and the effort to extol the ‘Abbāsīds, has confused modern scholars.<sup>36</sup> The volte-face against the Ṭulūnids may reflect a desire on al-Ya‘qūbī’s part to find acceptance and patronage with the caliphal family to whom his ancestors had long been attached.

The laudatory manner in which Ibn Wāḍiḥ describes the ‘Abbāsīds as “the house of Prophethood and Guidance” brings us to another aspect of his biography, one that is often misrepresented: his family’s multi-generational attachment to the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty and his purportedly ‘Shi‘ite’ take on Islamic history. The ‘Shi‘ism’ intended here refers to a commitment to the descendants of the Prophet’s household and his clan, the Hāshimītes, seen as possessing a unique claim to the sacral leadership of the Islamic community, in major part because of their kinship with the Prophet. Al-Ya‘qūbī is quoted directly, stating that his grandfather was a slave-client (*mawlā*) of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr,<sup>37</sup> so his connection to the ‘Abbāsīd house appears certain. His family, in fact, seems to have served the dynasty in a bureaucratic capacity over at least three generations, a fact likely reflected in the itineracy to which al-Ya‘qūbī seems to refer in the passage quoted earlier.

There are further indications of his abiding interest in the Hāshimītes that could be broadly construed as rooted in a pious reverence for the Prophet’s clan and its descendants. The Shi‘ite historian, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mas‘ūdī (d. 345/956),

34 Ibid. Cf. the article by M. Gordon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭulūnids, and Thierry Bianquis, “Autonomous Egypt,” 107–108.

35 That is, the ‘Abbāsīds, as related to the family of the Prophet.

36 See, for example, Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, 272–273.

37 Ibn al-Dāya, *al-Mukāfa’a*, 66.



lists among the sources for his massive *Murūj al-dhahab* a certain *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* of one Aḥmad b. [Abī?] Ya'qūb al-Miṣrī. The text, he says, “concerns the stories of the ‘Abbāsids” (*fī akhbār al-Abbāsiyyīn*).<sup>38</sup> It is tempting to view this as a reference to al-Ya'qūbī's extant chronicle. Indeed, Houtsma, the chronicler's first editor, succumbed to the temptation, identifying al-Ya'qūbī's *History* as precisely the work cited by al-Mas'ūdī.<sup>39</sup>

But the evidence works against Houtsma. First, the work that modern scholars known as *Ta'rikh al-Ya'qūbī* is by no means so narrow that one would characterize it as primarily about the ‘Abbāsids—al-Ya'qūbī's chronicle is a universal, not a dynastic, history. The ninth/fifteenth-century Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī also knows of a certain Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Kātib who composed a *Kitāb al-Buldān* and “a book on the history of Hāshimites, which is large (*kitāb fī ta'rikh al-hāshimīyyīn wa-huwa kabīr*).”<sup>40</sup> This hypothesis finds further confirmation in the fact that the fourth/tenth-century historian Ibn al-Dāya includes extensive quotes that are likely to be from the same history mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī and al-Maqrīzī.<sup>41</sup> None of Ibn al-Dāya's quotations from what appears, in other words, to have been a specific work by al-Ya'qūbī on the ‘Abbāsids, resembles any passage found in his extant *History* either in content or style. The latter work mostly adopts a detached and economical style of narrative prose; the passages quoted by Ibn al-Dāya, by contrast, are often anecdotal vignettes and intimate portrayals of episodes in the ‘Abbāsid court. The book on the ‘Abbāsids would thus appear to be no longer extant.

The quotations of al-Ya'qūbī recorded by Ibn al-Dāya are an underutilized resource for mapping al-Ya'qūbī's family history. A number of these passages ultimately rely on the testimony of al-Ya'qūbī's ancestor (*jidd*): Wāḍiḥ the *mawlā* of the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr. Because so much misinformation exists about this Wāḍiḥ in the secondary literature, one must first understand

38 Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 1:16.

39 See the preface to Houtsma's edition of the *Historiae* (Histories), 1:vi. Houtsma, realizing that al-Ya'qūbī's *History* could not be described as primarily about the ‘Abbāsids, but intent nonetheless on showing that al-Mas'ūdī was indeed referring to al-Ya'qūbī's *History*, argued that al-Mas'ūdī somehow mangled the title, which, so Houtsma argued, originally was *Ta'rikh [al-Ya'qūbī] al-Abbāsi* (The History of/by al-Ya'qūbī the ‘Abbāsid, i.e., the client of the ‘Abbāsids), turning it, by “lapse of memory,” into *Ta'rikh al-Abbāsiyyīn* (The History of the ‘Abbāsids) and then into *Ta'rikh fī akhbār al-Abbāsiyyīn*.

40 Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 1:738.

41 See Ibn Dāya, *Mukāfa'a*, 45–48, 61–62, 66, 83–85, 119–120, 144–145; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, 68:209.

who this Wāḍiḥ was *not* in order to arrive at a more precise understanding of who he actually was.

Al-Ya'qūbī's ancestor, Wāḍiḥ, is certainly *not* the same person as another *mawlā* named Wāḍiḥ who briefly ruled Egypt as governor in 162/779.<sup>42</sup> This notorious Wāḍiḥ, known as Wāḍiḥ al-Maskīn (the Destitute), was a slave-client (*mawlā*) of the 'Abbāsīd prince Šāliḥ b. al-Manṣūr and head of the later 'Abbāsīd postal network (*al-barīd*) in Egypt. Chroniclers often denounce this Wāḍiḥ al-Maskīn as a "vile Shi'ite (*rāfiḍī khabīth*)," and he is always reviled as such in accounts that relate the aid he rendered to the 'Alid rebel Idrīs b. 'Abdallāh upon his escape from 'Abbāsīd pursuers to the distant Maghrib in 169/785. For his perfidy, Wāḍiḥ al-Maskīn was beheaded and crucified either by the caliph Mūsā al-Hādī (r. 169–170/785–786),<sup>43</sup> or Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809) soon after his accession to the caliphate.<sup>44</sup> As Daniel demonstrates,<sup>45</sup> this Wāḍiḥ turns out to have been a eunuch (*khaṣī*) and, hence, is unlikely to have been Ibn Wāḍiḥ's ancestor.<sup>46</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī mentions nothing, in his extant works, about Wāḍiḥ al-Maskīn's involvement in the escape of the fugitive Idrīs from the 'Abbāsīds. He does mention, however, a Wāḍiḥ who was a client (*mawlā*) of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty. In the past, scholars have assumed that al-Ya'qūbī glossed over Wāḍiḥ's misdeeds in Egypt because he was identical with his ancestor, a family member, and thus wished not to impugn his reputation. But, if Wāḍiḥ al-Maskīn was a eunuch, again, this cannot be the case. But does one actually find a direct mention of al-Ya'qūbī's ancestor Wāḍiḥ either in his *Ta'riḥ* or in his *Buldān*? The answer is probably not.

In the *Buldān*, for instance, al-Ya'qūbī discusses the founding of Baghdād by the caliph al-Manṣūr and includes details on a certain Wāḍiḥ—whom he refers to as "the slave-client (*mawlā*) of the Commander of the Faithful"—and also notes the land-grant (*qaṭī'a*) issued him by the caliph, which was located near the start of Baghdād's Anbār Road.<sup>47</sup> While al-Ya'qūbī does state earlier in his

42 Al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, 121, and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 3:493.

43 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 3:560–561.

44 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, 2:540–541. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 3:561, recounts the story in which Wāḍiḥ is executed during the caliphate of al-Rashīd as well but favors the earlier date under al-Hādī. On the accounts of the flight and death of Idrīs b. 'Abdallāh, see now Najam Haider, "The Community Divided," 459–475.

45 Daniel, "Al-Ya'qūbī and Shi'ism Reconsidered," 217–221.

46 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, 2:40.

47 Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 246–247.

*Buldān* that his ancestors (*salafī*) settled in Baghdād and that one of them even managed its affairs,<sup>48</sup> he does not explicitly provide their names.

In his *History*, al-Ya'qūbī also mentions a *mawlā* of al-Manṣūr named Wāḍiḥ, whom he designates as among the freedmen who served al-Manṣūr as governors of a province.<sup>49</sup> But al-Ya'qūbī does not specify where this Wāḍiḥ ruled as governor, although later in the author's chronicle, the reader learns that it was Armenia and Azerbaijan. The passage indicates that when the 'Abbāsīd governor of Armenia, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, failed to repel an uprising of a mountain people known as the Ṣanāriyya (Georgian *Ts'anar*),<sup>50</sup> al-Manṣūr sent his general 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥārithī, who handily defeated them and pursued them as far as Tiflīs. When the army withdrew, al-Manṣūr appointed his *mawlā*—Wāḍiḥ—to the governorship of Armenia and Azerbaijan, a position he retained through al-Manṣūr's reign, that is, at least to 158/775.

This Wāḍiḥ appears in Ya'qūbī's chronicle as the governor of Egypt as well. It is a brief reference: he mentions the monetary and material support that the caliph al-Mahdī (r. 158–169/775–785) requested from Wāḍiḥ for renovations to the Ka'ba and its environs in Mecca sometime after the caliph undertook a pilgrimage there in Dhū l-Ḥijja 160/September 777.<sup>51</sup> This is certainly the same Wāḍiḥ al-Maskīn who first ruled briefly as Egypt's governor and subsequently managed its postal network (*barīd*), a position he notoriously used to help the fugitive Idrīs escape 'Abbāsīd agents.

Elton Daniel was the first scholar to highlight the problems underlying the (ultimately untenable) identification of al-Ya'qūbī's ancestor Wāḍiḥ with the Wāḍiḥ al-Maskīn who served the 'Abbāsīds. To Daniel modern historians also owe the brilliant insight into the most likely identification of al-Ya'qūbī's ancestor.<sup>52</sup>

It seems most likely that the Wāḍiḥ who was al-Ya'qūbī's ancestor was, rather than an 'Abbāsīd governor or provincial administrator, a household steward (*qahramān*) who served the dynasty from the caliphate of al-Manṣūr to that of Hārūn al-Rashīd. This can be determined by reading Ibn Dāya's quotations from al-Ya'qūbī's likely lost history of the 'Abbāsīd house, in which he cites his

48 Ibid., 226: *salafī kānū [min] al-qā'imīn bihā wa-aḥaduhum tawallā amrahā*.

49 Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:462, “*ummāluhu min mawālīhi*”.

50 On the identification of the people called 'al-Ṣanāriyya' by Arabic writers, see V. Minorsky, “Caucasica IV,” 506.

51 Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:476–477.

52 Daniel, “Al-Ya'qūbī and Shi'ism Reconsidered,” 221.

ancestor Wāḍiḥ as an authority,<sup>53</sup> alongside instances in which a certain Wāḍiḥ appears as an authority for historical reports in the annals of al-Ṭabarī.<sup>54</sup>

Although al-Ṭabarī does not cite al-Ya'qūbī as his source for Wāḍiḥ's historical reports,<sup>55</sup> the reports closely resemble those found in Ibn Dāya's history insofar as they are primarily anecdotal and relate detailed accounts of the intimate and courtly lives of the 'Abbāsid caliphs. The last anecdote that Ibn Dāya records from al-Ya'qūbī—on the authority of his grandfather Wāḍiḥ—also gives us an indication that he outlived the notorious Wāḍiḥ al-Maskīn, for it concerns the skillful treatment of Hārūn al-Rashīd by the famed Christian physician Jibrīl b. Bukhtīshū' (d. c. 215/830).<sup>56</sup>

Such is the material that modern historians use in reconstructing the biography of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbī. Taken together these scraps of data leave the impression that he was deeply enmeshed in the bureaucratic circles of the 'Abbāsid era and keenly interested in the history of its elites: in particular, members of the ruling 'Abbāsid dynasty, and the world they inhabited. His career spanned a geography that stretched from Iṣfahān to al-Fuṣṭāṭ, across which he seems to have witnessed the waxing and waning of the fortunes of such regional dynasties as the Ṭāhirids of Iran and the Ṭulūnids of Egypt. All of his works bear the stamp of these experiences and are enriched by them.

The same data tell us little about al-Ya'qūbī's ideological proclivities. The oft-vaunted connection to the 'Abbāsids has been cited as evidence for his Shi'ite sympathies, but in fact, these notices offer us little by way of insight into his religious views. One only gains hints, first, of his Shi'ite disposition and, second, the sort of Shi'ism he espouses, from the portions of his *History* that discuss the conflicts over the leadership of the early Islamic community in the wake of Muḥammad's death. There one finds that al-Ya'qūbī grappled with key questions regarding the role of the Prophet's kinsmen in the leadership of the community. The thrust of his comments strongly suggests that he held to rather hardline Shi'ite views.<sup>57</sup>

53 Ibn Dāya, *Kitāb al-Mukāfa'a*, 66, 84, 119.

54 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:405, 408, 523–524.

55 Al-Ṭabarī's source is "Alī b. Muḥammad", which may refer to either one of two third/ninth-century historians, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī or 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī. On these figures, respectively, see Sebastian Günther, "al-Nawfalī's Lost *History*," 241–266, and Ilkka Lindstedt, "The Role of al-Madā'inī's Students," 295–340.

56 Ibn al-Dāya, *Kitāb al-Mukāfa'a*, 144–145; cf. the article by Lutz Richter-Bernburg in *Elr*, s.v. Ebn Bokhtīshū'.

57 For further details, see Anthony, "Was Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbī a Shi'ite Historian?"

Even given this knowledge about al-Ya‘qūbī, one remains in the dark as to which particular Shi‘i community he belonged. Certainly staunch Shi‘ite loyalties would not have precluded al-Ya‘qūbī from enjoying an illustrious career in the upper echelons of the ‘Abbāsīd-era commonwealth, as the history of the famously Shi‘ite Nawbakhtī family amply suggests.<sup>58</sup> Yet al-Ya‘qūbī’s interest in the scions of the Hāshim tribe can just as easily be attributed to his family’s attachment to the ‘Abbāsīds as it can to any purported sectarian allegiances. Even then, although his attachments to the ‘Abbāsīds were real, they were not absolute. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. early 5th/11th century) cites verses attributed to al-Ya‘qūbī where he seems to welcome the death of the caliph al-Muktafī (r. 289–295/902–908), stating “when [the caliph] died, his harm lived on (*lammā māta ‘asha adhāhu*).”<sup>59</sup> These lines of poetry cited by al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī are also the last indication one finds of al-Ya‘qūbī. Nowhere does mention of his death date occur.

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58 Cf. the article by S. W. Anthony in *Elr*, s.v. The Nawbakhtī Family.

59 Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’*, 2:534.

# Manuscripts, Printed Editions, and Translations of al-Ya‘qūbī’s Works

Everett K. Rowson

We are fortunate that three of al-Ya‘qūbī’s works have been preserved, although not in optimal form, and that they have received considerable scholarly attention.

## The *Ta’rīkh* (History)

Two surviving manuscripts of this work are known. The first is a manuscript now in Cambridge, England, (Qq. 10) that was signed and dated by its copyist in the year 1096 of the Islamic calendar, corresponding to 1685 C.E. Believed at the time to be the only surviving manuscript of the work, it was the basis for M. Th. Houtsma’s standard Arabic edition.<sup>1</sup> The second manuscript, which is undated but clearly much older, was first identified by Alphonse Mingana in his catalogue of the Arabic holdings in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England (Arabic 801, R46158), published in 1934. On the basis of the manuscript’s script, T. M. Johnstone proposed in 1957 a mid-fourteenth-century date for the Manchester manuscript, and also concluded that the two manuscripts belong to the “same family.”

Lawrence Conrad has since argued that the Manchester manuscript is a direct ancestor of the Cambridge manuscript, and further work by the present translators and editors has only strengthened this argument; it now appears certain that the Cambridge manuscript is a *direct* copy of the Manchester manuscript. There are several reasons for this conclusion. The Manchester manuscript is acephalous—that is, it has lost its first folios, with the title page and the beginning of the text, and begins in mid-sentence. (A later intervener has helpfully added a line identifying author and title at the top of the first surviving page.) The Cambridge manuscript has the same acephalous text, but clearly as a *copy*, beginning mid-page with an introductory line praising God, followed immediately by the mid-sentence text (and without comment on the

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1 Please see the Bibliography for the full citation of this and all other works referenced in this essay.

problem). Both manuscripts at their conclusion report that “here is finished *what survives of the History* ...”

Exactly what is going on with the Manchester manuscript is unclear—perhaps the copyist was himself working from a manuscript that had lost both its initial and final folios?—but the direct dependence of Cambridge on Manchester seems unquestionable. Furthermore, nowhere, with a single exception, does the Cambridge manuscript offer any textual evidence independent of the Manchester manuscript. The one exception is a marginal note concluding an account of a Shī‘ī rebel with the added words “until he was killed, God have mercy on him.” It would be normally assumed that this addition comes from another manuscript of the work, but its uniqueness, as well as the very large number of lacunae in the text of both manuscripts, with no other marginal supplementation from elsewhere, renders that assumption unlikely. Finally, it seems that all the (many but minor) departures by the Cambridge manuscript from the Manchester text can be explained by misreadings or guesses where the latter is illegible, due either to poor penmanship or to damage to the page, or in a few cases simple sloppiness on the part of the Cambridge scribe. If Cambridge were a third- or fourth-generation descendant of Manchester, one would expect non-obvious textual divergences, but those seem to be lacking.

The upshot is that our sole *real* exemplar of the text of the *History* is the Manchester manuscript. The Cambridge manuscript’s interpretations of hard-to-read words and phrases of the Manchester manuscript can be useful at times; and Houtsma’s valiant attempts to restore order to the Cambridge text where it clearly lacks it are repeatedly (but not universally) validated by the Manchester text. The present translation accordingly pays attention to Cambridge and Houtsma (as well as Carlo von Landberg’s 1886 review of Houtsma’s edition) but prioritizes Manchester as our only independent source for text readings.

The Manchester manuscript is not wonderful. The script is crabbed; it frequently lacks disambiguating dots; as already noted, there are distressingly frequent lacunae; and it is missing a true colophon at the end, which would have provided information on the date of copying and identified the copyist, although this lack is clearly not due to loss of its final folio. (A later owner has used the remaining space on the last page to copy out a passage from the tenth-century C.E. quasi-philosophical *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*.) The entire text is divided into ten parts, almost certainly on the basis of (equal) length, which presumably reflect either the state of the copyist’s original (ten separate volumes?) or that of an earlier manuscript ancestor; in the Manchester manuscript, the breaks between them (e.g., “here ends the sixth part and begins

the seventh part”) never fall at the end of a page or folio. These divisions seem unlikely to go back to al-Ya‘qūbī himself, notably because the unquestionably original division of the work into two books, Pre-Islamic and Islamic, falls haphazardly midway through Part 4.

Marginalia are quite copious in the Manchester manuscript, and appear in at least three different hands and probably more. The majority concern textual questions, and many are clearly the result of the original copyist’s collating his completed copy against his original and correcting mistakes. Whether other textual corrections and additions actually depend on other manuscripts is impossible to say, but the “outside” contribution to emending the text is surely minimal. Other marginalia offer supplementary information (apposite verses, genealogical information, and the like), or, very occasionally, critical comments on the content of the text (“this cannot be correct, for the following reason”). At one point, where the invention of chess is mentioned, a half-page has been bound into the text which has a poem on chess on one side, totaling sixty-four words, with those words distributed on the squares of a chess board on the other side. In two cases—the birth of Jesus and the birth of Muḥammad—al-Ya‘qūbī’s horoscopes are diagrammed in the margin.

The Manchester manuscript seems to have been owned by a succession of fairly militantly Shī‘ī partisans. While some aspects of the fraught question of al-Ya‘qūbī’s Shī‘ī allegiance seem to have a solid textual base (such as his references to the “caliphate” of al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī and other Shī‘ī imams, versus those to the “days” of the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd caliphs), others depend on manuscript evidence more directly attributable to copyists and owners. The Manchester manuscript regularly follows any mention of the Umayyad caliph Mu‘āwīya with “may God have mercy on him,” but with impressive thoroughness these pious wishes have been blotted out by a later owner and replaced with an interlinear “may God curse him.” (At the point where Mu‘āwīya attains full power the interlinear vitriol expands to “may God not have mercy on him, and upon him be the curse of God, the angels, and human beings, all of them, amen, amen, amen.”) The same treatment is applied, with somewhat less consistency, to other Shī‘ī nemeses, notably Mu‘āwīya’s son and successor Yazīd.

The Cambridge manuscript is fairly slavish in its reproduction of the Manchester manuscript. The ten-part division is copied with only minor variations. The “curses” on Mu‘āwīya and other Shī‘ī enemies are mostly simply incorporated into the text, sometimes relegated to the margins, but almost never ignored. Manchester’s textual marginalia are almost uniformly incorporated into the Cambridge text, without comment. Non-textual Manchester marginalia are often reproduced as marginalia but not infrequently ignored (or possibly



unknown, if they post-date the Cambridge copying). Cambridge seems to be half-hearted about horoscope diagrams: it reproduces the one for the birth of Jesus, but not that for the birth of Muḥammad; it supplies one for the *hijra* that is not in Manchester, as well as one for the accession of Mu‘āwiya. Short phrases identifying the topic of the text (“the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn” and the like) are quite frequent but not regular; these seem to have been supplied by a later reader. As with the Manchester manuscript, there are a number of later hands contributing not only to the marginalia but also to interlinear material. The colophon, which includes both the date of copying and the identity of the copyist, is followed by two further folios, in a different hand, copying out an excerpt from the famous grammatical *Maqṣūra* poem by the ‘Abbāsīd littérateur Ibn Durayd (d. 312/933).

The only respectable publication of the *History* is still that of Houtsma from the nineteenth century. There have been repeated republications of the text, based on Houtsma’s edition, from Beirut. A Persian translation in two volumes by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Āyatī first appeared in Tehran in 1964 and has been much reprinted. A French translation by André Ferré of the first section of the *History*, dealing with “Adam to Jesus,” appeared in 2000. None of the post-Houtsma editions or translations have taken account of the Manchester manuscript.

### *The Kitāb al-Buldān (Geography)*

The *Geography* is preserved, but only very imperfectly, in three known manuscripts, now in Munich (259), Berlin (Oct. 1833), and Istanbul (Topkapı, Ahmet III, 2403/2). It seems clear that both the Berlin and Istanbul manuscripts depend, directly or indirectly, on the Munich one. The latter has a colophon dating it to the year 607 of the Islamic calendar (1211 C.E.). We know from what is preserved of the text that al-Ya‘qūbī structured his work to begin with Baghdad and Samarra, followed by four “quarters” of the world: Eastern, Southern, Northern, and Western. A very large lacuna has deprived us of much of the Southern quarter (and part of what survives is mislabeled the Northern quarter), all of the Northern quarter, and the first part of the Western quarter. The critical edition of the text prepared by M.J. de Goeje (1892) offered fragments of the missing text in the form of quotations in later works. These have been translated here into English by Paul Cobb, who also found and translated yet further fragments, from both the pre- and post-lacuna sections of the work. Further fragments, from Ibn al-Dāya’s *Mukāfa’a*, have been translated by Matthew Gordon and Michael Fishbein and are likewise included here.

Gaston Wiet published an annotated French translation of the text in 1937. A Persian translation was produced by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Āyatī in 1964–1969, which has since been reprinted.

*The Mushākala (The Adaptation of Men)*

This short work is preserved in a single manuscript, Istanbul Murad Mulla 1433, folios 79b–86b, datable from the hand to the ninth/fifteenth century, although a much more recent (nineteenth-century?) manuscript, Istanbul Fatih 5347, folios 73b–75a, reproduces about a third of the text, without significant variants from the Murad Mulla text. The work has been published twice, by William Millward (1962) and by Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Izz al-Dīn (1980?). Millward also published (1964) an annotated English translation, which has been useful for the new translation by Michael Fishbein presented here.



*The Book of the Adaptation  
of Men to Their Time and Their Dominant  
Characteristics in Every Age*

Mushākalat al-nās  
li-zamānihim wa-mā yaglibu  
‘alayhim fī kull ‘aṣr





In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate  
May God Bless Our Master Muḥammad



**The Book of the Adaptation of Men to Their Time  
and Their Dominant Characteristics in Every Age**

The shaykh, imam, Qurʾān scholar, and very learned Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Jaʿfar b. Wāḍiḥ—may God have mercy on him—said: As for the caliphs and kings of Islam,<sup>1</sup> Muslims in every age have been followers of the caliph, traveling his path, pursuing his course, acting in accordance to what they saw from him, and not departing from his habits, deeds, and words.

Abū Bakr was, after the Messenger of God—God’s blessings and peace be upon him—the most abstemious of men, the most humble and sparing in his clothing. While he was caliph, he wore a wrap (*shamla*) and a coat (*ʿabāʾa*). The nobles of the Arabs and the kings of Yemen once came to him wearing crowns, brocaded cloaks (*burūd*), and striped garments (*ḥibar*); when they saw his humility and clothing, they took off what they were wearing, did as he did, and followed in his footsteps. Among those who came to Abū Bakr was Dhū l-Kalāʿ, the king of Ḥimyar, wearing his crown and surrounded by his relatives and retainers—he had ten thousand slaves serving him in his domains.<sup>2</sup> When he saw how Abū Bakr dressed, he said, “It is not fitting for us to do otherwise than the successor (*khalīfa*) of the Messenger of God—God’s blessings and peace be upon him—does”; whereupon he took off what he had been wearing

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1 The text begins abruptly, without the customary preliminary section of praise of God and the Prophet, and with a formula (*ammā ...fa*) that usually signals transition from one subject to another. This may indicate that the essay originally began with such a preface, now lost, and with a section, also lost or suppressed, on how people before Islam, Arab and non-Arab, conformed to the habits and practices of their rulers.

2 Parallel (with fuller wording): al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3:40–41 (§1512). Dhū l-Kalāʿ Samayfāʿ b. Nākūr (not to be confused with the earlier Dhū l-Kalāʿ listed by al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:225, among the “kings” of Yemen), was the leader of a powerful South Arabian tribe on the eve of Islam. He converted in response to a mission that Muḥammad, in his final illness, sent to Yemen and remained loyal to Islam after the Prophet’s death. Having sided with Abū Bakr against apostates in Yemen, he came to Medina in response to Abū Bakr’s call for men to fight in Syria. (Presumably, this anecdote refers to this time.) He fought in various battles against Byzantine forces, settled in Syria, and died fighting for Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffin in 37/657.

and imitated Abū Bakr. He was even seen in the market of Medina carrying a sheepskin on the back of his neck. “You’ve disgraced us!” said his kinsmen and tribesmen. “Will you, our lord, carry a sheep amid the Emigrants (*Muhājirūn*) and Helpers (*Anṣār*)?” He replied, “Did you want me to have been a proud tyrant in pagan times (*al-jāhiliyya*) and a proud tyrant in Islam as well?”

Al-Ash‘ath b. Qays, the king of Kinda, used to wear a crown and be greeted as a king.<sup>3</sup> When, after apostatizing, he returned to Islam, and Abū Bakr married him to his sister, Umm Farwa bt. Abī Quḥāfa, he became so modest after being proud and so humble after being haughty that he would wrap himself in a worn-out cloak and, with his own hand, smear pitch on his camel’s skin, imitating Abū Bakr and casting away the habits he used to have in pagan days.<sup>4</sup>

Abū Bakr—may God have mercy on him—permitted no noble to act extravagantly. Once he received a report that Abū Sufyān had done something he disliked.<sup>5</sup> He summoned Abū Sufyān and began shouting at him, while Abū Sufyān stood submissive and humble before him.<sup>6</sup> Abū Quḥāfa,<sup>7</sup> who had become blind, approached, led by his attendant; when he heard Abū Bakr shouting, he asked his attendant, “At whom is Abū Bakr shouting?” “At Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb,” he replied. Abū Quḥāfa said: “Abū ‘Atīq!<sup>8</sup> Will you raise your voice to Abū Sufyān? You have gone too far.” Abū Bakr replied, “Father, God has raised some men through Islam and lowered others.”

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—may God have mercy on him—despite his humility and the coarseness of his clothing and food, was strict in matters relating

3 On the checkered life of this prince of the originally South Arabian tribal confederacy of Kinda, see the article by Khalid Yahya Blankinship in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Ash‘ath, Abū Muḥammad Ma’dikarib b. Qays b. Ma’dikarib.

4 Pitch was used to prevent wounds from becoming infected and to promote healing.

5 Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was an influential Meccan leader. Originally hostile to Muḥammad, he converted at or shortly before the conquest of Mecca, fought afterward on the Muslim side, and, according to some reports, was appointed by the Prophet as governor of Najrān. His son, Mu‘āwiya, established the Umayyad line of caliphs. The report here fits other reports that relations between Abū Bakr and Abū Sufyān were cool. See the article by Khaled M. G. Keshk in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Sufyān.

6 Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:41 (§ 1513).

7 Abū Bakr’s father.

8 Addressing his son: Abū ‘Atīq, a nickname for Abū Bakr, literally means “father of one set free,” or simply “man set free,” referring to a report that Muḥammad promised Abū Bakr that he would be free (*‘atīq*) from the fire of hell. (See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 120, 133.) The parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī has the variant, *yā ‘atīq Allāh* (O one set free by God).

to God. His governors and everyone else in his presence or away from him imitated him, and none of the Companions of the Messenger of God—God's blessings and peace be upon him—did otherwise. He used to wear a woolen tunic (*jubba*) and wrap himself in a coat (*'abā'a*).<sup>9</sup> He would smear his camel with pitch and carry a water skin on his back for his family. His governors, the commanders of the garrison cities—God had granted them victories, favor, and power and had enriched them and protected them—went barefoot; they would remove their shoes and not wear boots, and they wore coarse garments. When they came before him, they came unkempt, dusty, coarse-garmented, and emaciated in complexion. If he saw them otherwise than such, or it was reported to him, he reprimanded them for it. Their mounts were camels, more than horses, imitating 'Umar, his way of acting, and how they had been in the time of the Messenger of God—God's blessings and peace be upon him.

Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, the commander of Syria—God had granted him victory over it—was seen wearing an ill-smelling woolen tunic (*jubba*). Abū 'Ubayda said, "I have sat beside the Messenger of God—God's blessings and peace be upon him—wearing something that smelled stronger than this, but he did not object."<sup>10</sup>

Salmān al-Fārisī was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's governor of al-Madā'in.<sup>11</sup> He used to wear the coarsest of garments and ride a she-ass with a pack saddle and a halter rope of palm fiber. When Salmān was about to die, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ came and said to him, "Give me your parting advice, Abū 'Abdallāh." "Yes," he replied: "Be mindful of God with your thoughts when you are about to do something, and with your tongue whenever you speak, and with your hand whenever you distribute." Salmān began to weep, and Sa'd asked him, "Abū 'Abdallāh, what is making you weep?" He replied, "I once heard the Messenger of God—God's blessings and peace be upon him—say that in the Hereafter there is a pass that can be crossed only by those who travel light, and I see all this baggage around me." (Sa'd said,) "We looked and saw nothing in his room other than a water skin, a drinking cup, a cooking pot, and a ewer."<sup>12</sup>

9 Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:48 (§1525).

10 Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:49 (§1528).

11 Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 321, notes that the tomb of this Companion of the Prophet, said to have been the first Persian convert to Islam, was located at al-Madā'in. The historicity of Salmān's governorship of al-Madā'in is uncertain. See the article by G. Levi Della Vida in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salmān al-Fārisī.

12 Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:49 (§1527). The Arabic terms are *idāwa* (a small leather bag



‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb put ‘Umayr b. Sa’d al-Anṣārī in charge of the military district of Ḥimṣ. He stayed for a year and then returned on his camel in the same state as when he had departed from ‘Umar. So ‘Umar said, “Woe to a people over whom you were set in charge! Didn’t they recognize what you were entitled to?”—or something of the sort.

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb performed the pilgrimage. Then he asked his son ‘Abdallāh, “How much did we spend on our pilgrimage?” “Sixteen dinars,” he replied. Whereupon ‘Umar said, “We have been extravagant with this money.”<sup>13</sup>

‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān—may God have mercy on him—was known for magnanimity and generosity, for loyalty to his kinsmen and promoting his relatives, and for acquiring property; and people modeled themselves on his actions. ‘Uthmān built his home in Medina and spent a huge sum of money on it. He built it of stone and put panels of teak on its doors. He acquired properties in Medina, wells, and herds of camels. According to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba:<sup>14</sup> “On the day he died, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān left with his treasurer 150,000 dinars and 1,000,000 dirhams. His estates were Bī’r Arīs,<sup>15</sup> Khaybar, and Wādī l-Qurā, whose value was 200,000 dinars; and he left horses and herds of camels.”<sup>16</sup>

In the days of ‘Uthmān, the Companions of the Messenger of God—God’s blessings and peace be upon him—acquired wealth and built houses.

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to hold water), *rakwa* (a small leather drinking vessel), *qidr* (a cooking pot), and *miṭhara* (a vessel holding water for performing ablutions).

13 Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:77 (§1582); Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 222, with an *isnād* beginning with Muḥammad b. ‘Umar (al-Wāqidi).

14 Al-Ya‘qūbī indicates only the final authority for this report. The parallel in Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 53 indicates that the report was part of the work of Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidi. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd al-Hudhalī, an early Muslim (born during the lifetime of the Prophet, died c. 74/693–694) was known as a jurist (he served as *qāḍī* of Kufa in 67/686–687), an authority on Qur’ān readings (he was the nephew of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd), and a transmitter of traditions. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 5:211–212.

15 Thus in the printed editions of the text. According to Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 1:430, s.v., Bī’r Arīs was a well in Medina into which the Prophet’s ring fell and from which ‘Uthmān tried unsuccessfully to retrieve it. However, a well inside Medina hardly fits the category of “estate” (*ḍay‘a*, pl. *ḍiyā‘*). The parallel in Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 53, reads *bi-Barādīs* (as corrected by the editor Sachau from manuscripts that read *Bīrādīs*); and a marginal note in one of the manuscripts of Ibn Sa’d identifies Barādīs as “an orchard on the outskirts of Medina, outside of al-Baqī’” (Sachau’s note ad. loc.).

16 Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:76 (§1579).

Al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām<sup>17</sup> built his renowned house in Basra; in it there are markets and shops.<sup>18</sup> Al-Zubayr also built a house in Kufa, one in Egypt,<sup>19</sup> and one in Alexandria. The value of al-Zubayr's wealth amounted to 50,000 dinars. He left a thousand horses, a thousand slaves, and real estate in Egypt, Alexandria, Kufa, and Basra.<sup>20</sup>

Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh<sup>21</sup> built houses and estates valued at 100,000 dinars. His daily income in Iraq was fully 1,000 [dinars],<sup>22</sup> and his income in Syria was 10,000 dinars [a year].<sup>23</sup> He built his house of gypsum, baked bricks, and teakwood, and left a huge fortune in gold and silver.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf<sup>24</sup> built his house and made it spacious. He had 1,000 camels, 10,000 sheep, and 100 horses. One-fourth of the eighth of his wealth amounted to 84,000 dinars.<sup>25</sup>

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- 17 Al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, a cousin of Muḥammad and one of the earliest converts to Islam, was a member of the six-man conclave (*shūrā*) that chose ʿUthmān to succeed ʿUmar. Later, he was killed at the Battle of the Camel, near Basra, in 36/656, fighting against ʿAlī. He was known as one of the wealthiest of the Companions of the Prophet. See the article by I. Hasson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām.
- 18 Or, “in it there *were* markets and shops” (the Arabic clause has no explicit verb). The question is whether the complex (*dār*, here translated as “house,” can also refer to an estate or even to an entire district) included markets and shops from the beginning, or whether they were a later addition. The parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3:76 (§1579) suggests the latter, but is also ambiguous: “He built his house in Basra—the one known at this time, namely the year 332 (943–944)—occupied by merchants, persons of wealth, purveyors of naval equipment, and others.”
- 19 That is, in al-Fustāt (Old Cairo).
- 20 Parallel, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3:76 (§1579); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 77, with *isnād* beginning with Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidi).
- 21 On the career of this very early convert to Islam, who was also a member of the conclave (*shūrā*) that chose ʿUthmān to succeed ʿUmar and who died at the Battle of the Camel in 36/656, see the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭalḥa.
- 22 Supplied from the parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3:77 (§1580).
- 23 Addition from Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 157, where the report has an *isnād* beginning with Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidi).
- 24 An early Meccan convert who emigrated first to Abyssinia and then to Medina. He fought in most of the battles of the Medinan community, and later was a member of the *shūrā* (conclave) to determine a successor to the caliphate after the murder of ʿUmar. He died in 32/652–653, during the caliphate of ʿUthmān, and was renowned for his wealth. See the article by Wilferd Madelung in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.
- 25 Reading *rubʿ thumn mālihi*. The meaning is clarified by two reports in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 96 f. At his death, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf left four wives. Assuming that the later Islamic rules for quota-heirs prevailed at the time (see the article by J. Schacht in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mirāth*), as well as Sachau's note to Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 77), a widow, assuming that

Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ<sup>26</sup> built his house in al-'Aqīq.<sup>27</sup> He plastered it<sup>28</sup> and gave it balconies.<sup>29</sup>

According to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab:<sup>30</sup> Zayd b. Thābit<sup>31</sup> left so much gold and silver that it had to be broken up with pickaxes, as well as property, estates, and springs amounting to 150,000 dinars.<sup>32</sup>

Ya'lā b. Munya al-Tamīmī<sup>33</sup> left 500,000 dinars, plots of land, estates, and loan credits with a value of 300,000 dinars.<sup>34</sup>

Al-Miqdād<sup>35</sup> built his palace at al-Jurf<sup>36</sup> of unbaked bricks; he stuccoed it inside and out, and gave it balconies. No men had done this during the time of 'Umar; they did it only after him.<sup>37</sup>

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there were surviving sons or daughters, would receive a eighth of the estate; since 'Abd al-Raḥmān left four widows, each would have received "one-fourth of the eighth." According to the first report, this came to 80,000 (sc. dinars) for each. According to the second report, "Tumādir bt. al-Aṣḥagh received one-fourth of the eighth; she went away with 100,000; she was one of the four." The parallel in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:77 (§ 1580) reads *al-ray' min mālihi* (the income from his property/wealth after his death amounted to 84,000 dinars), which is less likely to be the correct reading.

- 26 An early convert who commanded the Arab armies in the conquest of Iraq. He, too, was a member of the conclave (*shūrā*) that chose 'Uthmān to succeed 'Umar. See the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.
- 27 A valley to the west of Medina; a report in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 105, with an *isnād* beginning with Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidi) locates Sa'd's al-'Aqīq estate 10 Arab miles from Medina.
- 28 Arabic *shayyadahā*, which can also mean "he built it tall."
- 29 Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:77 (§ 1581).
- 30 Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (b. c. 15/636, d. c. 91/709) was one of the so-called "seven jurists of Medina." See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḥahā' al-Madīna al-Sab'.
- 31 A Medinan convert who served as Muḥammad's scribe and later as 'Uthmān's treasurer. He seems not to have pledged allegiance to 'Alī, and later served under Mu'āwiya. See the article by M. Lecker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zayd b. Thābit.
- 32 Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:77 (§ 1581).
- 33 Commonly known as Ya'lā b. Umayya (Munya was his mother's name), he was a Companion of the Prophet, served as 'Umar's governor of Najrān, and fought on the side of al-Zubayr and 'Ā'isha at the Battle of the Camel in 35/656. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 11:399–400.
- 34 Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:77 (§ 1582).
- 35 Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr al-Bahrā'ī (also known as al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad), a Companion of the Prophet, later served as military commander under 'Umar and 'Uthmān. He died in 33/653–654. See the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Miqdād b. 'Amr.
- 36 About 3 Arab miles north of Medina, according to a report in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 115, and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 2:62, s.v.
- 37 Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:77 (§ 1582).

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—peace be upon him—was occupied all his days with fighting. However, he never wore a new garment, never acquired an estate, and never contracted for property,<sup>38</sup> except what he had in Yanbu‘ and al-Bughaybigha,<sup>39</sup> from which he gave alms to the poor. People have preserved his sermons; he delivered 400 sermons that were preserved from him, and they are the ones that circulate among people and that they use in their own sermons and speeches.<sup>40</sup>

Then came Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān.<sup>41</sup> He built palaces, constructed houses, and raised screens.<sup>42</sup> He acquired guards, acquired a police force (*shurṭa*), established chamberlains,<sup>43</sup> and built rulers’ compartments (*maqṣūras*) in the mosques. He rode good-looking mounts with padded saddles. He wore silk and brocade. He acquired crown lands<sup>44</sup> and estates. *Ṭirāz*<sup>45</sup> was made for him in Yemen, Egypt,<sup>46</sup> Alexandria, and al-Ruhā.<sup>47</sup> His family, children, and officials acquired what he acquired and did as he did.

38 Arabic *wa-lam ya‘qid ‘alā māl*. The meaning is unclear. If one adds one word, to read *wa-lam ya‘qid [naḥsahu] ‘alā māl*, it would mean “he never set his heart on wealth.”

39 The reading is uncertain, as the Arabic ductus is completely undotted in the manuscript. Support for the reading can be found in Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 1:696, s.v., which lists al-Bughaybigha as a property belonging to ‘Alī. The parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:172 (§1744), omits the second place name and refers only to ‘Alī’s property in Yanbu‘.

40 Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:172 (§1744).

41 On Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the first of the Umayyad caliphs (r. 41/661 to 60/680), see the article by M. Hinds in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mu‘āwiya I.

42 Arabic *sutūr* (curtains, screens) could refer to the *maqṣūra*, an enclosed compartment for the ruler near the *miḥrāb* of the mosque, introduced to protect the ruler from attempts on his life. Mu‘āwiya is sometimes credited with its introduction; e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3465. However, since the *maqṣūra* is mentioned specifically later in the sentence, this reference may be to screens or curtains in the audience chamber.

43 Arabic *ḥujjāb*, pl. of *ḥājib*, referring to the official who controlled access to the ruler, so that only approved persons might approach him. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥājib.

44 Arabic *ṣawāfi*, originally conquered Sasanian crown lands retained by the caliph on behalf of the community. In the reign of Mu‘āwiya attempts were made to identify former Sasanian crown lands in Iraq; these were appropriated by the caliph and often redistributed to members of the Umayyad family. See the article by A. K. S. Lambton in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣafī.

45 *Ṭirāz* (from a Persian word meaning ‘adornment’) referred to ornamental bands of cloth with woven or embroidered inscriptions. Garments with these panels were worn by rulers and other high officials and could be bestowed as robes of honor. See the article by Yedida K. Stillman and Paula Sanders in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭirāz.

46 That is, al-Fuṣṭāṭ (Old Cairo).

47 Ancient Edessa, modern Urfa in southeastern Turkey.

‘Amr b. al-Āṣ built his house in Egypt and acquired estates for himself.<sup>48</sup> On his estate at al-Ṭā’if called al-Wahṭ he planted one million grapevines, and his income from the yield was 10 million dirhams. On the day of his death he left 300,000 dinars. When he was about to die, he said, “Would that it were only 100,000 dinars.”<sup>49</sup>

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz, Mu‘āwiya’s governor of Basra, did as he did. He dug canals, erected houses, built palaces, and acquired estates, property, and gardens in Basra, Mecca, and al-Ṭā’if.

Ziyād,<sup>50</sup> Mu‘āwiya’s governor of Iraq, did this in Kufa, Basra, and the rest of Iraq. He acquired estates and built and constructed buildings. On the day of his death, Ziyād left 6 million [dirhams and 100,000]<sup>51</sup> dinars. Mu‘āwiya took them; Mu‘āwiya usually did this to his governors, but sometimes he shared equally with the heirs.

Maslama b. Mukhallad, Mu‘āwiya’s governor of Egypt, did the same.<sup>52</sup> He acquired estates in Egypt that he set aside as trusts (*waqf*) for his family. On the day of his death he left 100,000 dinars and 1 million dirhams.

48 On the career of ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ, Mu‘āwiya’s governor of Egypt, see the article by Khaled M. G. Keshk in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ.

49 The parallel in al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rikh*, 2:263–264, provides a fuller context: “When ‘Amr came to die, he said to his son: ‘Your father wishes that he had died at the raid of Dhāt al-Salāsil [i.e., during the lifetime of the Prophet]. I have involved myself with affairs for which I do not know what excuse I shall have before God.’ Then he looked at his fortune and seeing its magnitude he said: ‘Would that it were dung! Would that I had died thirty years ago! I made Mu‘āwiya’s worldly fortune thrive, while I spoiled my religion; I preferred my worldly life and abandoned my afterlife; my integrity was blinded, and now my time of death has come. I seem to see Mu‘āwiya taking possession of my fortune and making my succession evil for you.’”

50 That is, Ziyād b. Abīhi (Ziyād “the son of his father,” because of his uncertain parentage), was officially recognized by Mu‘āwiya as the son of Abū Sufyān and hence as Mu‘āwiya’s half-brother. He later became Mu‘āwiya’s governor of Iraq and became famous for his restoration of order to the chaotic province. See the article by I. Hasson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ziyād b. Abīhi.

51 The bracketed words are a marginal addition in the ms. The question of Ziyād’s fortune and its disposition remains unclear. A curious passage in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 1v/1, 282 (ed. Ihsān ‘Abbās), reads: “Ziyād died only owning less than 10,000 dirhams; of clothing he left only two shirts, two waist-wrappers, and two pairs of drawers. He used to say, ‘As long as our power lasts, all the world is ours; when it departs from us, what will suffice us of the world will be the least of it.’”

52 Maslama b. Mukhallad became governor of Egypt sometime after the death of ‘Amr b.

‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir al-Juhani, who also was Mu‘āwiya’s governor of Egypt, created estates in Egypt. He bequeathed some of them in perpetuity,<sup>53</sup> and he built a house in Egypt<sup>54</sup> of stone and plaster. He left 30,000 dinars and 700,000 dirhams.

Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā<sup>55</sup> sold a house to Mu‘āwiya for 40,000 dinars. Someone said to him, “Abū Muḥammad, forty thousand?”<sup>56</sup> He replied, “And what are 40,000 dinars for a man with six dependents?” Mu‘āwiya used to say, “I have split apart the kingdom.”<sup>57</sup>

Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya<sup>58</sup> was devoted to the chase, hunting animals<sup>59</sup> and dogs, entertainment, and carousing over wine; these things then dominated his companions. It was in his time that singing made its appearance in Mecca and Medina, musical instruments were used, and nobles drank openly.<sup>60</sup>

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al-‘Āṣ (two other governors, ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān and ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir, intervened); see the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maslama b. Mukhallad.

53 Arabic *wa-ḥabbasa ba‘ḍahā*. That is, he made some of them inalienable trusts either for his family or for charitable purposes.

54 That is, al-Fuṣṭāṭ (Old Cairo).

55 A leader of the Quraysh, who converted only after Muḥammad’s conquest of Mecca. He is said to have been married at one time to Mu‘āwiya’s sister Āmina (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, iv/1, 1) and to have lived to the age of 120.

56 The interlocutor addresses Ḥuwayṭib familiarly by his *kunya*, Abū Muḥammad. The parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, iv/1, 61 (where the sum is given as 45,000 dinars) clarifies the context: “Some men congratulated Ḥuwayṭib,” i.e., for having become rich from the sale. Ḥuwayṭib replies that such a sum was nothing for a man with so many dependents (seven in al-Balādhurī’s account, which comes from al-Madā’inī). The anecdote also appears in the *Kitāb al-Bukhālā’* by al-Jāḥiẓ (ed. Ṭāhā al-Ḥājirī, Cairo, 1967), 150, where the interlocutor’s remark is phrased, “You’ve become very wealthy!” To which Ḥuwayṭib replies, “What’s the use of 45,000 with six children?” In a version in al-Ṭabarī’s appendix of biographies (ed. Leiden, 3:2329, coming from al-Wāqidi) there is an extra detail: the exchange between Ḥuwayṭib and the interlocutor is set years after the sale, by which time Ḥuwayṭib “was among the recipients of the monthly [rations] of food.” (Trans. by Ella Landau-Tasseron in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxix, 46).

57 The reading of the MS (*anaḥḥaqtu l-mulk*) is unclear, and in the absence of a more detailed parallel, one can only speculate about the meaning.

58 On Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, the second Umayyad caliph (r. 60/680 to 64/683), see the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yazīd (1) b. Mu‘āwiya.

59 Arabic *jawāriḥ*, referring to cheetahs, falcons, and the like.

60 Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:265 (§1918).

Then came ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.<sup>61</sup> He was stern, resolute, and miserly, fond of poetry, boasting, encomium, and praise.<sup>62</sup> In his days the “stallions” among the poets were Jarīr, al-Farazdaq, al-Akḥṭal, and others.<sup>63</sup> Poetry flourished in the days of ‘Abd al-Malik. The poets praised the military commanders and tribal dignitaries and sought rewards.

‘Abd al-Malik had a penchant for shedding blood and acting in haste, and his governors were of similar character: al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq, al-Muhallab in Khurāsān, Hishām b. Ismā‘īl al-Makhzūmī in Medina, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik in Egypt, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī in the Maghrib, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (al-Ḥajjāj’s brother) in Yemen, and Muḥammad b. Marwān in the Jazīra and Mosul. All of them were tyrannical, unjust, violent, and headstrong. Al-Ḥajjāj was one of the most unjust of them and most given to shedding blood.

Al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik was tyrannical, stubborn, and unjust.<sup>64</sup> His governors in all lands were of similar character. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz<sup>65</sup> used to say, “With al-Walīd in Syria, al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq, ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān in the Ḥijāz, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf in Yemen, Qurra b. Sharīk in Egypt, and Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in Ifrīqiya, the world was full of injustice.” Nothing of al-Walīd’s manner of acting deserves notice except for his building of mosques, for it was he who built the mosque of Damascus.<sup>66</sup>

Then came Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.<sup>67</sup> He was an epicure and a glutton beyond all measure, a wearer of fine clothing and garments of brocade: tunics, cloaks, trousers, turbans, and hats. His family members would enter his presence only in brocades, and similarly his governors, companions, servants, and those in his household. It was his costume when he was riding, when he was

61 Al-Ya‘qūbī omits the brief reigns of Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd (r. briefly in 64/683–684) and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (r. 64/684 to 65/685). On ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, the fifth Umayyad caliph (r. 65/685 to 86/705), see the article by H. A. R. Gibb in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and Chase Robinson’s book-length treatment, *‘Abd al-Malik*.

62 Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:291 (§1973).

63 Arabic *fuḥūl al-shu‘arā*, a term reserved for poets who could overcome their rivals in poetic contests.

64 On al-Walīd I (r. 86/705 to 96/715), see the article by Renate Jacobi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walīd.

65 That is, the successor of al-Walīd’s successor. Later historians often cited ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz as the only truly pious Umayyad caliph. Hence, his pronouncement about al-Walīd carries particular weight as being a denunciation of a member of his own family.

66 That is, the Great Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. Its beauty is praised by al-Ya‘qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 326. Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:365 (§2114).

67 Ruled 96/715 to 99/717; see the article by R. Eisener in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik. Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:6–7 (§2154).

holding audience, and when he was in the pulpit. None of his servants would enter his presence except in brocade, even the cook, who would come before him in a tunic and tall hat, both of brocade.

Then came 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān.<sup>68</sup> He governed with humility, devoutness, asceticism, religion, and seeking the friendship of people of virtue. He removed al-Walīd's governors and appointed the most righteous people he could find. His governors followed his path, and the people were relieved of the oppression and injustice that they had been suffering.<sup>69</sup> He abandoned the cursing of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—peace be upon him—from the pulpit,<sup>70</sup> and replaced it with: "O Lord, forgive us and our brothers who preceded us in belief, and do not set in our hearts rancor toward those who believe. Our Lord, surely Thou art merciful and compassionate."<sup>71</sup> People have followed this custom in the Friday sermon until the present day.

Then came Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>72</sup> He was the first caliph to acquire a singing slave-girl and the first over whose affairs a woman gained control. Ḥabbāba, his singing slave-girl, used to appoint and dismiss, set free and imprison, command and forbid. Along with this, he was swift to shed blood and seize property, and his governors reverted to their former injustice.

Then came Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.<sup>73</sup> He was harsh, rough, crude, and miserly. He amassed wealth, developed agriculture, and sought excellence in everything made for him in the way of clothing and furniture, severely punishing any shortcomings in this regard.<sup>74</sup> It was in his time that figured silk was made.<sup>75</sup> People in the days of Hishām all followed his lead in

68 Ruled 99/717 to 101/720 and held up by later historians as the only truly pious Umayyad caliph; see the article by P. M. Cobb in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Umar (II) b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.

69 Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:17 (§ 2171).

70 A practice said to have been originated by Mu'āwiya and continued by his successors.

71 Qur'ān 59:10.

72 Ruled 101/720 to 105/724; see the article by H. Lammens and Kh. Y. Blankinship in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yazīd (II) b. 'Abd al-Malik.

73 Ruled 105/724 to 125/743; see the article by F. Gabrieli in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hishām.

74 Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:41 (§ 2219).

75 Arabic *al-khazz al-raqm*. The exact meaning, apart from the fact that the material must have been either entirely or partly of silk, is unclear. It may be a way of referring to the bands known as *ṭirāz* embroidered with the caliph's name, or it may refer to striped cloth of silk. Yedida Stillman and Paula Sanders in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṭirāz*, note that Hishām was the first Umayyad caliph mentioned as having *ṭirāz* factories and that he was known as "a dandy and a great lover of fine robes, textiles, and carpets."



withholding what was in their hands, lack of generosity, and abstaining from charity, so that it was said that no time had ever been seen more difficult for the people than his. This was because he discontinued the generosity, subsidies, rewards, and gifts that the caliphs used to bestow. People used this as a pretext, followed his course, and imitated him. Abū Sālīm al-A'raj once said to him: "You are nothing but a market; whatever sells briskly with you gets carried to you."<sup>76</sup>

Al-Walid b. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik<sup>77</sup> was a devotee of wine, amusement, music, and listening to singing. He was the first to import singers from the provinces; he consorted with entertainers and made a public show of wine, entertainments, and music. The singer Ibn Surayj lived in his days, as well as Ma'bad, al-Gharīd, Ibn 'Ā'isha, Ibn Muḥriz, Ṭuways, and Daḥmān.<sup>78</sup> Vocal music

76 Abū Sālīm appears to be a mistake for Abū Ḥāzīm al-A'raj (full name Salama b. Dīnār), who is listed by al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:396, as one of the learned men in Hishām's reign. The meaning of the saying is unclear. The first two pronouns are plural and probably refer to the Umayyads as a whole; the third pronoun, singular, probably refers to Hishām personally: "You (Umayyads) are a market such that to you (Umayyads) gets carried (only) what sells briskly (i.e., is in demand) with you (Hishām)." It may have something to do with the sharp reply with which this Medinese jurist is said to have met a caliphal invitation to come to Damascus. The anecdote is given by Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:144, but unfortunately the caliph is identified as Sulaymān, not Hishām. In any case, the caliph is supposed to have sent al-Zuhri to invite al-A'raj to come to Damascus. The jurist replied: "If he has any need, let him come; as for me, I have no need for him." This is as if to say: "What I have (viz. learning) would not be in demand in your market" (where only gourmet food and luxury garments are in demand). But this interpretation is conjectural.

77 Al-Walid II ruled 125–126/743–44, then was deposed and killed. He is best known for his poetry; see the article by Renata Jacobi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walid.

78 Al-Ya'qūbī's chronology, placing all of these singers in the time of al-Walid II, is wrong, as most of them were active before his reign. The mistake may have been caused by al-Walid II's reputation for dissoluteness. Although some sources place the death of Ibn Surayj as late as 126/744, most connect him with al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (al-Walid I), who invited him from the Ḥijāz to Damascus, and place his death in 96/714, before the caliphate of al-Walid II (see the article by J. W. Fück in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Suraydj). Ma'bad b. Wahb is reported to have been invited to court by al-Walid II, but died shortly after his arrival in 125/743 or 126/744; his heyday was in the reigns of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik (see the article by H. G. Farmer and E. Neubauer in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ma'bad b. Wahb). Al-Gharīd is usually said to have died in 98/716–717, although some reports show him living at the court of Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik sometime between 101/720 and 105/724 (see the article by H. G. Farmer in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Gharīd). Ibn 'Ā'isha is said to have been invited to Damascus by al-Walid b. Yazid, then a prince, sometime during the caliphate of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, and to have died before al-Walid II became caliph (see the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn 'Ā'isha). On Ibn Muḥriz, who may or may not have appeared at the court of al-Walid II, see the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Muḥriz. Ṭuways rose to fame as early as the reign

became the rage among the nobility, and people acquired lutes. Al-Walīd was profligate, dissolute, and shameless.<sup>79</sup>

Then came Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>80</sup> His days were not long enough for his character and ways of acting to become widely known, except that he professed the doctrine of *i’tizāl* and would argue in its defense.<sup>81</sup>

Then came Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.<sup>82</sup> He was at war during all his days; except that he was the first caliph to display *‘aṣabiyya* openly and to incite it among the people.<sup>83</sup> His secretary was ‘Abd al-Ḥamid b. Yaḥyā b. Sa’d, the author of the epistles.<sup>84</sup> At the beginning of his career he had been a teacher, and he was the first to write lengthy epistles and to make use of elaborate doxologies in the sections of his letters.<sup>85</sup> People took up this usage after him.

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of ‘Uthmān and died in 92/711 (see the article by H. G. Farmer and E. Neubauer in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭuways). Daḥmān was a pupil of Ma‘bad, and so may have been active in the reign of al-Walīd II (see the article on Ma‘bad already cited).

79 Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:50 (§ 2238).

80 That is, Yazīd III, who died of natural causes after a rule of approximately six months in 126/744. See the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yazīd (III) b. al-Walīd (I).

81 *I’tizāl* (standing aside, remaining neutral) became the designation of the school of thought espoused by a group of thinkers collectively called Mu‘tazila (see the article by D. Gimaret in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.). It would be anachronistic to ascribe membership in this school to Yazīd III, but he was known for supporting the doctrines of the Qadariyya, a predecessor of the latter school, which emphasized man’s free will, as opposed to God’s predetermination of human actions. See the article by J. van Ess in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qadariyya. The parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:58 (§ 2254) simply says that Yazīd followed the doctrine of the Mu‘tazila (*qawl al-Mu‘tazila*) and then lists the components of this doctrine.

82 The last of the Umayyad caliphs, Marwān II ruled from 127/744 to 132/750; see the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marwān II.

83 *Aṣabiyya* literally means “loyalty to one’s kinship group,” from *‘aṣaba*, meaning one’s relations in the male line. Here the word is used in the larger sense of tribalism, although ascribing its rise to such a late date is not accurate, since rivalries and fighting between various tribal alliances had been endemic long before this time. However, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:66 ff. (§ 2267 ff.) has a long section on the rivalry between the tribal groupings of Yamāniyya and Nizāriyya during the days of Marwān.

84 ‘Abd al-Ḥamid is generally accounted the founder of Arabic epistolary prose. Six of his long compositions survive, the most famous of them being his epistle of advice to Marwān’s son and heir ‘Abdallāh and his epistle setting forth the dignity of the secretarial office. See the article by Wadād al-Qāḍī in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Ḥamid b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib.

85 Literally, “he used *tahmidāt*.” These were elaborate passages of praise to God, full of Qur’anic allusions and other literary devices. J. D. Latham in his article “The Beginnings of Arabic Prose Literature: the Epistolary Genre,” in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, 173, calls them “congratulatory ‘Te Deums’ in which the author gives thanks and praises to God for some victory won for Islam by the addressee.”

## An Account of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs

Abū l-‘Abbās came to power as Commander of the Faithful; he was ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>86</sup> His first action that people imitated was to deliver the sermon (*khutba*) on the pulpit standing—the Umayyads had delivered it seated. The people therefore acclaimed him, saying, “O descendant of the uncle of the Messenger of God, you have revived the practice (*sunna*) of the Messenger of God—God’s blessings and peace be upon him.”<sup>87</sup> He was quick to command the shedding of blood:<sup>88</sup> al-Ash‘ath<sup>89</sup> shed it in the Maghrib, and Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī<sup>90</sup> in Egypt; Ḥāzim

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86 Known by his sobriquet “al-Saffāḥ” (“the Spiller,” sc. of blood) to which al-Ya‘qūbī will soon allude, he came to power in the revolution that overthrew the Umayyads. He was proclaimed caliph in Kufa in 132/749 and ruled until his death in 136/754. The genealogy here traces his ancestry to the Prophet’s uncle, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, from whom the dynasty took its name and claim to legitimacy. See the article by S. Moscati in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāḥ.

87 Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:94 (§ 2308).

88 An intriguing parallel to al-Ya‘qūbī’s section on the character of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs occurs in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:211–215 (§ 3445–3458). Al-Mas‘ūdī reports a conversation between a courtier of the Caliph al-Qāhir (r. 320/932 to 322/934) and an otherwise unknown anti-quarian/historian (*akhbārī*) Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-‘Abdī (accepting the alternate reading for the printed al-Miṣrī; cf. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd ed., 58–59) al-Khurāsānī (still alive, according to al-Mas‘ūdī, *ibid.*, 5:215 [§ 3458], in 333/944–945). At the caliph’s command, this courtier gives a series of character sketches of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs from al-Saffāḥ to al-Mutawakkil that so closely echoes al-Ya‘qūbī (who died c. 292/905)—the remainder of this paragraph, for example, occurs in al-Mas‘ūdī almost verbatim—that the material must have come directly from al-Ya‘qūbī’s work, from one of its immediate sources, or from a subsequent author who quoted al-Ya‘qūbī. Unfortunately, the *isnād* in al-Mas‘ūdī is of no help in determining whence this Muḥammad b. ‘Alī drew his material, which occasionally presents a fuller text than that in the *Mushākala*.

89 In al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:211 (§ 3445), he and the following people are identified as governors appointed by al-Saffāḥ. Al-Ash‘ath is Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath al-Khuzā‘ī (not to be confused with two other figures who shared the name “al-Ash‘ath” [“having unkempt hair”]), a military commander who served the ‘Abbāsīds in a variety of capacities from the time of Abū Muslim until his death in 149/766. His activity in North Africa involved the retaking in 144/761 (hence not under al-Saffāḥ, but under his successor al-Manṣūr) of the city of al-Qayrawān in Ifrīqiya, which had been occupied by the Ibāḍiyya, a Khārījite group. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Qayrawān.

90 A member of the ‘Abbāsīd family, Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās served twice as governor of Egypt (for a year beginning in 133/750 and again in 136–137/753–55). See the article by A. Grohmann and H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī.

b. Khuzayma shed it, and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba shed it in Iraq; ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī shed it in Syria; Dāwūd b. ‘Alī shed it in the Ḥijāz; and his brother Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad shed it in Mosul. Nevertheless, he was generous, free, and open-handed with money.

Then came Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad.<sup>91</sup> He was the first Hāshimite to sow division between the descendants of al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and those of Abū Ṭālib b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, so that people took to saying, “an ‘Abbāsī,” or “a Ṭālibī.”<sup>92</sup> Previously, it had been the affair of all the Banū Hāshim.<sup>93</sup> He was the first caliph who acquired astrologers and acted in accordance with the stars.<sup>94</sup> He was the first caliph who translated ancient Persian books and rendered them into the Arabic tongue.<sup>95</sup> In his days the book *Kalīla and Dimna*<sup>96</sup> was translated; the book *Sindhind*<sup>97</sup> was translated;

91 The second ‘Abbāsīd caliph, r. 136–158/754–775. See the article by H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Manṣūr.

92 That is, people began to differentiate politically between ‘Abbāsīs, those who supported the ‘Abbāsīds’ claim to authority based on their descent from the Prophet’s uncle, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, and Ṭālibīs, those who supported the claims of the descendants of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

93 That is, supporters of the right of close relatives of the Prophet to the caliphate had made common cause, not distinguishing between descendants of al-‘Abbās (the ‘Abbāsīds) and those of Abū Ṭālib (the Ṭālibīds). The text as printed translates, “It was said, ‘That was the name of all the Banū Hāshim.’” Millward, in his edition of the Arabic text, notes that the word *ism* (name) is unclear in the ms. The parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:211 (§3446), reads *amr* (thing, affair), which is graphically similar, makes more sense, and has been translated here. For *qīla* (it was said), al-Mas‘ūdī reads *qablu* (previously), which also has been used as the basis for the translation.

94 The parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī names three astronomers/astrologers at this point (Nawbakht, Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, and ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā) with information about each. If they were originally part of al-Ya‘qūbī’s essay, one might infer that the text of the *Mushākala* has been truncated. Another possibility is that they occurred in al-Ya‘qūbī’s source or were added by a subsequent transmitter between al-Ya‘qūbī and Muḥammad b. ‘Alī.

95 Al-Ya‘qūbī’s language gives the mistaken impression that al-Manṣūr personally translated the books. Al-Mas‘ūdī is more careful: “He was the first caliph for whom books were translated from the Persian language into Arabic.”

96 Originally an Indian (Sanskrit) mirror for princes in the form of an extended series of beast-fables, translated from Middle Persian by Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ sometime before 139/756, when al-Manṣūr had him put to death.

97 An Indian astronomical treatise whose Sanskrit title probably ended with the word *Siddhānta* (perfected). Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:92: “Scholars have said that the first of the kings of India under whom they became united was Brahman .... He was the first person who discoursed about the stars. From him was derived knowledge of them and the first book,

the books of Aristotle were translated, and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, the book of Euclid, the book *Arithmetic*,<sup>98</sup> and the rest of the non-Arabic books on the stars, computation, medicine, philosophy, and other things, and people examined them. In his days, also, Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār set down the books of the *Maghāzī*;<sup>99</sup> they had not been collected or well known before that. He was the first caliph who built a city and settled in it: the city of Baghdad. A horoscope was cast for him about the time to commence building it, and he was told that no caliph would ever die there. Abū Jaʿfar interested himself in scholarship and transmitted *ḥadīth*. In his days, the sciences that people studied and the traditions they transmitted became numerous. He was the first caliph who appointed his clients (*mawālī*) and slaves (*ghilmān*) as officials and advanced them over the Arabs. After his death, the caliphs who were his descendants followed his example.

Al-Mahdī<sup>100</sup> was generous, munificent, noble, and open-handed with money; and the people in his time followed his example. People in the days of al-Mahdī lived in ample circumstances.<sup>101</sup> Whenever he rode out, bags of coins were carried with him; anyone who asked him for a boon received it from his own hand, and the people imitated him. His objective was to kill the Manichaeans,<sup>102</sup> because they had become numerous. Among the things that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ had translated were books by the dualist Mānī, by the dualist

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which the Indians call the *Sindhind*, which means ‘Eon of Eons.’” See the article by D. Pingree in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sindhind*.

- 98 Arabic *Arithmāṭiqī* (transliterating the Greek title), a treatise by the mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa, whose book is summarized in al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:140–143, where he is mistakenly identified as Nicomachus the father of Aristotle.
- 99 *Maghāzī* is the usual term for the Prophet’s military expeditions and raids from Medina. Since the work of Muḥammad b. Ishāq included the Prophet’s earlier life in Mecca, the word may here have a broader connotation. (See the article by M. Hinds in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Maghāzī*.) The parallel in al-Masʿūdī mentions the three sections of Ibn Ishāq’s work explicitly: “In his days, Muḥammad b. Ishāq set down the books of the *Maghāzī*, the *Sīyar* (“ways of acting”), and Reports of the Inception (of the Prophet’s mission).”
- 100 Al-Manṣūr’s son, the third ‘Abbāsīd caliph, who ruled from 158/775 to 169/785. See the article by H. Kennedy in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mahdī.
- 101 Arabic *ittasa’a l-nās ... fī maʿyishihim*. The parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 5:212 (§ 2447) reads *fa-ttasa’ū fī masāʾihim*, “and so they were expansive in their (good, charitable) efforts,” which better fits the context.
- 102 Arabic *zanādiqa* (pl. of *zindīq*), the usual designation for Manichaeans, followers of the religion founded by Mānī (b. 216 CE, put to death c. 274) although it could designate various other sects considered heretical. See the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zindīq*.

Ibn Dayṣān,<sup>103</sup> and by others, and there were the works of Ibn Abī l-ʿAwjāʾ,<sup>104</sup> Ḥammād ʿAjrād,<sup>105</sup> Yaḥyā b. Ziyād,<sup>106</sup> and Muṭīʿ b. Iyās,<sup>107</sup> whereby they had filled the earth with books by heretics. The Manichaeans became numerous and their books spread among the people. He was the first caliph who commanded the theologians to compose books against the heretics. He rebuilt the Sacred Mosque as it is to this day, and he rebuilt the Mosque of the Messenger of God—God’s blessings and peace be upon him—which had been destroyed by earthquakes.<sup>108</sup>

Then came Mūsā b. al-Mahdī.<sup>109</sup> He was a tyrant. He was the first caliph before whom men marched with drawn swords, halberds, and strung bows. His governors imitated him and followed in his ways.

Then came Hārūn al-Rashīd b. al-Mahdī.<sup>110</sup> He was constant in performing the pilgrimage, conducting military campaigns,<sup>111</sup> and building cisterns and

103 Better known by the Syriac version of his name, Bar Dīṣān, or its Greek version, Bardesanes, he was active in Edessa and died in 201 CE. His extant works display a syncretistic religion that fuses Christian and dualistic elements. See the article by Patricia Crone in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Dayṣānīs.

104 Correcting the printed text, which has Ibn Abī l-ʿArjāʾ. Ibn Abī l-ʿAwjāʾ, a member of a prominent family, lived at Basra and later at Kufa, where he was put to death in 155/772. Muslim historians depict him as “a man of dangerous heterodoxy, who, on his own admission, invented numerous traditions, falsified the calendar and spread Manichaean propaganda by means of insidious questions relating to the problem of suffering and of divine justice, and who was a believer in the eternity of the world and in metempsychosis.” (G. Vajda in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Abī l-ʿAwdjāʾ.)

105 Ḥammād ʿAjrād (d. c. 161/777–778), was a poet known for his satires and libertine verses, but he was also accused of religious heterodoxy (*zandaqa*). See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥammād ʿAdjrad.

106 Yaḥyā b. Ziyād was a poet and member of the same circle as Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, who wrote an elegy for him as “his companion in debauchery” (thus Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muṭīʿ b. Iyās).

107 Muṭīʿ b. Iyās (d. 169/785 at Basra) was a poet and member of a circle whose libertine manner of living eventually attracted charges of religious heterodoxy. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muṭīʿ b. Iyās.

108 The parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 5:212 (§ 3447) differs in one detail: “He began to rebuild the Sacred Mosque and the Mosque of the Messenger of God—God’s blessings and peace be upon him—as the two are to this day, and he rebuilt Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), which had been destroyed by earthquakes.”

109 The fourth ʿAbbāsīd caliph, Mūsā al-Hādī, ruled from 169/785 until his sudden death in 170/786. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Hādī Ilaʾ l-ḥakḥ.

110 The fifth ʿAbbāsīd caliph, Hārūn al-Rashīd, ruled from 170/786 until 193/809. See the article by F. Omar in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hārūn al-Rashīd.

111 Arabic *ghazw*, conducting military expeditions into “infidel” (that is, Byzantine) territory.

forts on the road to Mecca and Medina and in Mecca, Medina, Minā, and 'Arafāt.<sup>112</sup> He built eight forts like those at Ṭarsūs and elsewhere, and built housing for troops stationed on the frontiers. His family, governors, companions, and secretaries imitated him; there remained no one who did not build a house in Mecca, a house in Medina, and a house in Ṭarsūs, to imitate him and do as he had done. The ones who did this the most and left the finest legacy were his wife, Umm Ja'far bt. Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr, followed by his viziers the Barmakids, and others of his clients, officials,<sup>113</sup> and secretaries. Moreover, al-Rashīd was the first caliph to play at polo and bowls and to shoot arrows in the game called *birjās*,<sup>114</sup> and he promoted people skillful at these things. He was the first caliph to play chess and backgammon; he promoted players and granted them pensions. He was the first caliph of the Banū Hāshim who acquired singing girls.<sup>115</sup> People one and all imitated him and followed his path. His viziers were from the Barmakid family.<sup>116</sup> Yaḥyā b. Khālīd<sup>117</sup> loved philosophy, theology, and speculation. There were many theologians in his days; they argued, debated, and wrote books. Among them were Hishām b. al-Ḥakam,<sup>118</sup> Ḍirār b. 'Amr,<sup>119</sup> and

112 The road to Mecca and Medina is the famous Darb Zubayda (Zubayda's Highway, named for al-Rashīd's wife Umm Ja'far Zubayda bt. Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr). It ran from Kufa to Mecca, with a branch to Medina. See the article by Saad A. al-Rashid and M. J. L. Young in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Darb Zubayda.

113 Arabic *quwwād*, pl. of *qā'id*; in modern usage generally restricted to military leaders, but in earlier usage more general. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:417, s.v.

114 A version of this game of skill or military exercise, documented from the time of al-Mu'taḍid (r. 279/892 to 289/902), involved a contestant on horseback having to get his lance-point through a metal ring fixed to the top of a wooden column, thereby demonstrating his skill at controlling his horse and aiming his weapon. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Istī'rāq*/'Arḍ.

115 The piety of the Hāshimites as close kin of the Prophet was often contrasted with the dissoluteness of the Umayyads (al-Ya'qūbī has already mentioned music or singing girls in connection with the Umayyad caliphs Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, and al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik). Therefore, the development of a hedonistic culture at the 'Abbāsīd court was in a way unexpected.

116 On this family of Iranian origin that produced a series of secretaries and viziers for the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs, see the article by Kevin van Bladel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids.

117 Yaḥyā b. Khālīd b. Barmak was al-Rashīd's vizier from 170/786 to 187/803.

118 A Shi'ī theologian (d. 179/795–796) associated with the imams Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzim, and later with a circle of theologians who held disputations in the presence of Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī. See the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

119 A prolific Mu'tazilī theologian (d. c. 200/815) who took part in the debates organized by Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī. See the article by J. van Ess in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḍirār b. 'Amr.

Mu‘ammar b. ‘Umar.<sup>120</sup> He also delved into books of alchemy.<sup>121</sup> The Barmakids were generous, noble, bountiful, and beneficent. Their officials and people one and all imitated them, so much so that the days of al-Rashīd, due to the multitude of benefactors then living, used to be called “wedding-party days.” The deeds of the Barmakids are famous and renowned, but there was no one in al-Rashīd’s entourage who was not a benefactor, either by nature or by imitation. Al-Rashīd was the first caliph to write in the headings of letters: “And I pray that He will bless Muḥammad, His servant and messenger—God’s blessings and peace be upon him.” The caliphs after him followed his example. He was the first caliph to wear the tall Ruṣāfī cap.<sup>122</sup> He was the first caliph who wrote in white on the black banners, “There is no god but God, Muḥammad is the messenger of God.”<sup>123</sup>

As for Umm Ja‘far bt. Ja‘far b. al-Manṣūr, she was always trying to outdo al-Rashīd in everything, be it serious or frivolous.<sup>124</sup> As for the serious, there were the beautiful monuments that had no equal in the realms of Islam. She excavated the spring at ‘Ayn al-Mushāsh and channeled its water twelve Arab miles to Mecca, spending 1,700,000 dinars on it. Then she constructed cisterns, fountains, and places for ablutions around the Sacred Mosque. She built hostels and cisterns at Minā, fountains at ‘Arafāt, and dug wells at Minā on the road from Mecca. For the upkeep of these things, she designated as charitable endowments (*waqf*) in perpetuity estates with an annual revenue of 30,000 dinars. She built hostels in the frontier districts and established hospitals, and she designated as endowments in perpetuity for the frontiers, the poor, and the destitute estates with a revenue of 100,000 dinars. As for the things whereby

120 Thus in the printed text, but probably a mistake for the well-known Mu‘tazili theologian Mu‘ammar b. ‘Abbād (d. 215/830) also associated with the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. See the article by H. Daiber in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mu‘ammar b. ‘Abbād.

121 Arabic *al-kīmīyā*’ (the ultimate source of the English word “alchemy”). See the article by Regula Forster in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Alchemy.

122 Arabic *al-qalansuwa al-ṭawīla al-ruṣāfiyya*, named for the al-Ruṣāfa quarter of Baghdad on the east bank of the Tigris, a military center and the location of al-Mahdī’s great palace. On the *qalansuwa* headgear, see the article by W. Björkman in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qalansuwa*. On al-Ruṣāfa, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ruṣāfa.

123 The banners of the ‘Abbāsids since the beginning of their revolution were black. This seems to imply that the banners originally had no writing on them and that the addition of this motto was an innovation.

124 Parallel, often more elaborately worded, to this section on al-Rashīd’s wife in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:213 (§ 3450).



kings seek ease and pleasure, she was the first person in Islam to have utensils of gold and silver inlaid with jewels made. She wore such fine variegated silk<sup>125</sup> that a single dress made for her cost 50,000 dinars. She was the first to employ a private bodyguard (*shākiriyya*) consisting of mounted servants and slave-girls, who would come and go on her errands, carrying her messages and letters.<sup>126</sup> She was the first to have palanquins made from silver, ebony, and sandalwood, their top and fastenings being of gold and silver, lined with variegated silk (*washy*), sable, brocade, cloth of silk and wool (*khazz*), cloth of silk and cotton (*mulḥam*), and cloth of the sort called *dabīqī*.<sup>127</sup> She was the first who had gowns made with pearls interspersed with jewels, as well as ambergris candles. The people imitated Umm Jaʿfar in all her works.

Then came Muḥammad al-Amīn.<sup>128</sup> He was the son of al-Rashīd, and his mother was Umm Jaʿfar. He promoted eunuchs,<sup>129</sup> favoring them and elevating their estates. When Umm Jaʿfar saw his weakness for eunuchs, she obtained some slender, fair-faced slave girls, cut their hair into bangs and short at the temples and the back of the neck, dressed them in sleeved tunics and waistbands—she was the first to do this—sent them to him, and put them on display to the people. As a result, courtiers and ordinary folk acquired slave girls, cut their hair short, dressed them in sleeved tunics and waistbands, and called them “page girls” (*ghulāmiyyāt*). Muḥammad’s days, until he was killed, were short.

Then came al-Maʿmūn as Commander of the Faithful, the son of al-Rashīd.<sup>130</sup> At the beginning of his caliphate, under the influence of al-Faḍl

125 Arabic *washy*, which can refer either to variegated silk or to cloth of gold.

126 On such private bodyguards and militias see the article by Khalīl ʿAthāmina in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shākiriyya*.

127 That is, cloths of the sort for which the Egyptian town of Dabīq, near Damietta, was famous. The city specialized in the manufacture of fine textiles embossed with gold, as well as multicolored linen. See the article in by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dabīq*.

128 The sixth ʿAbbāsīd caliph, ruled from 193/809 to 198/813, when he was overthrown by his brother al-Maʿmūn in a civil war. See the article by Michael Cooperson in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Amīn, Muḥammad.

129 The word for eunuchs used here is *khadam*, which can also mean servants. The parallel in al-Masʿūdī refers specifically to the favor granted to Kawthar, who was almost certainly a eunuch. For an obscene poem implying that al-Amīn had sexual relations with Kawthar, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:804–805 (trans. M. Fishbein, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxi, 58–59). In any case, the remainder of the paragraph leaves little doubt about what is implied.

130 ʿAbdallāh b. Hārūn, surnamed al-Maʿmūn, the seventh ʿAbbāsīd caliph, ruled from 196/812

[b. Sahl],<sup>131</sup> he occupied himself with astrology, emulated the ways of the kings of the Persians, and was fond of reading ancient books. But when he arrived in Iraq, he put these things aside and professed the doctrines of Justice and Monotheism.<sup>132</sup> He associated with theologians, jurists, and literary men, brought them from the provinces, and granted them subsidies. There were many theologians in his days, and each wrote a book to defend his own doctrine and refute his opponents. He was the most generous of men in granting pardon, the most able of them, the most liberal with wealth, and the most lavish with gifts. As for his clemency, he pardoned Ibrāhīm [b.] al-Mahdī, who, after having been his governor of Basra, cast off his allegiance, claimed the caliphate for himself, styled himself Commander of the Faithful, and made war on al-Ma'mūn's supporters.<sup>133</sup> He pardoned al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, the person who had induced Muḥammad [al-Amīn] to remove al-Ma'mūn as heir apparent and had sent armies to fight him; al-Ma'mūn subsequently guaranteed his safety, but he became disloyal and called on the people to swear allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.<sup>134</sup> He pardoned Ismāʿīl b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān, who had cast off his obedience and had said the most scurrilous things about him.<sup>135</sup> He par-

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(when he was proclaimed caliph by his supporters during the lifetime of his brother, al-Amīn, whom he overthrew in a civil war) to 218/833. See the article by M. Rekaya in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ma'mūn. Parallel, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:214 (§ 3453).

- 131 Al-Faḍl b. Sahl, al-Ma'mūn's tutor and trusted advisor, was instrumental in his rise to power. When al-Ma'mūn became caliph, al-Faḍl became both vizier and military commander (hence his title *Dhū l-Ri'āsatayn*, "the Man with Two Commands"). He continued to exercise authority until his assassination in 202/818. See the article by Hayrettin Yücesoy in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Faḍl b. Sahl.
- 132 Arabic *al-'adl wa l-tawḥīd*, shorthand for the main Mu'tazilī doctrines.
- 133 In 202/817, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī was involved in an abortive revolt sparked by opposition to al-Ma'mūn's naming of 'Alī al-Riḍā as his heir. The revolt was effectively quashed by 204/819. In fact, Ibrāhīm spent several years in hiding, was imprisoned after being discovered, and was pardoned only in 210/825–826, whereupon he returned to Baghdad and devoted himself to poetry and music. See the article by D. Sourdél in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.
- 134 As vizier to al-Amīn, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ was responsible for al-Amīn's decision to deprive his brother al-Ma'mūn of the succession rights specified in al-Rashīd's testament and proclaim his own son heir apparent. After al-Amīn was defeated in the civil war, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ went into hiding, but emerged to support the abortive revolt of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. He was later granted pardon. See the article by D. Sourdél in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ.
- 135 Ismāʿīl b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān, al-Ma'mūn's governor of Basra, refused to accept the naming

doned Nuʿaym b. Ḥāzim, who had kept fighting him for a number of years.<sup>136</sup> He pardoned ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. [Abī] Khālīd, who had broken his oath of allegiance time after time and had fought al-Maʾmūn's supporters and had killed the latter's chief of police.<sup>137</sup> He pardoned the "volunteer" Sahl b. Salāma, who wore wool, hung a copy of the Qurʾān around his neck, and commanded people to depose al-Maʾmūn and that no one should grant him obedience.<sup>138</sup> He pardoned the Khārijite Maḥdī b. ʿAlwān, who styled himself Commander of the Faithful, fought against al-Maʾmūn's supporters, and whom al-Maʾmūn captured without any pledge or promise of safety.<sup>139</sup> He pardoned the poet Dīʿbil, who had composed the most scurrilous sort of satire against him.<sup>140</sup> He pardoned ʿUbayd[allāh] b. al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam, who had taken control of Egypt and continued fighting for a number of years.<sup>141</sup> He pardoned the ʿAlid Muḥam-

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of ʿAlī al-Riḍā as heir apparent in 201/817 and called for the deposition of al-Maʾmūn. He was later pardoned. See the account in al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫh*, 2:545.

- 136 Nuʿaym b. Ḥāzim was another dignitary who refused to accept al-Maʾmūn's naming of ʿAlī al-Riḍā. Al-Maʾmūn then sent him to fight against Ibrāhīm b. al-Maḥdī, but Nuʿaym went over to the latter's side. He was later pardoned. See Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography: The Heirs of the Prophets in the Age of Al-Maʾmūn*, 193–194.
- 137 On the part played by ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd in the revolt of Ibrāhīm b. al-Maḥdī and his later service to al-Maʾmūn, see al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫh*, 2:547–548, 564.
- 138 Arabic, Sahl b. Salāma *al-Muṭṭawwiʿ*. The epithet is derived from Qurʾān 2:158, 184: "And whoso volunteers good (*man taṭawwaʿa khayran*), God is All-grateful, All-knowing." And, "Yet better it is for him who volunteers good (*man taṭawwaʿa khayran*) ..." In 201/817, Sahl b. Salāma al-Anṣārī led a popular pietistic movement in the al-Ḥarbiyya quarter of Baghdad that challenged the government's authority. See the account in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:1008–1012, 1023–1025, 1034, 1035–1036 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 55–60, 75–78, 90, 92); also the article by Wilferd Madelung, "The Vigilante Movement of Sahl b. Salāma al-Khurāsānī and the Origins of Ḥanbalism Reconsidered."
- 139 On the revolt of Maḥdī b. ʿAlwān in 202/817–818 or 203/819, see al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫh*, 2:548; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:1016–1017.
- 140 On the poet Dīʿbil (a *nom de plume* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Khuzāʿī), who lived from 148/765 to 246/860, see the article by L. Zolondek in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dīʿbil. One of Dīʿbil's satires of al-Maʾmūn is cited at al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:1155–1156 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 248–249).
- 141 ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam had been commander of the guard (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) in Egypt since 205/820–821, but declared himself governor in 206/822, resisting al-Maʾmūn's attempts to replace him. In 210/825–826, al-Maʾmūn sent ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhīr with an army to dislodge him. Although there was fighting, ʿUbaydallāh was treated very leniently afterward. See al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫh*, 2:560–561; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:1086–1087, 1091, 1096–1098 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 159–160, 164, 171–173).

mad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad, who had rebelled in Mecca and had styled himself Commander of the Faithful.<sup>142</sup> He pardoned Zayd b. Mūsā b. Ja'far, who had rebelled at Basra and had renounced allegiance to al-Ma'mūn.<sup>143</sup> He pardoned the 'Alid Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad, who had rebelled in Yemen and had fought against al-Julūdī.<sup>144</sup> He pardoned all who had usurped authority.<sup>145</sup> Rabāḥ b. Abī Ramtha, who had taken control in Diyār Rabī'a; al-'Abbās b. Zufar al-Hilālī, who had taken control at Qūrus in the military district of Qinnasrīn; Naṣr b. Shabath<sup>146</sup> al-'Uqaylī, who had taken control in Diyār Muḍar, despite his having fought for a long time; 'Uthmān b. Thumāma al-'Absī, who had rebelled against him in the Ḥijāz; al-Ḥawārī b. Ḥiṭṭān al-Tanūkhī, who rebelled in Ḥāḍir Tanūkh;<sup>147</sup> and others whom it would take too long to mention in this book. He once said, "Pardoning has been made so attractive to me that I do not think I shall be rewarded for it."

As for his generosity and open-handedness: On a single day he ordered that 1,500,000 dinars should be given to three individuals—500,000 dinars to each. Once, when money ran short in the treasury, he assembled his companions and said: "The money has run short, and that has harmed us and our friends. Go and get us a loan from the merchants in the amount of 10 million dirhams until the revenues come in and we repay." But Ghassān b. 'Abbād<sup>148</sup> stood up, recounted the favors al-Ma'mūn had bestowed on him, and offered 30 million dirhams, saying, "I have them on hand." Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī<sup>149</sup> said the same, and each of his companions present at the gathering stood up

142 This revolt, which took place in 200/815, receives a short notice in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:540, 544; to which one can add the longer account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:989–994 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 30–37).

143 On the revolt of this 'Alid, surnamed Zayd al-Nār ("Zayd of the Fire" due to the large number of houses of 'Abbāsids and their supporters he ordered to be burnt down) in 200/815–816, see al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:500, 540, 546; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:986–987 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 26–27).

144 On this revolt, which took place in 200/815–816, see al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:544–546; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:987–988 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 28–29). 'Isā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī was one of al-Ma'mūn's military commanders.

145 The following list should be compared to al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:539–541.

146 MS Shabīb, corrected on the basis of the form found elsewhere: e.g., al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:541, and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:975 and *passim*.

147 *Ḥāḍir Tanūkh* means "the settlements of (the tribe) Tanūkh"; according to al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:541 (where the name appears as Ḥanṭān), the area was near Aleppo.

148 Subsequently governor of Khurāsān and then of Sind. More about his generosity will be mentioned shortly by al-Ya'qūbī.

149 The general who was largely responsible for the defeat of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; more about

and offered what he had, until what they offered him amounted to 156 million dirhams. He accepted nothing from any of them and rewarded them well. Once the revenues were late. When news arrived that the land-tax revenues from Fārs<sup>150</sup> had arrived, he rode out to look at it and then distributed all of it, so that there remained only enough to pay the army, and he commanded al-Mu‘allā b. Ayyūb to take charge of it.<sup>151</sup>

Al-Ma‘mūn’s companions, ministers, secretaries, and officials imitated<sup>152</sup> his actions, walked in his ways, and followed his path. Among them was al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.<sup>153</sup> He was the noblest, the most generous, and the most benevolent of men, the most comely of them in the face of misfortune and affliction,<sup>154</sup> and the most patient in giving everyone what he asked. Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī was generous, open-handed, and beneficent. He set aside estates with a yearly revenue of 100,000 dinars as charitable trusts (*waqf*) for the benefit of those belonging to noble families<sup>155</sup> and relatives of powerful people.<sup>156</sup> He would turn no one away. Ghassān b. ‘Abbād was open-handed: on a single day he distributed 13 million dirhams. Whenever anyone asked him to speak to al-Ma‘mūn about some need, he gave it to him from his own funds and spoke to al-Ma‘mūn. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir was a person of great manliness, patience, and courtesy.<sup>157</sup> On a single day he commanded that three of his compan-

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his generosity will be mentioned shortly by al-Ya‘qūbī. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd.

150 The major province of southeastern Iran.

151 The incident is narrated at greater length in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1143–1144 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 234–236), where al-Mu‘allā b. Ayyūb appears as the official in charge of distributing pay to the army.

152 Reading with ed. Cairo, *yataqayyalūn*, rather than ed. Beirut, *yataqabbalūn* (accepted); the words differ by only one diacritical dot.

153 The brother of the vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl, he served al-Ma‘mūn as secretary and governor in Iraq. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.

154 Arabic *ajmalahum li-nā’ibatin wa-fādiḥah*. Although the sense is ambiguous, this may refer to al-Ḥasan’s reaction to the assassination of his brother in 202/818, or it may simply refer to his readiness to relieve the misfortunes and afflictions of others.

155 Arabic *ahl al-buyūtāt*: “originally denoted those that belong to Persian families of the highest nobility (Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 71), then, the nobles in general” (*ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.).

156 Arabic *dhawī l-aqdār*. For *aqdār* as “powerful people,” see Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:321.

157 On the career of this general, who served al-Ma‘mūn in Iraq, Egypt, and Khurāsān, where he ended his days (d. 230/844) as a virtually independent ruler, see the article by C. Edmond Bosworth in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

ions should be given 300,000 dinars—100,000 dinars apiece—and that three persons should be given 150,000–50,000 dinars apiece. ‘Alī b. Hishām was the most generous and manly of people; whenever he traveled, his kitchen would be loaded onto 700 camels.<sup>158</sup> Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, his secretary, was a person of great manliness.<sup>159</sup> The people in general were of praiseworthy character. Once, when the troops rioted in Baghdad and raised an uproar because their pay was late, Faraj al-Rukhkhajī went out to them and guaranteed them a year’s wages, which he paid them from his own money.<sup>160</sup>

Al-Ma’mūn was the first caliph who wrote the words “In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate” in the directions or addresses of his letters.<sup>161</sup> He was the first caliph who assigned an Inspection Bureau to the army.<sup>162</sup> He was the first caliph who dated his letters with the name of his secretary; previously they had been dated only with the name of the clerk who wrote them (*muḥarrir*). These formalities<sup>163</sup> remained in use.

Then came al-Mu’taṣim, who was Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd.<sup>164</sup> He followed the path of al-Ma’mūn in religious doctrine. His dominant interests

158 ‘Alī b. Hishām al-Marwazī was a prominent Khurāsānian entrusted with the governorship of Baghdad by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, and later with the governorship of al-Jibāl by al-Ma’mūn. He was executed in 217/832. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:998, 1107–1109 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 42, 192–194).

159 He was al-Ma’mūn’s private secretary. See the article by D. Sourdél in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf.

160 Faraj al-Rukhkhajī, a *mawlā* originally from Sīstān, is reported as heading an army sent by al-Ma’mūn to Egypt (al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:556) and also served as overseer of the caliphal private domains. See the references cited by C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 107n.

161 Arabic *‘unwānāt* (pl. of *‘unwān*): the introductory portion of the letter, containing the designation of the sender and the addressee, each of whom received increasingly elaborate honorific formulas under the ‘Abbāsids. See the article by W. Björkman in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Diplomatic.

162 Reading with the ms and ed. Cairo, *dīwān al-‘arḍ*, rather than the emendation proposed by Millward, *dīwān al-farḍ* (paymaster’s department). On this bureau, concerned with reviewing, inspecting, and classifying troops, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Isti’rāḍ*/‘Arḍ.

163 Reading with ed. Cairo, *al-rusūm*, instead of Millward’s *al-rumūz* (signs, symbols).

164 The eighth ‘Abbāsid caliph, Muḥammad b. Hārūn, whose full regnal name al-Mu’taṣim Bi ‘llāh (He Who Holds Fast to God) recalls the language of Qur’ān 4:146 and 22:78, ruled from 218/833 to 227/842. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mu’taṣim Bi ‘llāh.

were horsemanship and imitating the Persians. He wore garments with narrow sleeves, and so the people narrowed the sleeves of their garments. He wore large boots and square caps; he was the first to wear such a cap, and people began wearing them in imitation of him.<sup>165</sup> They were named after him: people would say “a Mu‘taṣimī cap.” He was the first caliph who rode on uncovered saddles<sup>166</sup> and used Persian utensils, and the people imitated him. In his time there was no one among his viziers, officials, and secretaries who was characterized by generosity, open-handedness, or benevolence except al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, despite his limited circumstances,<sup>167</sup> and Ibn Abī Du‘ād;<sup>168</sup> the latter was a man of great merit and courtesy. Ibn Abī Du‘ād had the greatest influence over his affairs and was favored by him.

Then came Hārūn al-Wāthiq, the son of al-Mu‘taṣim.<sup>169</sup> His path in religion and in the doctrine of God’s justice was the same as that of his father, al-Mu‘taṣim, and of his uncle, al-Ma‘mūn. He made this clearly apparent, tested people for it, punished those who disagreed with him, and imprisoned those who showed recalcitrance in the matter. He wrote to the judges near and far that they should test such persons as had been previously certified as of good character and not accept the testimony of anyone who did not adhere to his doctrine.<sup>170</sup> This doctrine became dominant among the people and by means

165 Arabic *al-shāsh al-murabba’a* and *shāshīyya murabba’a*. Similar language occurs in the parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:214 (§ 3454), where al-Mu‘taṣim is said to have worn *al-qalānis wa-l-shāshīyyāt* (*qalansuwas*, tall hats already mentioned above, and *shāshīyyas*). The latter are a bit mysterious, but the word appears to refer to a style of cap. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:802. Millward translated “scarf” (p. 342), but this seems less likely.

166 Arabic *al-surūj al-makshūfa*: the meaning is unclear. One might conjecture that they were unpadded saddles. On al-Mu‘taṣim’s love of polo, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:326–327 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 212–213).

167 This may allude to the fact that al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who has already been mentioned as active during the reign of al-Ma‘mūn, retreated from public life after the assassination of his brother, al-Faḍl b. Sahl, and held no office under al-Mu‘taṣim, although he lived until 236/850–851. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.

168 Aḥmad b. Abī Du‘ād began his career at the court of al-Ma‘mūn, and, recommended by the latter, was made chief *qāḍī* after al-Mu‘taṣim’s succession to the caliphate. As such, he was instrumental in enforcing adherence to the Mu‘tazilī doctrines favored by al-Ma‘mūn and al-Mu‘taṣim. See the article by John P. Turner in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Aḥmad b. Abī Du‘ād.

169 Abū Ja‘far Hārūn b. al-Mu‘taṣim, who took the regnal name of al-Wāthiq Bi ‘llāh (He Who Trusts in God), was the ninth ‘Abbāsīd caliph. He ruled from 227/842 to 232/847. See the article by K. V. Zetterstéen, C. E. Bosworth, and E. van Donzel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Wāthiq Bi ‘llāh. Parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:214 (§ 3455).

170 “Such persons as had been previously certified as of good character” translates a single

of it they sought favor with Ibn Abī Duʿād and the judges. During his time there was no one to whom entreaty was made except Ibn Abī Duʿād. Al-Wāthiq was a heavy eater with a great capacity for food, abundant in almsgiving, and seeking the good of the members of his family in every land.<sup>171</sup>

Then came Jaʿfar b. al-Muʿtaṣim al-Mutawakkil.<sup>172</sup> He rescinded the doctrines to which al-Wāthiq had adhered and publicly professed the doctrine of the Sunna and the Community.<sup>173</sup> He released anyone who had been imprisoned for not affirming that the Qurʾān had been created.<sup>174</sup> He forbade disputation, and he commanded all the scholars of *ḥadīth* whom he had released to resume transmitting *ḥadīth*. The people therefore abandoned that doctrine; those who had been upholding it repudiated it, and disputation and debate disappeared.<sup>175</sup> Among the things he innovated was the building of impoundments<sup>176</sup> and gated porticos, and so the people in Samarra all built in this way.

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Arabic term, *al-ʿudūl*, literally, “just persons” or “persons of good morals.” Testimony could be accepted only from persons vouched to have good morals, but such persons also performed a variety of other court functions. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Adl.

171 Arabic *kathīr al-akl wāsiʿ al-ṭaʿām* (much of eating, capacious of food). One parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 5:214 (§ 3455) substitutes *wāsiʿ al-ʿaṭāʾ* (idiomatic for “liberal of giving”) for the last part of the phrase; another parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 4:364 (§ 2832) is slightly longer: Al-Wāthiq was *kathīr al-akl wa l-shurb, wāsiʿ al-maʿrūf, mutaʿaṭṭifan ʿalā ahl baytihi, mutafaqqidan li-raʿyyatihi* (much of eating and drinking, capacious/wide of beneficence, attached to the members of his family, seeking the good of his subjects).

172 The tenth ʿAbbāsid caliph, he was the brother of al-Wāthiq and took the regnal name al-Mutawakkil ʿAlā ʾllāh (He Who Puts His Trust in God). He ruled from 232/847 until his assassination in 247/861. See the article by H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mutawakkil ʿAlā ʾllāh.

173 Arabic *al-qawl bi-l-sunna wa l-jamāʿa*: a way of referring to the emerging self-definition of Sunni orthodoxy, based on the Prophet’s Sunna (as transmitted through *ḥadīth*), as opposed to the Muʿtazilī doctrines based on philosophical premises, and on the consensus of the community regarding Muḥammad’s successors (as opposed to Shiʿī doctrines about the necessary location of the imamate in Muḥammad’s closest family members).

174 A favorite doctrine of the Muʿtazilī school, used as a litmus test during the Miḥna (on which see the article by M. Hinds in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Miḥna).

175 Parallel up to here in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 5:214 (§ 3456); the remainder of the paragraph has parallels in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 5:5–6 (§ 2873–2875).

176 Arabic *ḥubūs* (pl. of *ḥabs*). The usual meaning, “prisons,” does not fit the context. Meanings connected with canals and other waterworks can be found in Freytag’s *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* and in Kazimirski’s *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*. This appears to be a reference to the canal-building projects undertaken by al-Mutawakkil in connection with the building of his new administrative center a few miles north of Samarra to be called al-Jaʿfariyya; see al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 266, for a description of them.



He preferred wearing garments of *mulḥam*<sup>177</sup> over all other garments, and so that was his clothing and the clothing of everyone great and small in his residence. The price of *mulḥam* rose in his time because of its quality. His days were good, cheerful, and prosperous. However, he was the first caliph to display frivolity and to give free rein to levity and joking in his presence, along with things we have omitted to mention. These things spread among the people; they became accustomed to them and followed his lead. Al-Mutawakkil was not someone who could be described as benevolent or generous. The person with the greatest influence over him and who most enjoyed his favor was al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān;<sup>178</sup> he was a man whose beneficence was not to be expected, but from whom no evil needed to be feared. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān was his vizier; he was a seeker of safety, possessing manly virtue (*murū’a*) with regard to himself, but having no beneficence toward anyone, though people feared no evil from him. He used to be attacked by people’s saying that he had no truth. Aḥmad b. Isrā’īl<sup>179</sup> used to say, “We learned lying from him.”

Then came Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir,<sup>180</sup> the son of al-Mutawakkil. His days were not long enough for his ways to become known, other than the fact that he was stingy. Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb was his secretary and vizier; he was a man of little good, much evil, and intense ignorance.<sup>181</sup>

Then came al-Musta’in, who was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu’taṣim.<sup>182</sup> He was the first caliph to widen the sleeves of garments, making them three spans and the like. He made the *qalansuwa* headgear smaller and shortened

177 *Mulḥam* cloth was “a fabric with a silk warp and a woof of some other stuff” (Y. K. Stillman in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Libās).

178 On his career, see the article by Matthew S. Gordon in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Faṭḥ b. Khāqān.

179 Secretary and later vizier to al-Mutawakkil’s son al-Mu’tazz (al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:595, 616, 617).

180 Al-Muntaṣir came to power by engineering his father’s assassination before the latter could change the succession to bypass him. He ruled for only six months in 247/861 and 248/862, before dying of natural causes, although some reports (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1496–1497) suggest that his demise was speeded by poisoning. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muntaṣir.

181 Known as Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb al-Jarjārī. On his career, see the article by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djardjārī. The noncommittal, if not downright negative assessment of al-Muntaṣir given here should be compared with the laudatory description of his character in al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:50–51 (§ 2992), where al-Muntaṣir’s excellence is contrasted with the “little good, much evil, and intense ignorance” of his vizier.

182 On the reign of this caliph, who was installed by the Turkish commanders in Samarra after the death of al-Muntaṣir in 248/862 and who abdicated amidst civil war in 251/866, see the article by K. V. Zetterstéen and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Musta’in.

it.<sup>183</sup> No manner of acting of his in which the people followed him is known, nor any character traits in which people imitated him. He was distracted from everything else by the attempts to disobey and depose him.

Al-Mu'tazz, who was Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-Mutawakkil, was the first caliph who rode out with gold ornaments; the caliphs used to ride out with light ornaments of silver on their belts, swords, saddles, and reins.<sup>184</sup> When al-Mu'tazz rode out with gold ornaments, the people followed his example. No particularly praiseworthy or blameworthy character traits of his are known.

Then al-Muhtadī, who was Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq, came to power.<sup>185</sup> He hewed to a moderate path in religion.<sup>186</sup> He presided over the *maẓālim* courts, signed documents in his own hand, and gave precedence to people of learning.<sup>187</sup> He used to say: "O Banū Hāshim, let me walk in the ways of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, that I may be among you as he was among the Banū Umayya."<sup>188</sup> He reduced the wardrobe and furniture. People suspected that he followed his father in professing the doctrine that the Qur'ān was created.<sup>189</sup>

And [then came] al-Mu'tamid, who was Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil.<sup>190</sup> Before he had ruled very long, he lost control of his affairs. He was fond of pleasure and

183 The same detail is mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:90 (§ 3102).

184 On the reign of al-Mu'tazz, raised to power in 252/866 and deposed in 255/869, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mu'tazz Bi 'llāh. The detail on his use of gold ornaments is similarly mentioned in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:90 (§ 3102).

185 Or, "was brought to power"—the Arabic verb can be read as active or passive. He ruled from 255/869 until his murder in 256/870. See the article by K. V. Zetterstéen and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muhtadī.

186 The MS reading (*wa-dhahaba ilā l-qaḍā' fi l-dīn*) "he inclined to judgment in religion" makes little sense. The parallel in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:98 (§ 3130) reads (*dhahaba fi amrihi ilā l-qaṣd wa-l-dīn*) "he inclined in his affairs toward frugality and religion." Al-Mas'ūdī follows with a list of ostentatious practices that he abolished. One can explain *al-qaḍā'* as a miscopying of *al-qaṣd*. The translation assumes that al-Ya'qūbī originally wrote *wa-dhahaba ilā l-qaṣd fi l-dīn*.

187 The *maẓālim* courts were special courts in which petitions and complaints were heard. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:617, also mentions this detail; similarly al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:92 (§ 3111).

188 That is, just as 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was remembered as having been the most pious of the Umayyad caliphs, so al-Muhtadī wished to be remembered among the 'Abbāsids (here referred to as the Banū Hāshim). Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:92 (§ 3111) also cites these words.

189 That is, that he followed his father al-Wāthiq in supporting the Mu'tazilī school of theology that had been repudiated by al-Mutawakkil. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:99–101 (§ 3132–3138), relates an anecdote that would substantiate this claim.

190 Al-Mu'tamid ruled nominally from 256/870 to 279/892, but, as al-Ya'qūbī notes, he soon "lost control of his affairs" and was a mere figurehead, while real power lay in the hands of others. See the article by H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mu'tamid 'Alā 'llāh.

devoted himself to enjoyments. His brother Abū Aḥmad took charge of affairs, eventually depriving him of power and imprisoning him. He was the first caliph who was subdued, confined, and deprived of power.<sup>191</sup>

Then came al-Muʿtaḍid, who was Aḥmad b. Abī Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil. He was an astute, resolute man.<sup>192</sup>

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191 Parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 5:119 (§ 3193). The brother, Abū Aḥmad, took the title of al-Muwaffaq.

192 Al-Muʿtaḍid ruled from 279/892 until his death in 289/902. He was in fact the son of the brother, Abū Aḥmad, who had usurped al-Muʿtamid's authority. Contrast this laconic description of him as "astute and resolute" with the account of his love of cruelty in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj* 5:138 (§ 3245). See the article by H. Kennedy in *Et*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muʿtaḍid Bi 'llāh.

*The Geography*

**Kitāb al-Buldān**





MAP 1

*The Muslim World circa 287/900*

# The Muslim World circa 287/900



## In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful: Lord, Assist [Us]!

Praise be to God, Who opened His Book (the Qurʾān) with (the word) *praise* (*ḥamd*), and Who made praise to be a recompense for His blessings, accepting the invocations of the people for whom He has affection. He is the Creator of the highest heavens and the lowest lands and all that is between them, as well as what is beneath the ground;<sup>1</sup> Who had knowledge of what He created before it existed,<sup>2</sup> and Who designed whatever He brought forth without a pattern external to Himself. He has comprehended each thing in His knowledge, and counted it by number.<sup>3</sup> To Him belong dominion and sovereignty and majesty, and He has power over everything. May God bless Muḥammad the Prophet and his family.



Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb<sup>4</sup> said: When I was in the prime of youth, possessed of an adventurous spirit and a sharp mind, I took an interest in reports about countries and about the distance from one country to another; for I had traveled since childhood, and my travels had continued uninterruptedly and had taken me to distant places. So whenever I met someone from those countries, I asked him about his homeland and its major city;<sup>5</sup> if he told me about the place of his home and where he resided, I questioned him about that country concerning ... his birth<sup>6</sup> ... what its crops and who its inhabitants were, whether Arabs or non-Arabs ... what its people drank. I even asked about their clothing ... their religions and beliefs, and who held power [and leadership] there<sup>7</sup> ... how distant that country was and what countries were near it and ... for riding camels. Then I verified everything he told me with someone I could trust, seeking assistance by questioning men of one nationality after another until I had asked an enormous number of people during the pilgrimage season and at other times,

1 Cf. Qurʾān, 20:6 (and *passim*).

2 Cf. Qurʾān, 67:14.

3 Cf. Qurʾān, 19:94; 72:28.

4 That is, al-Yaʿqūbī, the author of the work.

5 Arabic *miṣr*, which can mean either “major city” or “province.” It has been translated variously here, according to the meaning that best matches the sense in English. See also below, note 10.

6 Thus in the text: *lidatihi* ([*bi*] *ladatihi*?). The text is defective in several places in this section.

7 The text and its exact meaning are not clear here. The editor, de Goeje, suggests *al-ghālibīna ʿalayhi wa l-mutaraʾisīna fīhi*, which parallels the phraseology used later in this section.

from both eastern and western lands. I wrote down their reports and related their stories, and I recounted which of the caliphs and commanders had conquered each country and had garrisoned each province, and the amount of its land tax and what is collected on its revenue and property. | I continued writing down these reports and composing this book over a long period of time. I attached each report to its proper country, and everything I heard from trustworthy inhabitants of the major cities to what I already knew. I realized that no creature could encompass the entirety of it and that no human being could reach the end of it. But even a religious law need not be learned completely, neither is a religion made perfect only by full comprehension. Scholars of the science of religious jurisprudence sometimes say,<sup>8</sup> “A Summary of the Book of Such and Such a Jurist”; similarly, authors who compose literary works, such as books of lexicography, grammar, the Prophet’s military campaigns, historical reports, or biographies, sometimes say, “A Summary of Such and Such a Book.” Thus we have composed this book as a summary of information about the countries; therefore, if someone finds any information about a country we have mentioned not included in our book, this is because we have not intended to include everything. The philosopher<sup>9</sup> once said, “My quest for knowledge is not a desire to cover every detail, however remote, nor to command every last point, but rather to know what it would be wrong to ignore and what no intelligent person would contest.” Thus I have reported the names of the provinces, military districts, and rural districts; what is to be found in each province in the way of cities, regions, and counties;<sup>10</sup> who inhabits it, who holds power there, and who has assumed authority there among the Arab tribes and non-Arab nationalities; the distances from country to country and province to province; which of the leaders of the armies of Islam conquered it and the date of that

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8 That is, they sometimes title a book.

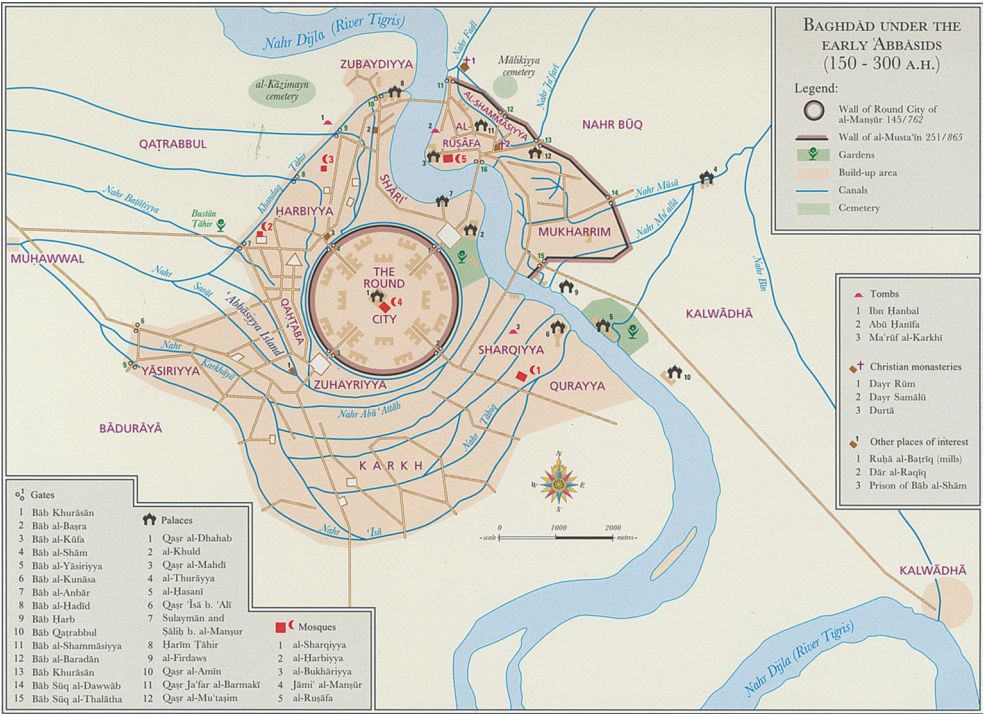
9 Arabic *al-ḥakīm* (the sage). The quotation, with some variants, is attributed to Aristotle by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, s. v. Aristūṭālīs; it also appears in al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:3.

10 Arabic administrative terminology is not always clear and could be translated in various ways. In this sentence and elsewhere, al-Ya‘qūbī seems to have his own specialized vocabulary in this regard; the following English equivalents are used as consistently as possible in the translation: “province” or “major city” for *miṣr* (pl. *aṃṣār*); “military district” for *jund* (pl. *ajnād*); “rural district” for *kūra* (pl. *kuwar*); “region” for *iqīm* (pl. *aqālīm*); “county” for *ṭassūj* (pl. *ṭasāsīj*). Also, terms for administrative units varied from one part of the Islamic world to another in response to the different terminology that the Muslims inherited from earlier empires. *Jund*, for example, was used only for the military districts of Syria-Palestine; *tassūj* only for administrative divisions in Iraq.



according to year and time; the amount of its land tax (*kharāj*); its lowlands and mountains; its terrain and its waterways; how hot or cold its climate is; and its water for irrigation and drinking.

Baghdad<sup>11</sup>



MAP 2 *Baghdad under the Early 'Abbāsids (150–300 A.H.)*

I have begun with Iraq because it is the center of the world, the navel of the earth; and I report about Baghdad because it is the center of Iraq and the greatest city, one which has no peer in the east or the west of the earth in size, importance, prosperity, abundance of waters, and salubrious climate, and because it is inhabited by all varieties of mankind and urban and rural folk who have immigrated to it from all countries | near and far. People from the remotest

11 Al-Ya'qūbī's description of the 'Abbāsīd capital and its relation to various parallel texts have been studied in detail in Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, and Jacob Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages*.

parts of the world have preferred it to their homelands; people from every country have residential quarters there and places for trade and for business. What can be found together in no other city in the world comes together there. The two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, flow along its borders, so that goods and provisions come to it by land and by water with such ease that every object of trade which can be exported from the east or the west, whether from Islamic or non-Islamic lands, makes its way there. So many goods are imported to it from India, Sind, China, Tibet, the country of the Turks, Daylam, the country of the Khazars, Ethiopia, and other countries that there may be more of a commodity there than in the country from which it was exported. Indeed, so much can be found and obtained there that it is as if earth's bounties had been conveyed there, the world's riches amassed there, and the blessings of the universe perfected there.

Moreover, Baghdad is the city of the Banū Hāshim<sup>12</sup>—their capital and the seat of their power—where no one had preceded them and no kings other than they had resided. In fact, my ancestors were residents there, and one of them was its governor.<sup>13</sup> Its name is famous, and its reputation is renowned. It is the center of the world because, according to what the geographers<sup>14</sup> universally say and what has been included about it in the books of the ancient scholars, it is in the fourth clime, which is the central clime, where the weather balances out over the times and seasons.<sup>15</sup> Thus it is extremely hot at the height of summer and extremely cold in winter, but it is moderate during the seasons of autumn and spring. In the transition from autumn to winter, the change in temperature is not abrupt, and neither is the change during the transition from spring to summer. Each season moves in this way from one kind of weather to

12 That is, the 'Abbāsids, so called because they traced their ancestry to the Prophet's uncle, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

13 This statement suggests that it should be possible to identify which of al-Ya'qūbī's ancestors were among these early residents (*al-qā'imīna bihā*) of Baghdad and in charge of the city (*tawallā amrahā*); however, no such individuals can be definitely identified. It is possible that Wāḍiḥ, *mawlā* of the caliph al-Manṣūr, mentioned below in the *Geography* by al-Ya'qūbī (ed. Leiden, 247) as one of the supervisors in the construction of Baghdad, was his ancestor (see pp. 18–21 of the Introduction to this volume).

14 Arabic *ḥussāb*: literally, "calculators" (of latitude).

15 Al-Ya'qūbī is alluding to the classical theory that divided the world by latitude into seven climes (*iqlīm*), the fourth being the one where the features of the other six are in equilibrium. On the concept and its use by Muslim geographers and astronomers, see André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*.

235 another, from one time to another. The weather thus becomes balanced, the soil is good, the water is sweet, the trees thrive, the fruits are excellent, the seed-crops flourish, the excellent things (of the earth) are plentiful, | and tapped (water)<sup>16</sup> is near its source. Because of the equitable climate, the fertility of the soil, and the sweetness of the water, the character of the people is good. Their faces shine and their minds are opened, so that they surpass all other people in learning, understanding, refinement, perception, common sense, commerce, crafts, and business. They are clever in every subject of discussion, competent in every occupation, skillful at every craft. No scholar is more learned than their scholars; and no one is more versed in *ḥadīth* than their traditionists, better at disputation than their theologians, more knowledgeable of Arabic than their grammarians, more correct than their Qurʾān reciters, more adroit than their physicians, more skillful than their singers, more talented than their artisans, better calligraphers than their scribes, clearer than their logicians, more pious than their worshippers, more godfearing than their ascetics, more learned in jurisprudence than their judges, more eloquent than their preachers, more artful than their poets—or more roguish than their profligates!



Baghdad was not a city in ancient times—I mean in the days of the Kisrās<sup>17</sup> and the Persians—it was only a village in the rural district of Bādūrayā.<sup>18</sup> The capital which the rulers preferred from among the cities of Iraq was al-Madāʾin,<sup>19</sup> which is about seven farsakhs<sup>20</sup> from Baghdad and is where the palace (*ḥwān*) of Kisrā Anūshirwān is located. There was nothing in Baghdad at that time except a monastery at the place where the Ṣarāt canal flows into the Tigris—the place

16 Arabic *mustanbaṭ*. According to Lane, 8:2759, this signifies “water that comes forth from a well when it is first dug”; al-Yaʿqūbī may mean that wells do not have to be dug deep nor water carried far from its source.

17 Arabic *al-Akāsira*, pl. of *Kisrā*. This was originally the proper name of one Persian king (Khusraw), but became the generic Arabic term for the rulers of Sasanian Iran.

18 An agricultural area southwest of Baghdad which provided much of the city’s food supply. See the article by M. Streck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bādūrayā; and Peter Christensen, *The Decline of Iranshahr*, 96, 102.

19 Ctesiphon.

20 The farsakh (Persian *farsang*) was a unit of distance. Originally it was the distance that could be covered on foot in a mile; later it was fixed at 3 Arab miles (*mīl*), equivalent to 5.985 km (3.719 English miles); see the article by W. Hinz, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Farsakh, and idem., *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 62–63.

is called Qarn al-Šarāt.<sup>21</sup> It is the monastery which is named the Old Monastery (*al-Dayr al-ʿAtīq*) and is still standing in the same place today; the Catholicos, leader of the Nestorian Christians, resides there.

There was also no Baghdad in the days of the Arabs when Islam came, for the Arabs founded Basra and Kufa. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī founded Kufa in the year 17,<sup>22</sup> while he was governor (*ʿāmil*) for ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ʿUtba b. Ghazwān al-Māzinī, of the tribe of Māzin Qays, founded Basra in the year 17, while he was governor for ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The Arabs staked out their lots in these two cities, although all their notables, dignitaries, and prosperous merchants have now moved to Baghdad.

The Umayyads did not reside in Iraq, because they were resident in Syria. Muʿāwīya b. Abī Sufyān was governor of Syria for twenty years | under ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. He and his family with him took up residence in the city of Damascus. When he came to power and assumed sovereignty, he established his residence and his court in Damascus, where his power and supporters and partisans were. The Umayyad kings after Muʿāwīya resided there because they had been brought up there, were acquainted with no other places, and only its people were favorably disposed to them.

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When the caliphate passed to the clan of the uncle of the Prophet—God’s blessing be upon him and his family—among the descendants of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, they recognized, thanks to the excellence of their discretion, the soundness of their intelligence, and the perfection of their judgment, the merit of Iraq: its grandeur, its spaciousness, and its centrality in the world. It is not like Syria with its pestilential climate, cramped towns, barren soil, continuous epidemics of plague, and uncouth people. Neither is it like Egypt with its tainted air and frequent outbreaks of pestilence, owing to its location between a damp and putrid river full of vile vapors that give rise to maladies and spoil food, and arid, barren mountains where, owing to their dryness, salinity, and sterility, nothing green can grow and no spring of water can gush up. Nor is it like Ifrīqiya, distant from the peninsula of Islam and from the sacred House of God,<sup>23</sup> with coarse, often hostile, people; nor like Armenia, remote, bitterly cold, infertile, and surrounded by enemies; nor like the harsh, tough, icy, rural districts of al-Jabal,<sup>24</sup> home of the hard-hearted Kurds; nor like the

21 The Šarāt canal branched off the ʿĪsā canal west of Baghdad near the town of al-Muḥawwal and ran east and south to the Tigris just below the Basra Gate; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 66–67.

22 17 A.H. = January 23, 638 – January 12, 639.

23 That is, the Arabian Peninsula and the Kaʿba in Mecca.

24 Al-Jabal (the Mountain; often in the plural, al-Jibāl, the Mountains), was the province

land of Khurāsān far to the east, surrounded on all sides by rabid enemies and battle-hungry warriors; nor like the Hījāz, which is so lacking in the things one needs and so limited in means of livelihood that its people must get sustenance from elsewhere, as God—may He be glorified and exalted—has informed us in His Book in the words of Abraham His friend—peace be upon him: “Our Lord, I have made some of my seed to dwell in a valley where is no sown land.”<sup>25</sup> |  
 237 And it is not like Tibet, which has such wretched climate and food that the complexion of its people has become altered, their bodies shriveled, and their hair frizzed.

Realizing that Iraq is the most excellent of countries, the ‘Abbāsids chose to establish their residence there. The Commander of the Faithful Abū l-‘Abbās, who was ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib,<sup>26</sup> resided at Kufa at first; then he moved to al-Anbār and built a city on the banks of the Euphrates and named it al-Hāshimiyya.<sup>27</sup> Abu l-‘Abbās—may God be pleased with him—died before the city was completed.

When Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr (who was also named ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib) became caliph, he built a city between Kufa and al-Ḥira that he named al-Hāshimiyya. He stayed there for a time, until he decided to dispatch his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī to fight the Slavs in the year 140.<sup>28</sup> Then he went to Baghdad and stopped there and asked, “What is the name of this place?” Told that it was Baghdad, he said: “By God, this is the city that my father Muḥammad b. ‘Alī foretold to me that I would build and that would be where I and my descendants after me would reside. The kings in the time of the Jāhiliyya and Islam neglected it, so that God’s plan and decree could be implemented by me, the reports be proven correct, and the signs and prophecies be made clear. In any case, it is an island between the Tigris and the

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stretching from the mountains that rise from the northeast of Iraq across northern Iran to Rayy on the east and Isfahan on the southeast. See the article by L. Lockhart in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djibāl*; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 185 ff.

25 Qur’ān, 14:37.

26 Usually known as al-Saffāh; he was proclaimed caliph in Kufa on 12 Rabī‘ 11 132 (November 28, 749).

27 In honor of Hāshim, the father of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the common ancestor of the ‘Abbāsids and the Prophet Muḥammad.

28 140 A.H. = May 25, 757 – May 14, 758. This bears no resemblance to other Arabic accounts of the founding of Baghdad (e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:271–272), which attribute al-Manṣūr’s desire to move to a new capital to the revolt of the Rāwandiyya in al-Hāshimiyya. There is also no corroboration of any raid by al-Mahdī against “the Slavs” in this year.

Euphrates, the Tigris to its east and the Euphrates to its west, a thoroughfare for the world. Everything that comes on the Tigris from Wāsiṭ, Basra, al-Ubulla, al-Ahwāz, Fārs, Oman, al-Yamāma, al-Baḥrayn, and places adjacent to them can come upstream to Baghdad and anchor there; similarly, whatever comes from Mosul, Diyār Rabīʿa, Azerbaijan, and Armenia and is carried on boats on the Tigris, or whatever comes from Diyār Muḍar, al-Raqqā, Syria, the districts on the (Byzantine) frontier, Egypt, and the Maghrib and is carried on boats in the Euphrates can be unloaded and stored here. It will be an emporium | for the people of al-Jabal, Isfahan, and the districts of Khurāsān. Praise be to God who has reserved it for me and caused all those who preceded me to neglect it. By God, I will build it and dwell there to the end of my life, as will my descendants after me. It shall be the most prosperous city on earth. Then I will build four cities after it, and none of them shall ever be laid waste.” He did build them: he built al-Rāfiqa, although he did not give it its name, and he built Malatya, al-Maṣṣiṣa, and al-Manṣūra in Sind.<sup>29</sup> 238



Then he directed that engineers and experts in construction, surveying, and the division of plots be assembled, until he had laid out his city, known as the City of Abū Jaʿfar. He assembled architects, workmen, carpenters, blacksmiths, and excavators, and when enough of them had gathered, he assigned them wages and provisions. He wrote to every country to send whoever was there who understood anything about construction, and 100,000 skilled workers and craftsmen of various kinds came. A number of authorities have reported that Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr did not commence construction until he had 100,000 skilled workers and laborers. He marked out the city in the month of Rabīʿ 1 141.<sup>30</sup> He made it a round city, and apart from it no other round city is known

29 The most likely interpretation of this sentence is that al-Rāfiqa had been conceived (but not actually built) by al-Saffāh, who gave it its name. Al-Yaʿqūbī himself says elsewhere (*Taʾrīkh*, 2:430, 445) that al-Rāfiqa, a suburb of al-Raqqā, was founded by Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāh, but al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:276 attributes it to al-Manṣūr. Cf. Wiet, *Yaʿqūbī: Les Pays*, 10, n. 4. In any case, it is fanciful to say that al-Manṣūr founded these cities. Al-Manṣūra, because of its name, was often misidentified as one of his constructions (see the article by Y. Friedmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Manṣūra). He did carry out some reconstruction at Malatya (Melitene) and al-Maṣṣiṣa (Mopsuestia) as part of his program to fortify the frontier with Byzantium; see Guy Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 120, 131.

30 July 12 – August 11, 758. This can only refer to a preliminary layout of the site; by most accounts construction did not begin until 145/762; see the next note.

in all the regions of the world. The foundations of the city were laid at a time chosen by the astronomers Nawbakht and Māshā'allāh b. Sāriya.<sup>31</sup>

Before the foundations were laid, great bricks were made. Each complete square brick was one *dhirā'*<sup>32</sup> by one *dhirā'* and weighed two hundred *raṭls*;<sup>33</sup> the half-bricks were one *dhirā'* long and half a *dhirā'* wide and weighed one hundred *raṭls*. Wells were dug for water, and the canal was made which comes from the Karkhāyā canal, which is the canal which comes from the Euphrates. The canal was completed and made to run into the city to provide water for drinking, brick-making, and moistening clay.

He gave the city four gates: one he named Bāb al-Kūfa, one he named Bāb al-Baṣra, one he named Bāb Khurāsān, and one he named Bāb al-Shām. Each gate was distant from the next by five thousand *dhirā'*s, calculated according to the "black *dhirā'*,"<sup>34</sup> as measured from the outer bank of the moat. Each gate had a large, splendid, double door made of iron, neither half of which could be closed | or opened except by a group of men. A horseman carrying a banner or a lancer bearing a long lance could enter without lowering the banner or tipping the lance. The enclosure wall was made of great bricks, the like of which had never been seen before, of the size we have described, and of clay. He made the width of the base of the enclosure wall 90 black *dhirā'*s, decreasing as the wall

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31 Nawbakht (a Persian name meaning "New Fortune") was the first of a famous family of astrologers and theologians in the early 'Abbāsid period; Nawbakht supposedly gained great influence with the future caliph al-Manṣūr by predicting his rise to power. See the article by L. Massignon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nawbakht. Māshā'allāh b. Sāriya (or Atharī) al-Baṣrī, probably of Persian Jewish ancestry, was a celebrated astronomer and author of scientific treatises. See the article by J. Samsó in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Māshā' Allāh b. Atharī or b. Sāriya. The text of the horoscope as recorded by al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqīya*, 270–271, yields the date 3 Jumādā I 145/30 July 762 for the foundation of the city. Two other astrologers not mentioned here, 'Umar al-Ṭabarī and Muḥammad al-Fazārī, also participated in casting the horoscope; al-Ya'qūbī mentions them below (ed. Leiden, 241).

32 The *dhirā'* (cubit or ell) in the 'Abbāsid period could be measured in several different ways, ranging from a "legal" cubit of approximately 54 cm to a "great" cubit of 66 cm or more; see W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 54–64.

33 The *raṭl* was a unit of weight that varied according to the commodity being measured. The official *raṭl* of Baghdad has been estimated as equivalent to approximately 401.7 g. See the article by W. Hinz in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Makāyil.

34 The length of the "black" cubit has been estimated at 54.04 cm (see the article by W. Hinz in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhirā'); Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 18, calculated 5000 black cubits to be equivalent to 2,500 yards (2,285 m); Wiet, 12 n. 7 suggests 2,466 m (at .49326 m per cubit).

rose to measure 25 *dhirā*'s at the top.<sup>35</sup> Its height was 60 *dhirā*'s, including the battlements. Around the wall was a large, strong rampart (*faṣīl*). Between the (face of the) enclosure wall and the (face of the) rampart was a space of 100 black *dhirā*'s. The rampart had great towers and round battlements. Beyond the rampart and surrounding it was a high embankment, perfectly constructed and sturdy, made of baked bricks and quicklime (*ṣārīj*). The moat next to the embankment was filled with water from a channel which branched off the Karkhāyā canal. Beyond the moat were the grand avenues.

He gave the four gates of the city great vestibules, each of them vaulted (*āzāj*), 80 *dhirā*'s long, and having a ceiling of baked brick and gypsum (*jīṣṣ*), so that when he entered one of the vestibules from the rampart, he reached a courtyard (*raḥba*) paved with stone, and then (another) vestibule on the great enclosure wall, which had large, splendid, double doors made of iron, neither half of which could be opened or closed except by a group of men. All four gates were like that. After entering one of the vestibules on the great enclosure wall, he passed through a courtyard to an arcade (*tāqāt*) with a ceiling of baked brick and gypsum in which were Greek skylights, through which sunlight could penetrate but rain could not. The residences of the pages<sup>36</sup> were there. Each of the four gates had an arcade, and each of the city gates on the great enclosure wall had a large, domed room with a gilded ceiling, around which were reception rooms and benches where one could sit and look out on everything that went on. One ascended to these domed rooms via arched (stairways), some of which were constructed with gypsum and baked brick and some with large mud bricks. The arches were built with some higher than others, and the interiors of these were for the horseguards (*rābiṭa*) and bodyguards. On the exterior, | a ramp accessible to riding animals went up to the domes over the gates; there were gates on the ramp which could be locked. Upon exiting from the arcade, one reached a courtyard and then a large vaulted vestibule made of baked brick and plaster with an iron double door;<sup>37</sup> one went out via the door to the grand courtyard. All four arcades were constructed according to the same plan. In the middle of the courtyard

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35 Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:449.

36 Arabic *ghilmān* (pl. of *ghulām*) has the basic meaning of "young man, youth, or boy," but can also mean "slave." Its precise meaning in this context is ambiguous. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghulām.

37 According to Lassner, *Topography*, 292 n. 25, this should be translated as "two doors" (in contrast to the double door of the main portal), but the context seems to justify using "double door" in this case also.



was the palace—its gate was named the Golden Gate—and next to the palace was the congregational mosque. There were no other buildings or houses or residences around the palace for anyone, except a structure on the side of Bāb al-Shām for the bodyguard and a large gallery on columns constructed of baked brick and gypsum; the chief of the security forces used to be stationed in one and the head of the bodyguard in the other—today it is used for performing the prayer. Arranged around the perimeter of the courtyard were the residences of al-Manṣūr's young children and the household slaves in attendance, the treasury, the armory, the chancery, the finance ministry, the ministry of the privy seal, the ministry of the army, the ministry of supplies, the ministry of court servants, the public kitchen, and the ministry of stipends (*naḥqāt*).

From one arcade to another there were streets and lanes<sup>38</sup> known by the names of (the caliph's) military officers and clients or the residents of each street. Between Bāb al-Baṣra and Bāb al-Kūfa were Police Street (*Sikkat al-Shurāt*); al-Haytham Street; Dungeon Street (*Sikkat al-Muṭbaq*), on which lay the large prison named the Muṭbaq, solidly built with sturdy walls; Women's Street (*Sikkat al-Nisā'*); Sarjis Street; al-Ḥusayn Street; 'Aṭīyya Street, Mujāshī' Street; al-'Abbās Street; Ghazwān Street; Abū Ḥanīfa Street; and Narrow Street (*al-Sikka al-Ḍayyiqā*).

Between Bāb al-Baṣra and Bāb Khurāsān were Guardsmen Street (*Sikkat al-Ḥaras*), al-Nu'aymiyya Street, Sulaymān Street, al-Rabī' Street, Muḥalhil Street, Shaykh b. 'Amīra Street, al-Marwarrūdhiyya Street, Wāḍiḥ Street, Watercarriers Street (*Sikkat al-Saqqā'in*), Ibn Burayha b. 'Īsā b. al-Manṣūr Street, Abū Aḥmad  
241 Street, | and Narrow Lane (*al-Darb al-Ḍayyiq*).

Between Bāb al-Kūfa and Bāb al-Shām were al-'Akkī Street, Abū Qurra Street, 'Abdūya Street, al-Samayda' Street, al-'Alā' Street, Nāfi' Street, Aslam Street, and Manāra Street.

From Bāb al-Shām to Bāb Khurāsān were Muezzins' Street (*Sikkat al-Mu'adhdhinīn*), Dārim Street, Isrā'īl Street, a street now known as al-Qawārīrī (I have forgotten for whom it was named), al-Ḥakam b. Yūsuf Street, Samā'a Street, Ṣā'id the Client of Abū Ja'far Street, a street known today as al-Ziyādī (I have forgotten for whom it was named), and Ghazwān Street.

38 Arabic *al-sikak wa l-durūb*: Here, *sikka* (a relatively wide, straight path) will be translated as "street"; *darb* (usually a relatively narrow and irregular path running through an urban quarter, often with a gate at each end) will be translated as either "lane" or "neighborhood," depending on the context. Both will be distinguished from the *shārī'* (a major road or avenue).

These streets between one arcade and another were inside the city and within the enclosure wall. On each of these streets resided the (caliph's) high-ranking military officers who were trustworthy enough to reside with him, his high-ranking clients, and those people whom he needed to handle important matters. There were stout gates at both ends of every street. None of the streets connected with the wall of the courtyard where the caliphal palace was located; the wall was around the courtyard and the streets were concentric to it.

The men who laid out the city were 'Abdallāh b. Muḥriz, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf,<sup>39</sup> 'Imrān b. al-Waḍḍāh, and Shihāb b. Kathīr, in concert with Nawbakht, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fazārī,<sup>40</sup> and al-Ṭabarī,<sup>41</sup> the astronomers who made computations.<sup>42</sup> (Al-Manṣūr) divided the areas outside the wall into four quarters and put one of the engineers in charge of each of the quarters. He assigned the head of each quarter a certain amount of land to be distributed among the holders of estates, as well as an amount of land to construct markets for each suburb.

He entrusted all the quarter from Bāb al-Kūfa to Bāb al-Baṣra and Bāb al-Muḥawwal and Karkh and what adjoined them to al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, al-Rabī the (caliph's) client, and 'Imrān b. al-Waḍḍāh the engineer. He entrusted the quarter from Bāb al-Kūfa to Bāb al-Shām and the avenue on the road to al-Anbār as far as the suburb | of Ḥarb b. 'Abdallāh to Sulaymān b. Mujālid, Wāḍih the (caliph's) client, and 'Abdallāh b. Muḥriz the engineer. He entrusted the quarter from Bāb al-Shām to the suburb of Ḥarb and its environs and the avenue of Bāb al-Shām and what was adjacent to it as far as the furthest bridge over the Tigris to Ḥarb b. 'Abdallāh, Ghazwān the (caliph's) client, and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf<sup>43</sup> the engineer. He entrusted from Bāb Khurāsān to the Tigris bridge,

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39 According to Wiet, 17, n. 3, this is a copyist's error and should be read Arṭāt rather than Yūsuf (cf. al-Ṭabarī, 3:276). However, the text consistently gives the name as Yūsuf.

40 Sic. Wiet, 17, n. 4, apud Nallino, suggests reading Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb, but the astrologer in question was most likely his son, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb al-Fazārī. See David Pingree, "The Fragments of the Works of al-Fazārī," *JNES* 29 (1970), 103–123.

41 Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī, a protégé of the Barmakids and translator of works from Pahlavi into Arabic. See Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 506–507; David Pingree, "'Umar ibn al-Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, xiii, 538–539; idem, "The Liber Universus of 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī," *Journal for the History of Arab Science* 1 (1977), 8–12.

42 Arabic *al-munajjimūn aṣḥāb al-ḥisāb*, literally "astronomers/astrologers masters of computation"—both astronomers and astrologers were referred to as *munajjim*.

43 See note 39 above.

stretching along the avenue by the Tigris to Baghayyīn and Bāb Quṭrubbul,<sup>44</sup> to Hishām b. ‘Amr al-Taghlibī, ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza, and Shihāb b. Kathīr the engineer.

He assigned the superintendent of each quarter what should go to each dignitary and his comrades and what to allot for stores and markets in each suburb. He ordered them to make the stores spacious, so that there should be in each suburb a general market uniting the various trades; to make in each suburb streets and lanes (both thoroughfares and cul-de-sacs) in proportion to the number of its houses; and to name each alley after an official residing in it, a prominent man who resided there, or the nationality of the people who lived there. He specified to them that they should make the width of the avenues 50 black *dhirā’s* and the alleys 16 *dhirā’s*. In every suburb, market, and alley, they were to build enough mosques and baths for the people in each district or neighborhood. He ordered them all to take from the estates of the military generals and officers a specified amount of land for merchants to build on and reside and for tradesmen and visitors.

The first of his relatives to whom he granted an estate outside the city was ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās; it was opposite Bāb al-Kūfa, on the lower Ṣarāt (canal), which comes from the Euphrates. His suburb became known as ‘Abd al-Wahhāb’s Little Market (Suwayqat ‘Abd al-Wahhāb). His palace there has now fallen into ruin, and I have heard that the Little Market has also fallen into ruin.

243 He granted as an estate to al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib | the island between the two Ṣarāt (canals). Al-‘Abbās made it into a plantation and farm, the famous and well-known al-‘Abbāsiyya, which yields harvests all year round, both summer and winter. After making the island into a plantation, al-‘Abbās obtained another estate for himself on the east bank. The two branches of the Ṣarāt join at the end of al-‘Abbāsiyya. The great mill known as the Patrician’s Mill (Raḥā l-Baṭrīq) was there; it had 100 millstones and yielded income of 100 million dirhams a year. A dignitary (*biṭrīq*, *patrikios*) who had come to (al-Manṣūr) from the Byzantine emperor designed it, and it was named for him.

He granted an estate to the Sharawīs, who were clients of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās, this side of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb’s Little Market, adjacent to Bāb al-Kūfa. They were its gatekeepers, and their chief was Ḥasan al-Sharawī.

44 Le Strange, Wiet, and others vocalize this name as Qaṭrubbul; however, Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, 3:45, explicitly gives it as Quṭrubbul.

He granted an estate to al-Muhājir b. ‘Amr, head of the ministry of charities (*dīwān al-ṣadaqāt*), in the square which faced Bāb al-Kūfa, where the ministry of charities was located. Opposite it was the estate of Yāsīn, chief of the courier service (*al-najā’ib*) and the couriers’ hostel. Outside the couriers’ hostel was the clients’ stable.

He granted an estate to al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, chief of the police (*shurṭa*), to the right of Bāb al-Kūfa as one enters the city, in the direction of Bāb al-Baṣra. Al-Musayyab’s mansion and the Mosque of al-Musayyab, with the tall minaret, were there.

He granted an estate to Azhar b. Zuhayr, al-Musayyab’s brother, behind al-Musayyab’s estate, on the *qibla* side by the Ṣarāt. Azhar’s house and Azhar’s garden are still there at the present time. The estate of Abū l-‘Anbar, al-Manṣūr’s client, was adjacent to the estate of al-Musayyab and his family on the *qibla* side.

The estate of the Companions<sup>45</sup> was on the Ṣarāt; they were from all the Arab tribes, such as Quraysh, the Anṣār,<sup>46</sup> Rabī’a, Muḍar, and Yemen.<sup>47</sup> The houses of ‘Ayyāsh al-Mantūf and others were there.

Then came the estate of Yaḳṭīn b. Mūsā, one of the dynasty’s major supporters and a leader of its propaganda mission (*da‘wa*). After that, you cross the Grand Ṣarāt formed by the confluence of the two Ṣarāts, upper and lower. There is an arched bridge across it built of baked bricks and gypsum, | sturdy and massive, which is called the Old Bridge (*al-Qanṭara al-‘Atīqa*) because it was the first thing that he built, and he ordered that it should be sturdily constructed. After the bridge, you turn right—toward the *qibla*—toward the estate of Ishāq b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī and his compounds and mansions spread along the Grand Ṣarāt on the east bank. The great highway runs between the mansions and the Ṣarāt. From the estate of ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī, (you go) to the estate of Abū l-Sarī al-Sha’mī, al-Manṣūr’s client, and then the arcade with the gate known as Bāb al-Muḥawwal. From there, you reach the suburb of Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā’ī, which extends along the upper Ṣarāt. The mansion of Ḥumayd, his comrades, and some members of the family of Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb was there. It was adjacent to the estate of the household attendants,<sup>48</sup> which was known as the Mansion of the Romans (*Dār al-Rūmiyyīn*) and opened onto the Karkhāyā canal. Then you return to the

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45 Arabic *al-ṣaḥāba*: the descendants of the Companions of the Prophet, as by this date no one who had known the Prophet Muḥammad was still alive.

46 Anṣār (Helpers) refers mainly to the two tribes of Medina, the Aws and the Khazraj.

47 “and Yemen” has been added in the margin of the ms.

48 Text: *qaṭī‘at al-farrāshīn*.

main avenue—Bāb al-Muḥawwal Avenue, where there is a large market with all sorts of commodities. It is adjacent to the Old Pool (al-Ḥawḍ al-ʿAtīq), where the houses of the Persians, companions of the shah, were. The route continues toward the place known as the Kunāsa, where there are places for people to tie up their mounts and where dealers in riding animals are located. Then comes the old cemetery known as the Kunāsa, extending to the canal of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, which draws from the Euphrates, and the tanners' quarter. Across from the Romans' (Rūmiyya) estate, on the Karkhāyā canal, which is spanned by the bridge known as the Romans' (Bridge), is the mansion of Ka'yūba the chief gardener, who planted the date palms in Baghdad. Then there are continuous gardens that Ka'yūba al-Baṣrī planted as far as the place known as Barāthā.

Returning to the Old Bridge: before you cross the bridge, to the east lies the suburb of Abū l-Ward Kawthar b. al-Yamān, custodian of the treasury. There is a market with all sorts of goods there, extending to Bāb al-Karkh, known as Abū l-Ward's Little Market. Behind the estate of Abū l-Ward Kawthar b. al-Yamān is the estate of Ḥabīb b. Raghbān al-Ḥimṣī. The mosque of Ibn Raghbān  
 245 is there, | as is the mosque of the Anbārīs, who were secretaries in the ministry of the land tax. Before you cross the Old Bridge, coming from Bāb al-Kūfa on the Grand Avenue, is the estate of Sulaym, client of the Commander of the Faithful and chief of the ministry of the land tax; then the estate of Ayyūb b. ʿĪsā al-Sharawī; then the estate of Rabāwa al-Kirmānī and his comrades. Then you arrive at the city gate known as Bāb al-Baṣra, which overlooks the Ṣarāt and the Tigris. Opposite it is the New Bridge (al-Qanṭara al-Jadīda), so-called because it was the last of the bridges to be built. There is a large market on it with all sorts of shops extending adjacent to each other. Then comes the suburb of Waḍḍāḥ, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, known as the compound of Waḍḍāḥ the chief of the armory. There are markets there, and most of those occupying them at the present time are booksellers; it has over a hundred bookshops.

Next you come to the estate of ʿAmr b. Simʿān al-Ḥarrānī; the Ḥarrānī arcade is there. Then comes al-Sharqiyya. It was named al-Sharqiyya (Eastern) because it was intended as a city for al-Mahdī before (al-Manṣūr) decided that al-Mahdī's residence should be on the east bank of the Tigris, and so it was called al-Sharqiyya. The Great Mosque is there, where people used to congregate for the Friday prayer, and there was a pulpit in it. It was the mosque where the judge (*qāḍī*) of al-Sharqiyya used to hold court. Then the pulpit was removed from it.

Turning from al-Sharqiyya, you pass to the estate of Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr on the bank of the Tigris. The house of ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar is there, and nearby is the house of Jaʿfar b. Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr. Then you leave the four roads we have mentioned

for the avenue of Bāb al-Karkh. First, at the Gate of the Slave Merchants,<sup>49</sup> there is the estate of Suwayd, al-Manṣūr's client. Suwayd Square is behind the slave market; next, shops extend along both sides of the avenue. You bear right from Bāb al-Karkh to the estate of al-Rabīʿ, client of the Commander of the Faithful, in which there are cloth merchants from Khurāsān who sell various types of material imported from Khurāsān and nothing else. | There is a canal there that branches off from the Karkhāyā canal, along which are the residences of the merchants. It is called the Poultry Canal (Nahr al-Dajāj) because chickens used to be sold there at that time. Behind al-Rabīʿ's estate are the residences of the merchants and a variety of people from every country. Each lane is known by (the ethnic name of) its inhabitants, and each street by (the name of) someone who resided on it. 246

Karkh is the great market that extends in length from Waḍḍāḥ's Compound to the Tuesday Market (Sūq al-Thulathāʾ), a distance of two farsakhs, and in width from al-Rabīʿ's estate to the Tigris, a distance of one farsakh. There are particular streets for every type of merchant and trade. There are rows of shops and lots in these streets; one group of people and type of commerce never mixes with another, no type of goods is sold with another, and the practitioners of one occupation do not mix with other sorts of artisans. Each market is separate, and all the people are engaged only in their particular type of commerce. The people of each occupation are segregated from those of other groups.

Between these suburbs that we have mentioned and the estates that we have described were the residences of various people—Arabs, soldiers, *dihqāns*,<sup>50</sup> merchants, and other sorts of people for whom the lanes and streets were named. This was one quarter of Baghdad, and it was the large quarter. It was administered by al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, al-Rabīʿ the client of the Commander of the Faithful, and ʿImrān b. al-Waḍḍāḥ the engineer. There was no quarter in Baghdad larger or grander than it.



49 Bāb al-Nakhkhāsīn. This could also mean Gate of the Cattle Merchants, but according to Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 68, it was the slave market.

50 *Dihqān*, pl. *dahāqān* (Middle Persian *dēhkān* or *dahigān*, pl. *dēhkānān*): "villager, landlord, a member of the local class of Persian landlords in Iraq who administered subdistricts." See the articles by Ann K. S. Lambton in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dihqān*, and by Jürgen Paul in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Dihqān*; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 529.

From Bāb al-Kūfa to Bāb al-Shām was the suburb of Sulaymān b. Mujālīd—he was the one who administered this quarter, and it was named after him. In it were: the estate of Wāḍih; then the estate of ‘Āmir b. Ismā‘īl al-Muslī; then the suburb of al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba (his houses and those of his family fronted onto what was known as al-Ḥasan’s Lane); then the suburb of the Khwārazmians, the companions of al-Ḥārith b. Ruqād al-Khwārazmī, and the estate of al-Ḥārith was on that lane; then the estate of ... the equerry,<sup>51</sup> client of the Commander of the Faithful, which was the mansion that later belonged to Ishāq b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī al-Hāshimī and then was bought by a secretary of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir named Ṭāhir b. | al-Ḥārith; then the suburb of al-Khalīl b. Hāshim al-Bāwardī; then the suburb of al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nāfi‘ al-Ṭaḥāwī; then the estate of Hāshim b. Ma‘rūf, which is in Cages Lane (Darb al-Aqfāṣ); and then the estate of al-Ḥasan b. Ja‘farāt, which is also in Cages Lane and adjacent to Fullers’ Lane (Darb al-Qaṣṣārīn).

From the Anbār Road, the first estate one comes to is the estate of Wāḍih,<sup>52</sup> client of the Commander of the Faithful, and his children; then Ayyūb b. al-Mughīra al-Fazārī Lane [...] <sup>53</sup> in Kufa, so the lane was known as Kufans’ Lane (Darb al-Kūfiyyīn). Then comes the estate of Salāma b. Sam‘ān al-Bukhārī and his comrades—the Bukharans’ Mosque and the Green Minaret are in it. Then comes the estate of al-Lajlāj the physician; then the estate of ‘Awf b. Nizār al-Yamāmī and the Yamāmiyya Lane, leading to the mansion of Sulaymān b. Mujālīd; then the estate of al-Faḍl b. Ja‘wana al-Rāzī, which later belonged to Dāwūd b. Sulaymān, secretary to Umm Ja‘far, known as Dāwūd al-Nabaṭī; then the Sīb (Canal)<sup>54</sup> and the mansion of Hubayra b. ‘Amr—also on the Sīb was the estate of Ṣāliḥ al-Baladī in Ṣabbāḥ Lane, which led to ‘Abd al-Wahhāb’s Little Market. Then comes the estate of Qābūs b. Samayda‘. Across from it was the estate of Khālīd b. al-Walīd, which later belonged to Abū Ṣāliḥ Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān the secretary, chief of the ministry of the land tax in the days of al-Rashīd, so that it became known as Abū Ṣāliḥ’s Mansions.

Then comes the estate of Shu‘ba b. Yazīd al-Kābulī; then the suburb of al-Quss, al-Manṣūr’s client, after whom the garden of al-Quss is named; then the suburb of al-Haytham b. Mu‘āwiya, known as al-Haytham’s Shār-sūq,<sup>55</sup>

51 Text: *ṣāhib al-rikāb*. The name has fallen out of the text.

52 See note 13 above.

53 Part of the text seems to be missing here.

54 The word is undotted, so the reading is uncertain. The Leiden editor read it as *al-Sīb* and treated it as a toponym; however, the word may simply be another term for a kind of watercourse or canal.

55 An Arabized version of Persian *chahār-sū* (square or marketplace).

where a large extended market, residences, lanes, and streets, all named for al-Haytham's Shār-sūq, are found; then the estate of the Marwarrūdhiyya, the family of Abū Khālīd al-Anbārī; then the suburb of Abū Yazīd al-Sharawī, client of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, | and his comrades; then the estate of Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī, who used to be the head of al-Manṣūr's police (*shurṭa*); then the estate of Bishr b. Maymūn and his residences; then the estate of Sa'īd b. Da'laj al-Tamīmī; then the estate of al-Shikhhīr and Zakariyyā' b. al-Shikhhīr; then the suburb of Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Ayyūb, known as Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī al-Mūriyānī—Mūriyān is a village in one of the rural districts of al-Ahwāz known as Manādhīr. Then comes the estate of Raddād b. Zādhān, known as al-Raddādiyya; then al-Mamadd-dār.<sup>56</sup> Then comes the border of the Ḥarb suburb, before which is al-Ramaliyya (the Sandy Place). This is the quarter that was governed by Sulaymān b. Muḥalid, Wāḍiḥ the client of the Commander of the Faithful, and the engineer 'Imrān b. al-Waḍḍāḥ. 248



At the beginning of the Bāb al-Shām quarter is the estate of al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī, and adjacent to it are the prison known as the Bāb al-Shām Prison and the shops known as the Sūq Bāb al-Shām. The latter is a great market in which there are all sorts of merchandise and goods for sale spread out to the right and to the left. It is densely populated and provided with avenues, lanes, and lots. It extends along a grand avenue off which are long lanes; each lane is named for a nationality that resides on both sides of it. It comprises everything as far as the suburb of Ḥarb b. 'Abdallāh al-Balkhī. At the present time, there is no more spacious suburb in Baghdad, nor one greater, nor one with more lanes and markets. Its residents include people from Balkh, Marw, al-Khuttal, Bukhārā, Asbīshāb, Ishtākhanj, Kābul-shāh, and Khwārazm. Each ethnic group has a military and a civilian leader (*qā'id wa-ra'īs*). Also there is the estate of al-Ḥakam b. Yūsuf al-Balkhī, *ṣāhib al-ḥirāb*,<sup>57</sup> who used to be in charge of the police.

From Bāb al-Shām, along the great avenue which runs to the bridge over the Tigris, there is a market on the left and right. Then comes a suburb known as House of the Slaves (Dār al-Raqīq), which housed Abū Ja'far's slaves who had been purchased from distant lands and were entrusted to al-Rabī', his client;

<sup>56</sup> The reading and identification of the place are uncertain.

<sup>57</sup> This title, not attested elsewhere, apparently refers to the commander of a specialized military unit; Hugh Kennedy, trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxix, 85, n. 235, suggests that *ḥirāb* were small throwing spears.



249 then the suburb | of the Kirmāniyya and (their) commander Būzān b. Khālīd al-Kirmānī; then the estate of the Sogdians and the mansion of Kharfāsh al-Ṣughdī; then the estate of Māhān al-Ṣāmaghānī and his comrades; and then the estate of the Marzubān Abū Asad b. Marzubān al-Fāryābī and his comrades, (former) nomads (*aṣḥāb al-umud*).<sup>58</sup> Then you reach the bridge. This is the quarter that was governed by Ḥarb b. ‘Abdallāh, client of the Commander of the Faithful, and the engineer al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.<sup>59</sup>



As for the quarter from Bāb Khurāsān to the bridge over the Tigris and beyond, facing (the river) is al-Khuld (Palace),<sup>60</sup> and the stables, the parade ground, and a palace fronting onto the Tigris were there. Abū Ja‘far (al-Manṣūr) continued to reside there, and al-Mahdī used to live there before he moved to his palace in al-Ruṣāfa on the east bank of the Tigris. After you pass the approach to the bridge, the bridge itself, the police station, and a workshop for the bridge, the first of the estates is that of Sulaymān b. Abī Ja‘far, on the grand avenue along the Tigris and in a lane known as Sulaymān’s Lane. Next to Sulaymān’s estate on the grand avenue is the estate of Ṣāliḥ, son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr, who was (known as) Ṣāliḥ the Unfortunate, which extended to the mansion of Najīḥ, al-Manṣūr’s client, which was later owned by ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. At the end of Ṣāliḥ’s estate is the estate of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-Jurjānī, known as Abū ‘Awn, and his comrades from Jurjān. Then comes the estate of Tamīm al-Bādhghīsī, adjacent to the estate of Abū ‘Awn; then the estate of ‘Abbād al-Farghānī and his comrades from Farghāna; then the estate of ‘Isā b. Najīḥ, known as Ibn Rawḍa, and the pages of the office of the chamberlain;<sup>61</sup> then the estate of the Afāriqa;<sup>62</sup> then the estate of Tammām al-Daylamī, which bordered the Bridge of the Straw-vendors (Qanṭarat al-Tabbānīn); then the

58 Marzubān al-Fāryābī would seem to be the “Marzubān b. Turksafī” mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal; see Matthew S. Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords: A History of the Turkish Military of Samarra*, 33. The *aṣḥāb al-umud* (possessors of tent poles, clubs, or maces) would presumably have been former Turkish nomads who followed him to join the caliph’s army in Iraq.

59 See note 39 above.

60 On this palace built by al-Manṣūr on the west bank of the Tigris outside the walls of the Round City, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Khuld, Ḳaṣr.

61 Arabic *ghilmān al-ḥijāba*.

62 *Afāriqa*: people from Ifriqiya (North Africa).

estate of Ḥanbal b. Mālik; then the estate of the Baghayīn,<sup>63</sup> comrades of Ḥafṣ b. ʿUthmān, and the mansion of Ḥafṣ, which later belonged to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm; then the market along the Tigris | at the river harbor; and then an estate of Jaʿfar, son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr, which later belonged to Umm Jaʿfar, in the area of the Bāb Quṭrubbul, known as the estate of Umm Jaʿfar. On the *qibla* side were the estate of Marrār al-ʿIjlī and the estate of ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī. He was in charge of the security forces, but then was removed and made governor of Khurāsān; he revolted there, so (al-Manṣūr) dispatched al-Mahdī with armies against him, and the latter fought against ʿAbd al-Jabbār and defeated him. Al-Mahdī had ʿAbd al-Jabbār carried back to Abū Jaʿfar (al-Manṣūr), who had him beheaded and crucified.

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In some of these suburbs and estates there are things we have not mentioned since many (ordinary) people built or inherited estates and other properties there.



The lanes and streets were counted, and there were six thousand of them. There were thirty thousand mosques, apart from those constructed later. The public baths were counted and numbered ten thousand, not including those built later.

The aqueduct which comes from the Karkhāyā canal, which itself draws water from the Euphrates, carries (water) on strong vaults (mortared) with quick-lime on the bottom and baked bricks on top and with solidly constructed arches. It runs into the city and is distributed to most of the avenues of the suburbs, providing water in summer and winter, since it was engineered in such a way that its water does not cease at any time. Another aqueduct, similar to this one, comes from the Tigris and is named the Little Tigris (Dujayl). Water for the people of al-Karkh and its environs is drawn from a canal called the Poultry Canal (so named because chicken merchants used to conduct business there) and from a canal called Ṭābaq b. al-Ṣamīh's Canal. They also have the grand ʿĪsā Canal (Nahr ʿĪsā),<sup>64</sup> which draws from the main part of the Euphrates. Large boats coming from al-Raqqā can enter it, bringing flour and merchandise from Syria and Egypt. They arrive at a harbor where there are markets and

63 So vocalized in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:634, followed by Wiet, 32, and Lassner, 68. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 108, prefers Baghiyīn.

64 The Nahr ʿĪsā, the southernmost of the major canals supplying Baghdad with water, connected the Euphrates, from which it drew its water, with the Tigris. See the description in Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 49 ff.

251 merchants' shops that are not interrupted at any time, since the water is never cut off. They also have cisterns | which are filled with water from these canals; it is sweet water, and all the people drink from them. These canals were especially needed because of the populousness and extent of the country. Because the people are surrounded on all sides by the Tigris and the Euphrates, water is so plentiful that they planted date palms, which were imported from Basra; these have become more numerous in Baghdad than in Basra, Kufa, or the Sawād. The people planted trees that bear wonderful fruits. There were many gardens and orchards everywhere in the suburbs of Baghdad because of the abundance and sweetness of the water. Everything that was made in any country was made there, because the most skillful artisans moved there from every country. They have come there from every direction, emigrating from near and far. This then is the western part of Baghdad: the city proper, al-Karkh, and the suburbs. On every side of it there are cemeteries, contiguous villages, and cultivated lands extending out.



The eastern part of Baghdad is where al-Mahdī b. al-Manṣūr resided when he was his father's heir-apparent. He began its construction in the year 143.<sup>65</sup> Al-Mahdī laid out his palace at al-Ruṣāfa, next to the congregational mosque there. He dug a canal drawing from the Nahrawān (Canal); it was called al-Mahdī's Canal and flowed along the eastern side. Al-Manṣūr gave land grants to his brothers and military officers after he had made grants to those on the western side. It was the side of his city. Land grants were distributed on this side, known as 'Askar al-Mahdī (al-Mahdī's Camp), just as they had been on the city side. People vied to reside near al-Mahdī because of their affection for him and his generosity towards them with money and gifts, and because there was a greater amount of land on that side, for people previously had gone to the western side, which was an island between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and built there and made shops and stores there. When construction began on the eastern side, it had become impossible for anyone who wanted to build expansively (to do so on the western side).

252 The first of the land grants, at the head of the bridge, belonged to Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī, who was chief of al-Mahdī's security force; | then came the estate of Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib;

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65 143 A.H. = April 22, 760 – April 11, 761.

then the estate of al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, because he had made his estate on the western side into an orchard; then the estate of al-Sarī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib; then the estate of Qutham b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was Abū Ja‘far’s governor of al-Yamāma; then the estate of al-Rabī‘, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, who, because he had made his estate on the Karkh side into markets and commercial ventures, received a land grant with al-Mahdī, where the palace of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘ and the parade ground (*maydān*) are; then the estate of Jibrīl b. Yaḥyā al-Bajālī; then the estate of Asad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuzā‘ī; then the estate of Mālīk b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā‘ī; then the estate of Salm b. Qutayba al-Bāhili; then the estate of Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya al-Muhallabī; then the estate of Rawḥ b. Ḥātīm; then the estate of Abān b. Ṣadaqa the secretary; then the estate of Ḥamūya al-Khādīm,<sup>66</sup> al-Mahdī’s client; then the estate of Nuṣayr al-Waṣīf,<sup>67</sup> al-Mahdī’s client; then the estate of Salama al-Waṣīf, al-Mahdī’s chief of the armory; then the estate of Badr al-Waṣīf, with the Thirst Market,<sup>68</sup> which is a large, spacious market; then the estate of al-‘Alā’ al-Khādīm, al-Mahdī’s client; then the estate of Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyārī; then the estate of Ziyād b. Manṣūr al-Ḥārithī; then the estate of Abū ‘Ubayd Mu‘āwiya b. Barmak al-Balkhī, on the Burdān<sup>69</sup> bridge; then the estate of ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza b. Maymūn; then the estate of Thābit b. Mūsā, the secretary of the land tax for Kufa and the region irrigated by the Euphrates; then the estate of ‘Abdallāh b. Ziyād b. Abī Laylā al-Kath‘amī, the secretary of the ministry for the Ḥijāz, Mosul, the Jazīra, Armenia, and Azerbaijan;<sup>70</sup> then the estate of the judge (*qāḍī*) ‘Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān |; then the estate of the secretary Ya‘qūb b. Dāwūd al-Sulamī, who served as secretary to al-Mahdī during his caliphate; then the estate of Manṣūr, al-Mahdī’s client, which is the place known as the Tarred Gate (Bāb al-Muqayyar); then the estate of the general Abū Hurayra Muḥammad b. Farrūkh, in the place known as al-Mukharrim; then the estate of Mu‘adh b. Muslim al-Rāzī,

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66 *Khādīm* (servant) often was a euphemism for eunuch.

67 *Waṣīf* (slave) was a general term; later it came to designate a black slave, but whether it had this meaning at this time is unclear. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:810.

68 Arabic *Sūq al-‘Atash*. “The original intention of the Caliph Mahdī had been to have called it the Market of Satiety ... The name of Thirst Market, however, was given to it by the people in derision.” (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 222).

69 Wiet gives Baradān; the vocalization here follows Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, 1:135.

70 A ministry combining the Ḥijāz and these other areas does not seem very plausible; something may have dropped out of the text here.

grandfather of Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu‘ādh; then the estate of the admiral<sup>71</sup> al-Ghamr b. al-‘Abbās al-Khath‘amī; then the estate of Sallām, al-Mahdī’s client (who was in charge of the *maẓālim* court<sup>72</sup>), in al-Mukharrim; then the estate of ‘Uqba b. Salm al-Hunāī; then the estate of Sa‘īd al-Ḥarashī, at the Ḥarashī Intersection; then the estate of Mubārak al-Turkī; then the estate of Sawwār, client of the Commander of the Faithful, and Sawwār Square (Raḥbat Sawwār); then the estate of Nāzī, client of the Commander of the Faithful, chief of the livery, and the Nāzī Stable; then the estate of Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath al-Khuzā‘ī; then the estate of ‘Abd al-Kabīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, brother of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; then the estate of Abū Ghassān, client of the Commander of the Faithful al-Mahdī.

Interspersed among the estates are the homes of the soldiers, wealthy residents, merchants, and other people in each quarter and suburb. The great market for this side, where various goods, wares, and crafts come together, is at the head of the bridge, running east from the head of the bridge, with goods and crafts displayed on both sides.

254 The roads of the eastern side—‘Askar al-Mahdī—branch into five. One road goes straight to al-Ruṣāfa, where al-Mahdī’s palace and the congregational mosque are; one road is in the market known as Khuḍayr Market, which is a source for luxury goods from China, and goes from it to the parade ground and the mansion of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘; one road goes left to Bāb al-Burdān, where the residences of Khālīd b. Barmak and his children were; the Bridge Road (Ṭarīq al-Jisr) goes from the mansion of Khuzayma to the market known as | Yaḥyā b. al-Walīd’s Market and thence to the place known as al-Dūr and on to the Baghdad gate known as al-Shammāsiyya, by which one leaves for Samarra; and one road is near the first bridge, which one crosses in order to come from the western side, leading along the Tigris to the Tarred Gate and al-Mukharrim and its environs. This was the more spacious of the two sides due to the number of markets and shops on the western side as we have described.

Al-Mahdī resided there when he was heir-apparent and during his caliphate. Mūsā al-Hādī resided there, as did Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Ma‘mūn, and al-Mu‘taṣim. It had four thousand lanes and streets, fifteen thousand mosques, other than those people added later, and five thousand baths, apart from those

71 Arabic *ṣāhib al-baḥr* (master of the sea), apparently refers to his having led naval campaigns in the Mediterranean; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:477, 491 (trans. Kennedy, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXIX, 188).

72 A special court set up to hear petitions against official and unofficial abuse of power—*maẓālim* means unjust or oppressive actions. On the development of the system, see the article by J. S. Nielsen in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mazālim*.

people built later. The rent from the markets of Baghdad on both sides, including the Patrician's Mill and its environs, amounted each year to twelve million dirhams.

Seven caliphs resided in Baghdad: al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, Mūsā al-Hādī, Hārūn al-Rashīd, Muḥammad al-Amīn, 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn, and al-Mu'taṣim. Only one of them died there, Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Hārūn al-Rashīd, who was murdered outside Bāb al-Anbār near Ṭāhir's Garden.

We have described these estates, avenues, lanes, and streets as they were laid out in the days of al-Manṣūr and at the time of their inception. They have changed—the people who originally owned them died, and they were possessed by one group of people and another, generation after generation. Some places became more built up, and houses changed hands. The notables, grandees, military officers, and notable people moved with al-Mu'taṣim to Samarra in the year 223.<sup>73</sup> They stayed there in the days of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil. However, Baghdad did not fall into ruin, and its markets were not diminished, since they could not be replaced; cultivated areas and houses went on continuously between Baghdad and Samarra on both the land and river sides, that is, along the Tigris and on both banks of the Tigris. |

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### Samarra<sup>74</sup>

We have given an account of Baghdad, its foundation, and the time when Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr built it. We have described how it was designed, and how its suburbs, estates, markets, lanes, streets, and quarters—on the west side of the Tigris, which is the side of the (Round) City and al-Karkh, and on the east side, which is the side of al-Ruṣāfa, which is called 'Askar al-Mahdī—were apportioned. Having said what we know about this, let us now give an account of Samarra. It is the second of the cities of the caliphs of the Banū Hāshim. Eight caliphs resided there, including al-Mu'taṣim, who founded it and constructed it; al-Wāthiq, who was Hārūn b. al-Mu'taṣim; al-Mutawakkil Ja'far

73 223 A.H. = December 3, 837 – November 23, 838.

74 On Samarra (Surra-man-ra'ā as al-Ya'qūbī gives it) and its community, see the article by A. Northedge in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sāmarrā'. One may add to the bibliography mentioned there: Alastair Northedge, *Samarra: Residenz der Abbāsidenkalifen 836–892 n. Chr.*, 221–279 *Hiğri*; idem, *The Historical Topography of Samarra*; C. F. Robinson, ed., *A Medieval Islamic City Reconsidered: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Samarra*; and Matthew S. Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords: A History of the Turkish Military of Samarra, A.H. 200–275/815–889 C.E.*

b. al-Mu'taṣim; al-Muntaṣir Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil; al-Musta'in Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim; al-Mu'tazz Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-Mutawakkil; al-Muhtadī Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq; and al-Mu'tamid Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil.

Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb<sup>75</sup> said: In olden times, Samarra was nothing but an open plain in the land of al-Ṭīrhān. There were no buildings there except for a Christian monastery at the site where the government palace known as the Dār al-Āmma came to be; the monastery was taken over as the treasury. When al-Mu'taṣim came to Baghdad, returning from Ṭarsūs in the year in which he was recognized as caliph, which was 218,<sup>76</sup> he resided at al-Ma'mūn's palace. Then he built a palace on the eastern side of Baghdad and moved there, staying there in the years 218, 219, 220, and 221. A group of Turks, who at the time spoke no Arabic,<sup>77</sup> were with him.



Ja'far al-Khushshakī informed me, saying: In the days of al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim used to send me to Nūḥ b. Asad in Samarqand to purchase Turks. 256 I would bring him a group of them each year. | In the days of al-Ma'mūn about three thousand slaves were acquired for him. When he became caliph, he applied himself diligently to seeking them and even bought whatever slaves were in Baghdad from private citizens. Those he bought in Baghdad formed a large group. They included Ashnās,<sup>78</sup> who was a slave of Nu'aym b. Khāzim, the father of Hārūn b. Nu'aym; Itākh, who was a slave of Sallām b. al-Abrash; Waṣīf, who was a slave armorer belonging to al-Nu'mān's family; and Simā al-Dimashqī, who was a slave of Dhu l-Ri'āsatayn al-Faḍl b. Sahl.<sup>79</sup> When these barbarian Turks rode their horses, they would gallop about and crash into people left and right; so the rabble would pounce on them, killing some and beating up others. Their blood could be shed with impunity, with no one bothering the culprit. This weighed heavily on al-Mu'taṣim, and he decided to leave Bagh-

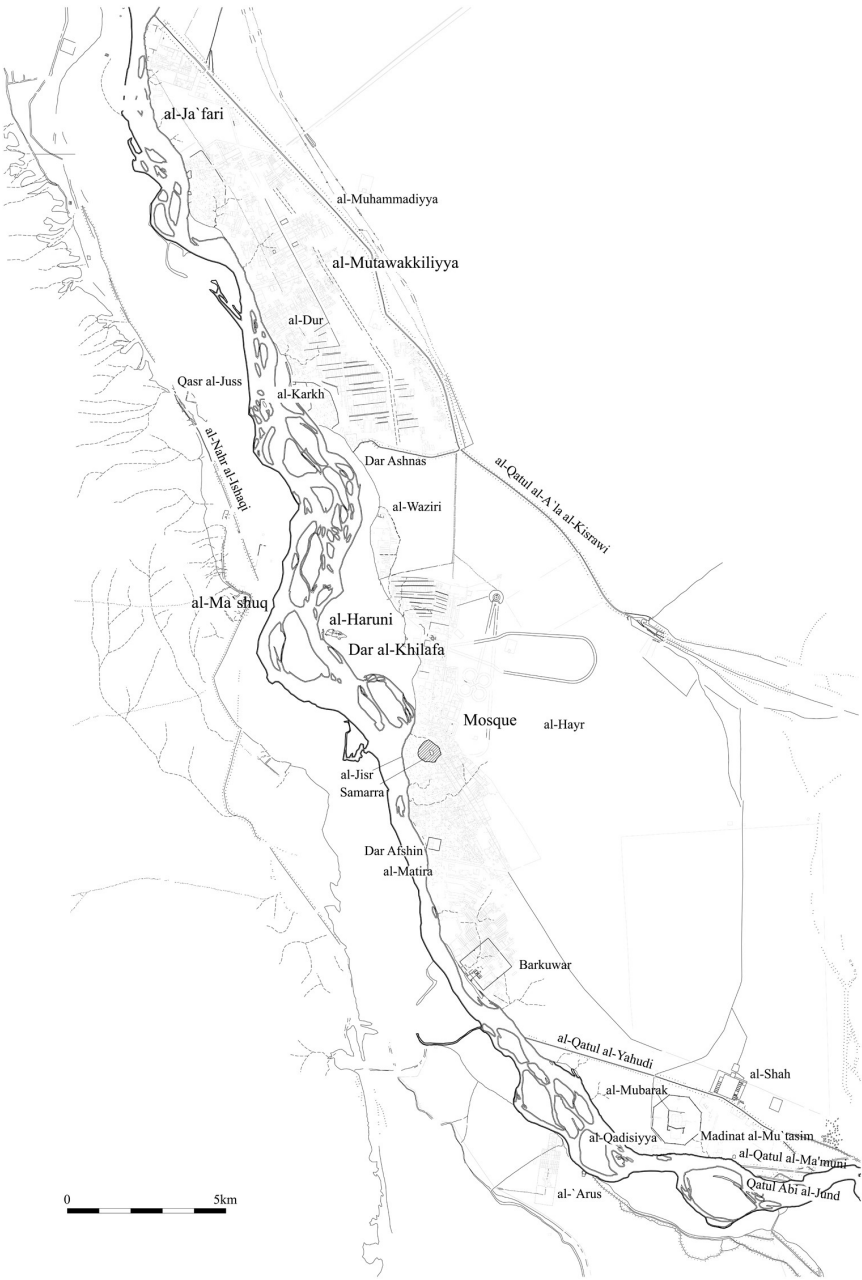
75 That is, al-Ya'qūbī, the author of the work.

76 Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:575, gives the date as 12 nights remaining (i.e., the 18th day) in Rajab, 218 (August 9, 833).

77 Arabic *wa-hum yawma'idhin 'ajam* (and they at that date were 'ajam): that is, they were speakers of an incomprehensible language, barbarians in the literal sense.

78 Ashnās is the usual reading of this name, but the etymology given by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1017, suggests that the reading Ashinās may be more correct.

79 On this passage and on Ashnās, Itākh, Waṣīf, and Simā, see Gordon, *Breaking of a Thousand Swords*, 17–18.



MAP 3      *Samarra*





dad.<sup>80</sup> He went to al-Shammāsiyya, the place where al-Ma'mūn used to go to pass some days or months. He intended to build a city outside Baghdad at al-Shammāsiyya, but the land at that spot seemed too constricted to him, and he also disliked its proximity to Baghdad. So he went on to al-Burdān at the advice of al-Faḍl b. Marwān, who was vizier at the time. That was in the year 221.<sup>81</sup> He stayed at al-Burdān a few days and summoned the engineers, but that site did not please him either. Then he came to a place known as Bāḥamshā on the east bank of the Tigris. He surveyed there for a city on the Tigris and looked for a place where a canal could be dug, but he did not find one. He went on to the village known as al-Maṭīra and stayed there a while, and then continued to al-Qāṭūl. He said, "This is the most suitable place." He caused the canal known as the Qāṭūl to go through the center of the city and the buildings to be along both the Tigris and the Qāṭūl. He began construction and assigned land-grants to military officers, bureaucrats, and important people. | They built until the buildings became tall and markets were laid out along the Qāṭūl and the Tigris. Al-Mu'taṣim took up residence in one of the buildings that had been built for him, and some of the important people did likewise. Then he said that the land around the Qāṭūl was unsatisfactory; it was full of pebbles and stones, was very difficult to build on, and had insufficient space. Then he rode out hunting and went on his way until he came to a place that would please whoever saw it.<sup>82</sup> It was a desolate area in the land of al-Ṭīrhān where there were no buildings and no people, except for a Christian monastery. He stopped at the monastery and talked with the monks there. He asked, "What is the name of this place?" One of the monks replied: "We find in our ancient books that this place is named Surra-man-ra'ā;<sup>83</sup> that it was the city of Shem, son of Noah; and that it will be rebuilt in the fullness of time by a great, triumphant, and victorious king whose comrades have faces like birds of the wasteland. He will reside there, and his children will reside there." So al-Mu'taṣim said: "By God! I will build it and reside there, and my children will reside there." Once, al-Rashīd had ordered that his children should go out hunting, so I went with Muḥammad, al-Ma'mūn, and al-Rashīd's

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80 On this and related versions of the caliph's decision to leave Baghdad, see Gordon, *ibid.*, 50–55.

81 221 A.H. = December 26, 835 – December 13, 836.

82 The name of Sāmarrā' (probably from an older toponym, cf. Syriac *Shūma'rā*) was popularly derived from the phrase *Surra Man Ra'ā* (He who Sees It Is Delighted), a folk etymology that became the new city's official name; al-Ya'qūbī consistently spells the name in this way. See the article by A. Northedge in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sāmarrā'. The Arabic therefore can also be translated, "He came to the site of Samarra."

83 See the previous note.

older children. Each one of us caught some game—I caught an owl. Then we went back and presented our game to him. The servants who were with us were saying, “This is so-and-so’s catch, and that is so-and-so’s catch,” until my catch was presented to him. When he saw the owl, which the servants were reluctant to present lest he regard it as a bad omen or treat me badly because of it, he said, “Who caught this?” They replied, “Abū Ishāq.”<sup>84</sup> He regarded it as auspicious and laughed and was happy. Then he said, “He will attain the caliphate; his soldiers, companions, and those who have influence with him will be people whose faces are like the face of this owl. He will rebuild an ancient city and reside there with those people; and his children after him will reside there.” Al-Rashīd was not as happy that day with anything that had been caught as he was with my catching that owl.



258 Thus al-Mu‘taṣim decided to reside at that place. He summoned Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, Ibn Abī Du‘ād,<sup>85</sup> | ‘Umar b. Faraj, and Aḥmad b. Khālīd, known as Abū l-Wazīr, and told them, “Buy this land from the owners of this monastery and pay them four thousand dinars as its price.” They did so. Then he summoned the engineers and said, “Chose the most suitable of these sites.” They selected a number of places for compounds. He assigned each of his comrades to construct a compound. He assigned Khāqān ‘Urṭūj Abū l-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān to build al-Jawsaq<sup>86</sup> al-Khāqānī; ‘Umar b. Faraj to build the the compound known as al-‘Umarī;<sup>87</sup> and Abū l-Wazīr to build the compound known as al-Wazīrī.

Then he drew the boundaries for the land-grants for the military officers, the bureaucrats, and the populace. He laid out the congregational mosque and demarcated the markets around this mosque. The boundaries of the markets were spacious; each type of trade was set up in a separate area, and each group of tradesmen was confined to that area, as the markets in Baghdad had been planned. He ordered the assembling of laborers, builders, and craftsmen such as blacksmiths, carpenters, and other trades, as well as the importing of teak and other types of wood and logs from Basra and its environs, from Baghdad

84 Abū Ishāq was the *kunya* (familiar name) of Muḥammad b. Hārūn, the future caliph who took the regnal name of al-Mu‘taṣim.

85 Aḥmad b. Abī Du‘ād al-Iyādī (d. 240/854) was chief judge under the ‘Abbāsids starting with al-Mu‘taṣim (r. 218–227/833–842) until the year 232/847, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil.

86 *Jawsaq* is the Arabic form of Persian *kūshk*, palace, villa.

87 The text has al-Ghumarī, presumably a typographical error.

and other parts of the Sawād, and from Antioch and other coastal towns of Syria. He brought in masons to cut and dress marble, and shops for working marble were set up in Latakia and elsewhere.

Al-Mu'taṣim kept the land-grants for the Turks separate from those of all other people. He kept the Turks segregated from the others, so that they would not mix with any of the assimilated people<sup>88</sup> and only people from Farghāna would be their neighbors. He granted Ashnās and his comrades estates in the place known as al-Karkh and joined to him a number of Turkish military officers and men, ordering him to build mosques and markets. He granted estates to Khāqān 'Urṭūj and his comrades adjacent to al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī and ordered him to keep his comrades together and forbid them to mix with the populace. He granted estates to Waṣīf and his comrades adjacent to al-Ḥayr; he built an enclosure named Ḥā'ir al-Ḥayr around them. The land-grants for all the Turks and the non-Arabs from Farghāna were kept far from the markets and the crowds of the wide avenues and long lanes. There was not a single merchant or other ordinary person | interspersed among them in their estates and lanes. Al-Mu'taṣim bought them slave girls and had them take wives from among them. He forbade them to marry or to become related through marriage to any of the assimilated people; even when their children grew up, they too could marry only among themselves. Fixed stipends were established for the Turks' slave girls, and their names were registered in the administrative records. None of the Turks could divorce his wife or separate from her.

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Having granted Ashnās the Turk an estate at the western end of the built-up area, and having granted his comrades estates with him and named the place al-Karkh, al-Mu'taṣim ordered that no outside merchant and other person should be permitted to settle near them and forbade them to have any contact with the indigenous people. He also granted estates beyond al-Karkh to another group of people and named the place al-Dūr. He built mosques and baths for them among the mansions and estates. In each place, he established a small market in which were a number of shops for grocers,<sup>89</sup> butchers, and other essential tradesmen.

He granted al-Afshin Khaydhar b. Kāwūs al-Ushrūshanī an estate at the eastern end of the built-up area, about two farsakhs away, and named the place al-Maṭīra. He granted al-Afshin's comrades from Ushrūshana and others who

88 Arabic *bi-qawmin min al-muwalladīn*: the term *muwallad* refers to persons of mixed ancestry, Arab and non-Arab, and by extension to persons assimilated to Arabic culture.

89 Text: *al-fāmiyyīn*. Sources cited by Wiet indicate that these were merchants of wheat or other grains; however, Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, 2:410 says that the word designated grocers who sold dried fruits and vegetables.

had been attached to him estates around his mansion, and he ordered him to build a small market there with shops for essential trades, mosques, and baths.

Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl requested an estate between the furthest markets, at the end of which was the hill where the gibbet for Bābak<sup>90</sup> came to be erected, and al-Maṭīra, the site of Afshīn's estate. There were no buildings in the area at the time, but later it became so surrounded with buildings that al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's estate came to be in the middle of Samarra. People's buildings stretched out in every direction all the way to al-Maṭīra.

260 Avenues were laid out to the estates of the military officers of Khurāsān and their comrades in the army and the Shākiriyya.<sup>91</sup> To the right and left of the avenues | were lanes and houses for the general populace. The avenue known as al-Sarīja, which was the principal avenue, stretched from al-Maṭīra to the watercourse known at that time as Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, because Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm moved from his estate in the days of al-Mutawakkil and built extensively at the head of the watercourse.

Then came the estate of Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh; after it there were estates for people on the left and the right of that grand avenue and in lanes on both sides of the avenue, which led in one direction to an avenue named for Abū Aḥmad, who was Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd, and in the other direction to the Tigris and vicinity. The estates continued to the principal ministry of the land tax, which was in that large avenue. In that avenue were the estates of the Khurāsānī military officers, among them the estate of Hāshim b. Bānījūr; the estate of 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa; the estate of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ma'mūnī; the estate of Hārūn b. Nu'aym; and the estate of Ḥizām b. Ghālīb. Behind Ḥizām's estate were the stables for the caliph's mounts, both the official and private ones; Ḥizām and his brother Ya'qūb were in charge of them.

90 Bābak was the leader of a religious and social movement that rebelled against the caliphate during the reigns of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim. Its followers received the name of Jāwīdāniyya from the leader of the Khurramiyya sect, Jāwīdhān b. Sahl, whose mantle Bābak inherited. The revolt was put down, and Bābak himself was taken to Baghdad and executed in 222/837. See the article by P. Crone in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bābak, and the fuller account in Crone's *Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran*, 46–76. On al-Badhdh, see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 224, and the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Badhdh.

91 Shākiriyya (from Persian *šākīr*, servant) probably refers to private militias fighting under the patronage of princes from the ruling dynasty or commanders belonging to the class of military nobility. The institution originated in the eastern provinces of the empire, but developed in the heartland of the caliphate under the 'Abbāsids. See the article by Khalil 'Athāmina in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Shākiriyya.

Then came places for the date-sellers; the slave-market, at an intersection where a number of roads branched off, with chambers, upper rooms, and slave-shops; the police station and main prison; and private residences. There were markets to the left and right on this avenue with various wares and manufactured goods. That continued until Bābak's gibbet. After that came the grand market, where there were no houses—each trade was in a separate area, and each type of artisan was segregated from the others. Then came the Old Mosque (al-Jāmi' al-Qadīm), which continued to be used for Friday prayers down to the time of al-Mutawakkil; then it became too small for the people, so that it was torn down and a spacious congregational mosque was built next to | al-Ḥayr. The congregational mosque and markets were on one side, and on the other were estates, residences, and markets for lowly tradesmen such as sellers of beer (*fuqqā'*),<sup>92</sup> *harīsa*,<sup>93</sup> and wine. 261

Then came the estate of Rāshid al-Maghribī; the estate of Mubārak al-Maghribī; Mubārak's Little Market; Ja'far al-Khayyāt Hill, on which was Ja'far's estate; then the estate of Abū l-Wazīr; then the estate of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī; then the estate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī. The avenue continued on, with the estates of common people along it, to the mansion of Hārūn b. al-Mu'tasim—that is, al-Wāthiq—near the Dār al-'Āmma, which is the mansion where Yaḥyā b. Aktham resided in the days of al-Mutawakkil, after he had been appointed chief judge. Then came Bāb al-'Āmma and the caliphal palace, or Dār al-'Āmma, where the caliph held audience on Mondays and Thursdays; then the treasuries for the privy purse and the public treasury; then the estate of Masrūr Sammāna al-Khādim, who was in charge of the treasuries; then the estate of Qarqās al-Khādim, a native of Khurāsān; then the estate of Thābit al-Khādim; then the estate of Abū l-Ja'fā' and other important court attendants.<sup>94</sup>

The second avenue was known by the name of Abū Aḥmad—that is, Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd. In the east, this avenue began at the mansion of Bakhtīshū' the physician, which he built in the days of al-Mutawakkil. Then it bore right, southward in the direction of the *qibla*, alongside the estates of the Khurāsānī military officers and their forces composed of Arabs and men from Qumm, Isfahan, Qazwīn, al-Jabal, and Azerbaijan. This led to the great Sarīja Avenue.

92 *Fuqqā'* was a kind of nonalcoholic beer, a carbonated drink made from malted barley and flavored with salt, sugar, and aromatics. For recipes see Nawal Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*, 454–459, 551.

93 *Harīsa* was a porridge of cooked crushed grains. See Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*, 560.

94 Or the caliph's eunuchs (*al-khadam al-kibār*); see note 66 above.

To the north, opposite the *qibla*, it connected with Abū Aḥmad Avenue, the principal ministry of the land tax, 'Umar's estate, and then an estate for the scribes and other people. The estate of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd was halfway  
 262 along the avenue; at its end, adjacent to the western watercourse, | which is called Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, were the estates of Ibn Abī Du'ād, al-Faḍl b. Marwān, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, and Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, all on the grand avenue. These estates were contiguous with each other all along this avenue and in the lanes on the right and left as far as the estate of Bughā the Younger; then the estate of Bughā the Elder; then the estate of Sīmā al-Dimashqī; then the estate of Barmash; then the old estate of Waṣīf; then the estate of Ītākh, which was adjacent to Bāb al-Bustān and the caliphal palaces.

The third avenue was the original al-Ḥayr Avenue, on which the mansion of Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb was built in the days of al-Mutawakkil. The start of this avenue was to the east and from the watercourse which joined the Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm. On it were the estates of the troops, the Shākiriyya, and various other people. It extended to Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ.

The fourth avenue was known as Barghāmush al-Turkī Avenue. On it were the estates of the Turks and the people from Farghāna. The Turkish lanes were separate and the Farghānī lanes were separate. The Turks were in the lanes which were on the *qibla* side, and the Farghānīs were across from them in the lanes opposite the *qibla*. Each lane was across from another lane, and none of the assimilated people were intermixed with the Turks and Farghānīs. The last of the houses and estates for the Turks were the estates of the Khazars, in the eastern areas. This avenue began from al-Maṭīra, at the estates of al-Afshīn, which were taken over by Waṣīf and Waṣīf's comrades. Then the avenue extended to the watercourse which joined Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ.

The fifth avenue was known by the name of Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī. It was al-Askar Avenue, in which there were estates of the Turks and the Farghānīs. The Turks again were in separate lanes and the Farghānīs in separate lanes. The avenue extended from al-Maṭīra to the palace of Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī at the head of the watercourse. It adjoined the estates of the military officers, bureaucrats, notables, and ordinary people.

Then came an avenue beyond al-Askar Avenue which was called the New  
 263 al-Ḥayr Avenue (Shārī' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd), in which there were a variety | of people consisting of military officers from the people of Farghāna, Ushrūshana, Ishtākhanj, and other rural districts of Khurāsān. Whenever estates for a group of people were added to these avenues which came from al-Ḥayr, the enclosure wall would be torn down and another one built further back. Beyond the enclosure wall, wild animals such as gazelles, onagers, oryx, hares, and ostriches were kept in a spacious, pleasant plain surrounded by a fence.

The avenue along the Tigris was named Canal Avenue (Shāri‘ al-Khalīj). Docks and boats were there, with wares arriving from Baghdad, Wāsiṭ, Kaskar, and other places in the Sawād; from Basra, al-Ubulla, al-Ahwāz, and that area; and from Mosul, Ba‘arbāyā, Diyār Rabī‘a, and that area. Most or all of the estates of the Maghāriba were there. The place known as al-Azlākh, which was where the Maghāriba<sup>95</sup> foot-soldiers lived, was one of the first parts of Samarra to be laid out.

Because people had more room for building in Samarra than they did in Baghdad, they built spacious homes. However, everyone’s drinking water came from the Tigris and was carried in bags on mules and camels, since their wells had to be very deep, and were salty, unpalatable, and did not yield an abundance of water; but the Tigris was nearby and there were many water-carriers.

The profits and income from Samarra and its markets amounted to 10 million dirhams a year. Sources of supply for imports, such as Mosul, Ba‘arbāyā, and other areas of Diyār Rabī‘a, were nearby, and the goods were transported on boats via the Tigris, so that prices were reasonable.



When al-Mu‘taṣim had finished surveying and laying the foundations of the buildings on the east side of the Tigris, the Samarra side, he built a bridge to the west side of the Tigris. He established cultivated areas, orchards, and gardens there; he had canals dug from the Tigris, and each military officer was entrusted with the development of one locality. Date palms were imported from Baghdad and Basra and other areas of the Sawād, and plants were brought in from the Jazīra, Syria, al-Jabal, al-Rayy, Khurāsān, and other countries. Water was plentiful | for these cultivated areas on the west<sup>96</sup> side of Samarra. The date palms flourished, the trees took root, the produce ripened, the fruits were excellent, and the herbs and vegetables were good. People planted various kinds of crops, herbs, vegetables, and succulent plants. Because the land had been fallow for thousands of years, whatever was planted in it flourished—so much so that the revenue from the cultivated areas on the canal known as the

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95 *Maghāriba* (pl. of *Maghribī*) means “people from the Maghrib.” The term *Maghrib* normally refers to North Africa, that is, the provinces west of Egypt. Brief references in ‘Abbāsīd-era sources, however, indicate that the Maghariba were Arab tribesmen from the districts of al-Ḥawf in the Nile Delta conscripted late in the reign of al-Ma’mūn, c. 214–215/830–832; see Matthew S. Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords*, 37–40.

96 Text: east, which must be a copyist’s mistake.



Ishāqī and alongside it, the Ītākhī Canal, the ‘Umarī Canal, the ‘Abd al-Malikī Canal, the Ibn Ḥammād Waterwheel, the Masrūrī Canal, the Sīf Canal, the five villages of al-‘Arabāt al-Muḥadditha, the seven lower villages, the orchards, and the gardens, plus the taxes (*kharāj*) on agricultural property amounted to 400,000 dinars a year.

From every country al-Mu‘taṣim summoned workers and craftsmen who were skilled at construction, farming, date cultivation, planting, channeling and measuring (the flow of) water, tapping water, and finding underground water. From Egypt, he brought those who knew how to make papyrus and other things; from Basra, those who knew how to make glass, pottery, and mats; from Kufa, those who could make ceramics and who could make oils; and from other countries, people of every profession and craft. He settled them with their families in these places, and they received land-grants there. He set up markets there for those who practiced their professions in the city. Al-Mu‘taṣim built palaces [in] the cultivated areas. In every orchard, he set a compound with reception rooms, pools, and courtyards. The cultivated areas became so beautiful that the notables were eager to have even a modest plot of land in them, and competed for them, and a *jarīb*<sup>97</sup> of land cost a great deal of money.

Al-Mu‘taṣim-bi’llāh died in the year 227,<sup>98</sup> and Hārūn al-Wāthiq b. al-Mu‘taṣim became caliph. Al-Wāthiq built the palace known as al-Hārūnī on the Tigris. He had it constructed with audience halls on eastern and western terraces.<sup>99</sup> He moved there, and the number of land-grants increased. He had some people settled near him and others settled further away, out of respect, not out of disfavor. He granted Waṣīf as land-grant the mansion of Afshīn in al-Maṭīra, so Waṣīf moved from his original mansion to Afshīn’s mansion. He  
 265 continued | to reside there with his comrades and retainers around him.

He expanded the markets, and the docks where ships from Baghdad, Wāsiṭ, Basra, and Mosul arrived were enlarged. People resumed building and built more durably and elaborately when they realized that this had become a real city; before that they had just called it “the Camp.”

Al-Wāthiq passed away in the year 232.<sup>100</sup> Ja‘far al-Mutawakkil b. al-Mu‘taṣim became caliph and resided at al-Hārūnī, which he liked best of all al-Mu‘taṣim’s

97 Originally, a *jarīb* was the amount of land on which one could sow a *jarīb* of seed (a bushel of a variety of sizes, depending on region), and so a *jarīb* of unirrigated land was larger than one of irrigated land. However, there was a tendency to fix the *jarīb* at 100 *qaṣabas* (approximately 1,600 square meters). See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Misāḥa*.

98 Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:584, gives a date of Thursday, 19 Rabi‘ 1, 227 (January 6, 842).

99 Arabic *dakka*: presumably some kind of elevated room. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

100 Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:590, gives a date of Wednesday, 24 Dhū l-Hijja, 232 (August 11, 847).

palaces. He settled his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir in al-Mu'taṣim's palace known as al-Jawsaq. He settled his son Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad in al-Maṭīra, and settled his son al-Mu'tazz to the east of al-Maṭīra at a place called Balkuwārā. Building became continuous from Balkuwārā to the end of the area known as al-Dūr, a distance of four farsakhs. He added al-Askar Avenue and New Avenue to the avenues of al-Ḥayr. He built the congregational mosque at the beginning of al-Ḥayr in a spacious place outside the inhabited area, so that it was not adjacent to any land-grant or market. He built it skillfully, spaciouly, and sturdily. He made a fountain in it which ran water constantly. He made the roads leading to it to consist of three forums,<sup>101</sup> grand and wide, coming from the avenue which begins at Wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ. In each forum there were shops with various kinds of wares, manufactured goods, and things for sale. The width of each forum was one hundred *dhirā's* (in black *dhirā's*), so that the caliph's access to the mosque would not be constricted if he attended Friday prayers at the mosque accompanied by his troops and retainers, his cavalry and infantry. There were lanes and streets from each forum to the next; the estates of a number of ordinary people were in them. The homes and mansions had ample room for their residents; and the merchants, | craftsmen, and artisans 266 had plenty of room in the shops and markets that were in the forums of the congregational mosque.

He granted Najāḥ b. Salama the secretary an estate at the end of the forums on the *qibla* side of the mosque; he also granted Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl the secretary an estate near there. He granted estates to Muḥammad b. Mūsā the astronomer and his brothers, and a group of bureaucrats, military officers, members of the clan of Hāshim, and others.

Al-Mutawakkil decided to build himself a city in order to move there—one that would be named for him and for which he would be remembered. So he ordered Muḥammad b. Mūsā the astronomer and the engineers at his court to choose a site. Their choice fell on a place called al-Māḥūza.<sup>102</sup> Al-Mutawakkil was told that al-Mu'taṣim had been about to build a city there and

101 Arabic *ṣufūf* (plural of *ṣaff*) originally meant *rows*. Northedge, *Topography*, 271, translates *rows*, but *forums* seems to fit the context here. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ṣaff*, notes that the plural *ṣufūf* can refer both to rows of men and to the *place* where men assemble in rows.

102 One is tempted to equate al-Māḥūza with al-Madā'in, the old Sasanian capital about 26 miles (41.9 km) south of Baghdad. Indeed, one of the Aramaic names for that capital was Māḥōzē (the Cities), which translates into Arabic as al-Madā'in. Against this, one notes that al-Yā'qūbī elsewhere refers to the old Sasanian capital as al-Madā'in, that Aramaic *māḥōzā* (city, settlement) was a generic term, and that the new foundation was close to Samarra; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 2:86–89, s.v. al-Ja'farī.

to dig out a canal that had been there in antiquity. Al-Mutawakkil therefore decided to do this and began planning for it in the year 245.<sup>103</sup> He directed that the canal should be dug to run through the middle of the city. The expenditure for the canal was estimated at 1,500,000 dinars. That did not trouble the caliph, who agreed to it. The digging began, and great sums were spent for that canal. The site for the caliph's palaces and residences was marked out, and he made land-grants to his heirs-apparent and his other children, military officers, bureaucrats, soldiers, and ordinary people. The grand avenue extended from the mansion of Ashnās in al-Karkh—it was later owned by al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān—for a distance of three farsakhs to his palaces. He set three great, high gates outside his palaces; a horseman with his lance could enter through them. He granted estates to people to the right and left of the grand avenue, which he made two hundred *dhirāʿ*s wide. He proposed to dig canals on both sides of the avenue, for water to flow from the large canal that was being excavated. The palaces were built, the mansions were erected, and the construction rose up. The caliph would go around in person; whenever he saw someone building diligently, he rewarded him with gifts and presents, so people built in earnest. Al-Mutawakkil named this city al-Jaʿfariyya. Buildings ran continuously from al-Jaʿfariyya to the place known as al-Dūr, and thence to al-Karkh and Samarra, extending to the place where | his son Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz had settled. There was no empty space anywhere between them, no gap, no place without buildings, for a distance of seven farsakhs.

The construction rose in the space of a year. The markets were set up in a separate area; there was a market at each intersection and in each neighborhood. The congregational mosque was built. Al-Mutawakkil moved to the palaces of this city on the first day of Muḥarram in the year 247.<sup>104</sup> When he held court, he bestowed splendid prizes on the people and rewarded them. He gave stipends to all the military officers, bureaucrats, and those who had undertaken any of the work. He was overjoyed and said, "Now I know that I am a king, for I have built myself a city in which I have taken up residence." The ministries were moved there: the ministry of the land tax, the ministry of country estates, the ministry of finances,<sup>105</sup> the ministry of the army and the Shākiriyya, the ministry of clients and pages, the ministry of the post, and all the (other) ministries. However, the canal was not finished; only a trickle of water was flowing in it,

103 245 A.H. = April 8, 859 – March 27, 860.

104 17 March 861. Cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:601, where the date of Muḥarram 246, one year earlier, is given.

105 Arabic *diwān al-zimām*. Literally, "bureau of registry," a ministry that kept a record of revenues and expenses. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:601, and the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zimām*.

and it was not continuous or ready for use, although something like a million dinars had already been spent on it: digging it was extremely difficult because they were digging into gravel and stones where picks were ineffective.

Al-Mutawakkil remained in residence in his palaces at al-Jaʿfariyya for nine months and three days. He was murdered on 3 Shawwāl 247<sup>106</sup> at his Jaʿfārī palace, the most ill-omened of the palaces.

Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir, the son of al-Mutawakkil, became ruler. He moved to Samarra and ordered the people to move en masse from al-Māḥūza, to tear down the houses, and to haul the rubble to Samarra. So the people moved and hauled the rubble of the houses to Samarra. The Jaʿfārī palaces, houses, dwellings, and markets quickly went to ruin, and the place became deserted without a person or inhabitant in it—a wasteland, as if nothing had ever been built there and no one ever had lived there.

Al-Muntaṣir died at Samarra in Rabīʿ II 248.<sup>107</sup> Al-Mustaʿīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿtaṣim became ruler. | He stayed in Samarra for two years 268 and eight months, until his circumstances became troubled; he went down to Baghdad in Muḥarram 251.<sup>108</sup> He stayed there, fighting against the supporters of al-Muʿtazz for an entire year, while al-Muʿtazz was in Samarra, backed by the Turks and other clients. Then al-Mustaʿīn was deposed, and al-Muʿtazz became ruler. He stayed (in Samarra) until he was murdered, three years and seven months after the deposition of al-Mustaʿīn. Muḥammad al-Muhtadī b. al-Wāthiq received the oath of allegiance as caliph in Rajab 255.<sup>109</sup> He resided for a whole year in al-Jawsaq Palace until he was murdered—may God have mercy on him. Aḥmad al-Muʿtamid b. al-Mutawakkil became ruler. He stayed at Samarra in al-Jawsaq and the caliphal palaces; then he moved to the eastern (*sic*) side of Samarra and built a beautiful palace, which he named al-Maʿshūq.<sup>110</sup> He took up residence there and stayed in it until upheaval set in, whereupon he moved to Baghdad, and thence to al-Madāʾīn.

From the time Samarra was built and inhabited until we have written about it in this book of ours, fifty-five years have passed. Eight caliphs ruled there, and five died or were murdered there: al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāthiq, al-Muntaṣir, al-Muʿtazz, and al-Muhtadī. Two were killed in its environs, in areas adjacent to it or near it: al-Mutawakkil and al-Mustaʿīn. Its name in ancient books was Zawraʾ

106 December 10, 861.

107 Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫ*, 2:603, gives a date of Saturday, 4 Rabīʿ II, 248 (June 7, 862).

108 February 865.

109 Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫ*, 2:617, gives a date of Tuesday, 27 Rajab, 255 (July 11, 869).

110 "The Beloved."

Banī l-‘Abbās.<sup>111</sup> This is justified because the *qiblas* of its mosques were all off-axis. Although not a single one was accurate, not one has been torn down or forgotten.



We have now described Baghdad and Samarra. We began with them because they are the two royal cities and seats of the caliphate, and we have described the foundation of each of them. Let us now give an account of the other countries and the distances between one country and another and one city and another, in four parts, according to the four regions of the world: east; west; south, the direction of the *qibla*, which is where Canopus, which the astronomers call al-Tayman, rises; and north, which is the abode of the Bear,<sup>112</sup> which the astronomers call Polaris.<sup>113</sup> | We shall describe each country according to the quarter in which it is located and what is adjacent to it. May God grant success.

### The First Quarter: The East

From Baghdad to al-Jabal, Azerbaijan, Qazwīn, Zanjān, Qumm, Isfahan, al-Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Jurjān, Sijistān, and Khurāsān and the parts of Tibet and Turkistan that border on it.

#### *The Rural Districts (KUWAR) of al-Jabal*<sup>114</sup>

If one wishes to proceed eastward from Baghdad, one begins from the part of it on the east bank of the Tigris and then heads east to the place known as Three Gates, which is the easternmost part of Baghdad. Next one travels straight on to the bridge at al-Nahrawān.<sup>115</sup> Nahrawān is a venerable old town beside a canal that branches off from a canal called the Tāmarrā that comes from al-Jabal

<sup>111</sup> “The Oblique of the ‘Abbāsids.”

<sup>112</sup> The Arabic *banāt al-naʿsh* does not specify whether Ursa Minor (*al-ṣuḡhrā*) or Ursa Major (*al-kubrā*) is meant.

<sup>113</sup> Arabic “Al-Jady,” which usually means Capricorn, also can mean Polaris, which is clearly intended here.

<sup>114</sup> On the province known as al-Jabal, see note 24 above.

<sup>115</sup> On the town of al-Nahrawān and the canal system, see the article by M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nahrawān.

and then goes on to irrigate some of the counties of the Sawād and which is navigable by large boats and big ships. After one crosses the Nahrawān bridge, the various routes to al-Jabal branch out.

If one wishes to go to the rural districts of Māsabadhān,<sup>116</sup> Mihrijānqadhaq,<sup>117</sup> and al-Ṣaymara,<sup>118</sup> one bears right upon crossing the Nahrawān bridge. After six stages, one reaches the county-seat of Māsabadhān, a city known as al-Sīrawān,<sup>119</sup> which is important, large, and spread out between mountains and valleys. It is the city which most resembles Mecca. It has springs from which water gushes out and flows through the town to large streams which irrigate the fields, villages, country estates, and gardens along their banks for a distance of three stages. These springs are hot in winter and cold in summer. The city has a mixed population of Arabs and non-Arabs.

### *Al-Ṣaymara*

From the city of al-Sīrawān to the city of al-Ṣaymara, which is the main city of the rural district known as Mihrijānqadhaq, is a distance of two stages. The city of al-Ṣaymara is situated in a vast meadow dotted with springs and streams | 270  
that water the villages and fields. The population is a mixture of Arabs and of non-Arabs who are Persians and Kurds. Māsabadhān and al-Ṣaymara were conquered during the caliphate of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The land tax from this area amounts to 2.5 million dirhams. The people speak Persian.



If one wishes to go from Baghdad to Ḥulwān,<sup>120</sup> one bears left after crossing the Nahrawān bridge, going to Daskarat al-Malik,<sup>121</sup> where there are wonderfully constructed, beautiful palaces of the Persian kings. From Daskarat al-Malik one goes to Ṭarāristān,<sup>122</sup> where there are more wonderful remains of buildings

116 Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 202.

117 Ibid.; also vocalized as Mihrijānqudhaq (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:698).

118 Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 207; article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣaymara.

119 Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 207.

120 On Ḥulwān see the article by L. Lockhart in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥulwān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 198–199.

121 Daskarat al-Malik (King's Daskara) was located on the Khurāsān Road, about 16 farsakhs (88 kilometers) from Baghdad. See the article by A. A. Duri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Daskara.

122 The reading of the text and identification are uncertain. The printed edition reads Ṭarāri-

attributed to the Persian kings. There are also aqueducts constructed of gypsum and bricks, some built in channels on top of each other. Some come from the Qāṭūl canals, and others from the Nahrawān canal. From Ṭarārīstān one goes to the battlefield of Jalūlā',<sup>123</sup> the first part of al-Jabal. This is where the battle with the Persians took place in the days of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ overtook them. God scattered the Persian forces and put them to flight. This was in the year 19 A.H.<sup>124</sup> From Jalūlā' one goes to Khāniqīn,<sup>125</sup> a particularly attractive and important village. From Khāniqīn one goes to Qaṣr Shīrīn.<sup>126</sup> Shīrīn was the wife of Kisrā and spent her summers in this castle. Many antiquities of the Persian kings are found in this area. From Qaṣr Shīrīn one goes to Ḥulwān.

### *Ḥulwān*

The city of Ḥulwān is large and beautiful. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Arabs and of non-Arabs who are Persians and Kurds. It was conquered in the days of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Although Ḥulwān is one of the rural districts of al-Jabal, its land tax is included as part of the revenue from the counties of the Sawād. From Ḥulwān one proceeds to the meadow known as Marj al-Qal'a,<sup>127</sup> where the caliph's mounts are put to pasture. From Marj al-Qal'a one goes to al-Zubaydiyya, and thence to the city of Qarmāsīn. Qarmāsīn is an important, populous place. Most of the people are non-Arabs: Persians and Kurds. From the town of Qarmāsīn to al-Dīnawar is three stages.

### *Al-Dīnawar*

- 271 Al-Dīnawar<sup>128</sup> is an important city with a mixed population of Arabs and non-Arabs. It was conquered in the days of 'Umar. It is called Māh al-Kūfa<sup>129</sup> because its revenue was used to pay the stipends of the people of Kufa. A number of

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*stān*, with a note that a second hand has corrected it in the margin of the MS to Ṭabarīstān, which is geographically impossible. Perhaps one should read *Ṭazarīstan*, and identify the place as Ṭazar of al-Muqaddasī, 393, and Yāqūt, 3:537; see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 198 n. 20; Wiet, 67.

123 For accounts of the Arab victory over the Persians at Jalūlā', see al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:173; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2456 ff.; and the article by M. Streck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djalūlā'*.

124 That is, 640 C.E.; al-Ṭabarī dates the battle to the end of the year 16 (late 637 or early 638).

125 See the article by P. Schwarz in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khāniqīn*; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 199.

126 See the article by M. Streck and J. Lassner in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qaṣr-i Shīrīn*; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 199.

127 Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 192.

128 See the article by L. Lockhart in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dīnawar*; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 207–208.

129 Arabic and Persian writers explain *Māh* as coming from a Persian word variously glossed as

districts and cantons<sup>130</sup> are included among its dependencies. The revenue from its land tax, not counting the crown estates, amounts to 5.7 million dirhams.

### *Qazwīn and Zanjān*

Whoever wants to go from al-Dīnawar to Qazwīn and Zanjān<sup>131</sup> proceeds from al-Dīnawar to the town of Abhar, where the roads diverge. If one is heading for Zanjān, one bears left from Abhar to Zanjān; then one goes on to the city of Qazwīn. Qazwīn is off the main road, at the foot of a mountain which borders al-Daylam. There are two riverbeds there, one called al-Wādī al-Kabīr and the other Wādī Sīram. Water flows in them during the winter, but dries up in the summer. The population is a mixture of Arabs and non-Arabs. Some Persian antiquities are found there, including fire temples. Its land tax, along with that of Zanjān, is 1.5 million dirhams. Roads fan out from it to Hamadhān, al-Dīnawar, Shahrazūr, Isfahan, and al-Rayy, as well as the road from it to Azerbaijan.

### *Azerbaijan*

Whoever wants to go to Azerbaijan<sup>132</sup> travels four stages from Zanjān to the city of Ardabīl,<sup>133</sup> the first town in Azerbaijan that one reaches. From Ardabīl to Barzand,<sup>134</sup> one of the rural districts of Azerbaijan, is a three-day journey. From Barzand one goes to the city of Warthān,<sup>135</sup> in another rural district of Azerbai-

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town, capital, province, or kingdom. A more likely explanation is that *Māh* reflects *Māda*, the old word for Media, the land of the Medes, where the city was located. See L. Lockhart's article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dīnawar.

130 Arabic *aqālīm wa rasātiq*. For *iqālīm/aqālīm*, see note 10 above. The *rustāq* (plural *rasātiq*) was an administrative unit that in al-Ya'qūbī's usage seems to be a division of a *kūra*, without any sizable town, and often located in a hilly or mountainous area. It is translated by convention here as "canton."

131 See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zandjān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 208–211.

132 See the article by V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ādharbaydjan; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 214–225.

133 See the articles by R. N. Frye in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ardabil, and by Kishwar Rizvi in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ardabil; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 215–217.

134 See the article by R. N. Frye in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Barzand; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 224 gives the distance from Ardabil to Barzand as 14 farsakhs (c. 91 km on modern maps).

135 Modern Altan; see V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ādharbaydjan; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 230.



272 jan; from Warthān to al-Baylaqān;<sup>136</sup> and from al-Baylaqān to al-Marāgha,<sup>137</sup> the main city of Upper Azerbaijan. The rural districts of Azerbaijan are Arda-bīl, Barzand, Warthān, Bardha'a,<sup>138</sup> al-Shīz,<sup>139</sup> Sarāt,<sup>140</sup> Marand,<sup>141</sup> Tabrīz,<sup>142</sup> | al-Mayānij,<sup>143</sup> Urmiya,<sup>144</sup> Khuwayy,<sup>145</sup> and Salmās.<sup>146</sup> The inhabitants of the towns and rural districts of Azerbaijan are a mixture of Ādharī Persians and the ancient Jāwīdāniyya, lords of the city of al-Badhdh where Bābak was.<sup>147</sup> The Arabs settled in Azerbaijan when it was conquered in the year 22 by al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba al-Thaqafī during the caliphate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.<sup>148</sup> The revenue from its land tax is 4 million dirhams, more in one year and less in another.

### *Hamadhān*

Whoever wants to go from al-Dīnawar to the city of Hamadhān<sup>149</sup> proceeds two stages from the town of al-Dīnawar to a place called Muḥammadābādh.<sup>150</sup> From Muḥammadābādh to Hamadhān is another two stages. Hamadhān is a

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- 136 The site has been identified as modern Ören Kal'e in Azerbaijan. See the articles by D. M. Dunlop in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baylaqān, and by J. M. Rogers, s.v. Ören Kal'e; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 228, locates the town near the confluence of the Araxes and Kur rivers.
- 137 See the article by V. Minorsky in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marāgha; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 214. The situation of al-Marāgha at an elevation of 5,500 feet explains why al-Ya'qūbī calls it the main city of Upper Azerbaijan (*Adharbayjān al-'Ulyā*).
- 138 On Bardha'a (modern Barda), see the article by D. M. Dunlop in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bardha'a; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 227–228.
- 139 Described in many sources as a major Zoroastrian religious site, now known as Takht-e Sulaymān: See the article by J. Ruska and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shīz; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 208, 214.
- 140 On Sarāt (usually given as Sarāv), see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 163, 168, 230.
- 141 On Marand, see the article by V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marand.
- 142 On Tabrīz, see the article by V. Minorsky, C. E. Bosworth, and Sheila S. Blair in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tabrīz; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 217 ff.
- 143 Al-Mayānij is probably the same as the town listed by Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, 4:710, s.v. Miyāna, located midway between Marāgha and Tabrīz.
- 144 On the lake and the city of Urmiya, see the article by V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Urmiya.
- 145 So in the text; modern Khōi. See the article by R. M. Savory in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khōi, Khūy.
- 146 On Salmās, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salmās.
- 147 On Bābak, see note 90 above.
- 148 22 A.H. = November 30, 642 – November 18, 643; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:180.
- 149 On Hamadhān (modern Hamadān), see the article by R. N. Frye in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hamadhān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 128–132.
- 150 Not to be confused with a place of the same name in Khurāsān.

large, important country to which many regions and rural districts are attached. It was conquered in the year 23.<sup>151</sup> Its land tax amounts to six million dirhams. It is called Māh al-Bašra because its land tax used to be taken for the stipends of the people of Basra.<sup>152</sup> The people's drinking water comes from springs and streams that flow both in winter and in summer. One of them flows to al-Sūs,<sup>153</sup> a rural district of al-Ahwāz, and then passes via the Dujayl,<sup>154</sup> the river of al-Ahwāz, to the city of al-Ahwāz.<sup>155</sup>

### *Nihāwand*

From Hamadhān to Nihāwand<sup>156</sup> is two stages. Nihāwand is a splendid city, where the Persians assembled when al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī attacked them in the year 21.<sup>157</sup> It has several dependent districts inhabited by a mixture of Arabs and non-Arabs. Its land tax, apart from the crown estates, is one million dirhams.

### *Al-Karaj*

From Nihāwand to the city of al-Karaj<sup>158</sup> is two stages. Al-Karaj is the residence of ʿIsā b. | Idrīs b. Maʿqil b. Shaykh b. ʿUmayr al-ʿIjlī, Abū Dulaf.<sup>159</sup> Not a famous city in the days of the Persians, it counted only as one of the large villages in a canton known as Fāʾiq<sup>160</sup> in the rural district of Isfahan. It is sixty farsakhs from it to the city of Isfahan. The ʿIjlī tribesmen settled there, building fortresses and compounds. The compounds were named for Abū Dulaf, his brothers, and his

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151 23 A.H. = November 19, 643 – November 6, 644; cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:180.

152 On the name, see the article by M. Morony in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Māh al-Bašra.

153 On al-Sūs (modern Persian Shūsh), see the article by M. Streck and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Sūs.

154 That is, the Kārūn River, which the Arabs called the Dujayl al-Ahwāz; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 232.

155 On al-Ahwāz, the main town of Khūzistān, see the article by Mathieu Tillier, in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Ahwāz; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 190 ff.

156 On this town in the Zagros Mountains, see the article by V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nihāwand.

157 21 A.H. = December 10, 641 – November 29, 642. Cf. the account in al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:179; also the bibliography in Minorsky's article mentioned in the previous note.

158 Not the modern town of Karaj; the exact location is uncertain, but this al-Karaj was about halfway between modern Golpāyegān and Hamadān. Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 180; Le Strange, *Lands*, 197; Ibn Ḥawqal, 262, *Hudūd*, 132, 201; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (al-)Karadj.

159 On this politically active family that played a role in the initial ʿAbbāsīd movement, the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, and the campaign against Bābak, see the article by J. E. Bencheikh in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿIsā b. Idrīs, Abū Dulaf.

160 The MS reading is ambiguous. Other sources give both Fāʾiq and Fātik.

kinsmen. Four cantons are attached to (al-Karaj): the two Fā'iqs, Jābalq,<sup>161</sup> and Barqrūdh.<sup>162</sup> Al-Karaj is situated amid four mountains covered with estates, fields, villages, perennial rivers, and flowing springs. The inhabitants are non-Arabs, except for the family of ʿĪsā b. Idrīs al-ʿIjlī and other Arabs who have joined them. The land tax from al-Karaj was 3.4 million dirhams. This included one million dirhams from the cantons and a 400,000 dirham tax on beverages. This decreased in the days of al-Wāthiq to 3.3 million dirhams.

### *Qumm and Its Dependencies*

Whoever wants to go to Qumm<sup>163</sup> proceeds east from the city of Hamadhān through its cantons. It is five stages from the city of Hamadhān to the city of Qumm. The largest urban area<sup>164</sup> of Qumm is called Manijān.<sup>165</sup> It is an important place, said to contain a thousand lanes. There is an old Persian fortress inside the city. Adjacent to it is an urban area called Kumundān.<sup>166</sup> There is a watercourse with a stream that flows between the two urban areas. There are some arched stone bridges across it | by which one crosses from Manijān to Kumundān. Most of the population belong to the tribe of Madhḥij, specifically to the Ash'arīs.<sup>167</sup> There are also people of non-Arab ancestry as well as a group of clients who report that they were freedmen of ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Qumm has two canals: one, in the upper part of the city, is known as Ra's al-Mūr, and the other, in the lower city, is called Fūrūz. Both have water from springs made to flow through excavated channels. Qumm is situated in a broad plain that stretches about ten farsakhs to the mountains. Among them is a mountain known as Rustāq Sardāb and a mountain known

161 Cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 2:2–3, s.v. Jābalq.

162 Barqrūdh is also attested as Barq al-Rūdh.

163 On the city of Qumm (Modern Persian Qom) see the article by J. Calmard in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qum.

164 Text: *madīnat Qumm al-kubrā*. Al-Yaʿqūbī treats Qumm as a single municipality with multiple components; indeed, the sources speak of Qumm as consisting of many villages, seven of which were surrounded by a defensive wall. *Madīna* therefore has been translated in this case as “urban area” (“village” might be another possibility) to avoid confusing repetitions of the term “city.”

165 Manijān, the principal settlement, was one of the seven original villages. See the article by J. Calmard cited in note 163.

166 Also vocalized as Kumandān.

167 As the Ash'arīs (members of the South Arabian tribe of al-Ash'ar b. Udad) were a sister tribe to the Madhḥij (descended from Mālik b. Udad), the text, which normally would mean, “belong to the tribe of Madhḥij, specifically to the subgroup group of Ash'ar,” should be taken in an extended sense: “belong to the tribe of Madhḥij, specifically to the related group of Ash'ar.” See Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, 7.

as al-Mallāḥa. Qumm has twelve cantons: Sitāra, Karizmān, al-Farāhān, Warah, Ṭīras,<sup>168</sup> Kūrdur, Wardirāh, Sardāb, Barāwistān, Sirāḥa,<sup>169</sup> Qāriṣ, and Hindijān. During summer, the people of the city drink mostly from wells. Roads fan out from Qumm to al-Rayy, Isfahan, al-Karaj, and Hamadhān. Its land tax is 4.5 million dirhams.

### *Isfahan (Iṣbahān)*

From Qumm to Isfahan<sup>170</sup> is sixty farsakhs, which equals six stages. Isfahan comprises two urban areas, one of which is called Jayy and the other al-Yahūdiyya. The population is mixed: a few are Arabs, but most are Persians (descended from) aristocratic *dihqāns*. There are Arabs there who immigrated from Kufa and Basra, of the tribes of Thaḳīf, Tamīm, Banū Ḍabba, Khuzā'a, Banū Ḥanīfa, Banū 'Abd al-Qays, and others. It is said that Salmān al-Fārisī<sup>171</sup>—may God's mercy be upon him—was a native of Isfahan from a village called Jayyān—this is what the people of Isfahan have handed down among themselves. The inhabitants of Isfahan have plenty of water from streams and springs that flow towards al-Ahwāz from Isfahan via Tustar, Manādhir al-Kubrā, and then to the city of al-Ahwāz. Isfahan was conquered | in the year 23.<sup>172</sup> Its land tax amounts to ten million dirhams. It has the following cantons: Jayy, where the city is located; Barā'n, inhabited exclusively by *dihqāns*; Burkhār, where a group of *dihqāns* also live; Ruwaydasht, which is the border between Isfahan and a district of Fārs known as Yazd; al-Barān; Mīrabin; al-Qāmidān, which is inhabited by Kurds and a mixture of non-Arabs who are not of noble descent like the others and out of which came the Khurramiyya,<sup>173</sup> and which is the border between the provinces of Iṣbahān and al-Ahwāz; Fahmān, also inhabited by

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168 Possibly to be read Ṭabrīsh.

169 The reading is uncertain; restored by the editor on the basis of Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 265.

170 On Isfahan, see the article by A. K. S. Lambton and J. Sourdel-Thomine in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Iṣfahān.

171 On Salmān al-Fārisī ("Salmān the Persian," also known as Salmān Pāk, "Salmān the Pure"), a Companion of the Prophet, often regarded as the first Persian convert to Islam, see the article by G. Levi Della Vida in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salmān al-Fārisī.

172 23 A.H. = November 19, 643 – November 6, 644; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:280.

173 The Arabic historians use Khurramiyya to designate a variety of sects with roots in the doctrines of the late 5th-century Iranian religious figure Mazdak. By 'Abbāsīd times, there were a variety of such groups, anti-Arab and anti-Islamic in orientation, said to believe in dualism, transmigration, and continued prophecy. They were frequently accused of believing in free love and community of property. See the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khurramiyya*, and the extensive treatment in P. Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran*.

Kurds and Khurramiyya; Farīdīn, inhabited by lower-class non-Arabs whom the noble Persians of Isfahan call the Luyabah;<sup>174</sup> al-Rādmīla;<sup>175</sup> the twin districts of Sardqāsān and Jarmqāsān, inhabited by noble *dihqāns* and some Arabs from Yemen of the tribe of Hamdān, which form the border between the province of Isfahan and Qumm; Ardistān, inhabited by the grandest of the *dihqāns* and which is said to have been the place where Kisrā Anūshirawān<sup>176</sup> was born; and al-Taymarā, which consists of two cantons inhabited by Arabs of the Banū Hilāl and various divisions of the Qays and which forms the boundary between the province of Isfahan and al-Karaj.

### *Al-Rayy*

If one's destination is al-Rayy,<sup>177</sup> one leaves the city of al-Dīnawar for Qazwīn, and then one travels three stages from Qazwīn along the main highway—al-Rayy is located on the Khurāsān highway. The city of al-Rayy is named al-Muḥammadiyya. It was given that name because al-Mahdī<sup>178</sup> stayed there during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr, when he was sent to Khurāsān to fight ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī, and built up the city. Al-Rashīd was born there, | for al-Mahdī spent several years there and constructed a marvelous building there. The wives of notables among its people nursed al-Rashīd. The people of al-Rayy are a mixture of Persians and a few Arabs. It was conquered by Qarāza b. Ka‘b al-Anṣārī, during the caliphate of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, in the year 23.<sup>179</sup> The people obtain water from numerous springs and large watercourses. One large watercourse comes from the country of al-Daylam and is called the Nahr Mūsā. Because of the country's abundant water, its fruits, gardens, and trees are numerous. It has several cantons and districts. The country estates of Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu‘ādh and Abū ‘Abbād Thābit b. Yaḥyā, al-Ma‘mūn's secretary, are there; both were natives of Rayy. Its land tax amounts to ten million dirhams.

174 The vocalization and meaning of the word, apparently Persian, are unknown.

175 The correct reading and vocalization are unknown.

176 The Sasanian ruler Kisrā Anūshirawān (Khusraw Anūshirwān) ruled from 591 to 628 C.E.

177 On the city of al-Rayy, whose ruins are located about 5 miles south-southeast of modern Tehran, see the article by V. Minorsky in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Rayy; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 121 ff.

178 The future third ‘Abbāsīd caliph, whose given name was Muḥammad. He was made governor of al-Rayy in 141/758–759.

179 23 A.H. = November 19, 643 – November 6, 644; cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 2:180.

### *Qūmis*

From al-Rayy to Qūmis<sup>180</sup> via the main highway and great road is twelve stages, some in inhabited areas and some in the desert. Qūmis is a large, important country. The name of the main town is al-Dāmaghān,<sup>181</sup> which is the first of the towns of Khurāsān. It was conquered by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, in the year 30.<sup>182</sup> The people are Persians, and they are the most skillful of people in knowing how to make the fine woolen apparel known as Qūmisiyya. Its land tax, amounting to 1.5 million dirhams, is included as part of the revenue of Khurāsān. As for the territory which borders the Caspian Sea (Baḥr al-Daylam) in Khurāsān, (it extends) from al-Rayy to Ṭabaristān.<sup>183</sup> The main city of Ṭabaristān is Sāriya,<sup>184</sup> which is seven stages from al-Rayy.

### *Ṭabaristān*

(From Sāriya) to the second city of Ṭabaristān, which is called Āmul,<sup>185</sup> is two stages. The city of Āmul is on the Caspian Sea (Baḥr al-Daylam). Ṭabaristān is a separate country with an important kingdom. Its king is still known as the Ispahbadh.<sup>186</sup> It is the country of al-Māzyār,<sup>187</sup> who used to write to | the caliphs  
al-Ma’mūn and al-Mu’taṣim: “From the Jīl-Jīlān, Ispahbadh of Khurāsān, al-  
Māzyār Muḥammad b. Qārīn, the supporter (*muwālī*) of the Commander of the  
Faithful”—he did not say “client (*mawlā*) of the Commander of the Faithful.”  
Ṭabaristān is a country with many fortresses and protected by ravines. The

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180 On Qūmis, see the article by E. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kūmis; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 112–120.

181 On Dāmaghān (modern Dāmghān), some 344 km east of Tehran, see the article by D. N. Wilber in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dāmghān.

182 30 A.H. = September 4, 650 – August 23, 651; cf. al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:192.

183 Modern Māzandarān; article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭabaristān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 230–242.

184 Modern Sārī; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sārī; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 238.

185 Āmul grew in importance after it became the province’s administrative center under Arab rule; see the article by L. Lockhart in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Āmul; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 238f.

186 Written in Arabic as *iṣbahbadh*. The title (“chief of the army”) and had roots as far back as Achaemenid Iran. The rulers of Ṭabaristān maintained the title down to the Mongol invasions. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ispahbadh.

187 On the career of Māzyār b. Qārīn, who maintained his quasi-autonomous power in Ṭabaristān by converting to Islam, whereupon he received the name of Muḥammad b. Qārīn, but revolted and was flogged to death during the caliphate of al-Mu’taṣim, see the article by M. Rekaya in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Māzyār; cf. al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:582–583; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1268ff.

inhabitants are noble Persians, descendants of their kings, and they are most handsome people. It is said that Kisrā Yazdajird left his slave girls there, and the people of Ṭabaristān, being descended from them, inherited their good looks. The land tax of the country is four million dirhams. The textiles and apparel known as *al-ṭabariyya* are made there.

### *Jurjān*

From al-Rayy to Jurjān<sup>188</sup> is seven stages. The city of Jurjān is located on the River of al-Daylam.<sup>189</sup> Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān conquered the country of Jurjān during the reign of Muʿāwiya. Then it revolted, and the people apostatized from Islam until Yazīd b. al-Muhallab conquered it again during the reign of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. The land tax from the country is ten million dirhams. The inhabitants work rare woods such as khalanj<sup>190</sup> and other kinds, as well as various kinds of silk garments. Large Bactrian<sup>191</sup> camels are found there. There are many date palms in the land of Jurjān.

### *Ṭūs*

Adjoining these countries bordering the Caspian Sea, and among the rural districts of Nishāpūr and its dependencies, is Ṭūs,<sup>192</sup> which is two stages from Nishāpūr. There are Arabs from Ṭayyīʾ and other tribes in Ṭūs, but most of the people are Persians. The tomb of the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd is there. It was also there that al-Riḍā ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn<sup>193</sup> passed away (peace be upon them). The main urban area of Ṭūs is called Nūqān. The land tax of the country is included with that of Nishāpūr.<sup>194</sup>

188 On the province of Jurjān (Persian Gurgān), at the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea, see the article by R. Hartmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Gurgān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 115–117.

189 Also known as the Jurjān (Gurgān) River.

190 A scented wood, variously identified; see V. Mozaffarian, *A Dictionary of Iranian Plant Names*, 210.

191 Text: *bakhātī*, probably to be understood as a plural of *bukhtī*, the normal word for the Bactrian camel. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:54.

192 On Ṭūs, see the article by V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭūs; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 102–105.

193 ʿAlī b. Mūsā, surnamed al-Riḍā, was the eighth Imam of the Twelver Shīʿa. In 201/816, the caliph al-Maʾmūn named him heir to the caliphate, but the move caused a revolt in Baghdad. In 203/818, ʿAlī al-Riḍā died in Ṭūs after a brief illness. The Shīʿite version of the story says that he was poisoned (cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:551). See the article by Tamima Bayhom-Daou in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

194 Al-Yaʿqūbī uses the Arabic spelling Naysābūr throughout. The translation uses the more common Persian form of the name.

From Ṭūs to Nasā,<sup>195</sup> another rural district of Nishāpūr, is two stages. | From Nasā to Bāward<sup>196</sup> is two stages. From Nasā to Khwārazm<sup>197</sup> is eight stages in an easterly direction. Khwārazm is at the end of the Oxus River (Nahr Balkh) at a place where the waters of the Oxus empty into the Caspian Sea (Baḥr al-Daylam).<sup>198</sup> It is a vast territory that Salm b. Ziyād b. Abīhi<sup>199</sup> conquered in the time of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya. Furs and all sorts of pelts are processed there: sable, fox, ermine, lynx, and squirrel. These rural districts on this side of the Oxus form part of Khurāsān. The Oxus rises from springs amid a mountain range; it is ten stages from its mouth to the city of Balkh. 278

### Nishāpūr

From Qūmis to the city of Nishāpūr<sup>200</sup> via the Great Highway is nine stages. Nishāpūr is a vast country with many rural districts, among them: al-Ṭabāsāyn,<sup>201</sup> Qūhistān, Nasā, Bīward,<sup>202</sup> Abrashahr, Jām, Bākhār, Ṭūs (the main urban area of which is called Nūqān<sup>203</sup>), Zūzan,<sup>204</sup> and Isfarāyīn<sup>205</sup> (on the highway to Jurjān). ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz conquered the country during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān in the year 30.<sup>206</sup> Its inhabitants are a mixture of Arabs

195 On Nasā, see the article by V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nasā, Nisā; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 89.

196 Abīward in other sources; see the article by V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abīward; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 89.

197 On Khwārazm, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khwārazm.

198 Here, Nahr Balkh must mean the Oxus, and this seems to be the name al-Ya‘qūbī consistently uses for this river. According to Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 11, the actual “river of Balkh,” the Balkh Āb (Baktros) apparently connected with the Oxus (Āmū Daryā) in classical times but not in the time of the Arab geographers, when Balkh was separated from the Oxus by a journey of two days (*ibid.*, 12). This passage implies that in al-Ya‘qūbī’s time the Oxus emptied into the Caspian, rather than into the Aral Sea, as it does today. There is abundant evidence for shifts in the channel of the Oxus, but the chronology remains unclear. See the article by B. Spuler in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Āmū Daryā.

199 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:300.

200 Nishāpūr, together with Marw, Herat, and Balkh, were the four great cities of Khurāsān. See the article by E. Honigsmann and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nishāpūr; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 95–103; *Hudūd*, 102.

201 *Hudūd*, 103.

202 Or Bāward/Bāvard; *Hudūd*, 103.

203 Or Nawqān; *Hudūd*, 103.

204 One of the districts on the border of Nishāpūr mentioned by *Hudūd*, 103.

205 Or Isfarāyīn; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Isfarāyīn; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 114; *Hudūd*, 102; Siparāyīn.

206 30 A.H. = September 4, 650 – August 23, 651; cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:192.



and Persians. Its water comes from springs and streams. Its land tax amounts to four million dirhams, which is included as part of the land tax of Khurāsān. They manufacture [cotton and silk textiles in all the districts<sup>207</sup>]. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir resided in the city of Nishāpūr and did not leave it for Marw as the governors had formerly done.<sup>208</sup> He built a marvelous structure there, the Shā-dhiyākḥ;<sup>209</sup> then he built the Tower.<sup>210</sup> A member of the Ṭāhirid family told me that it is ten stages from Nishāpūr to Marw; ten stages from Nishāpūr to Herat; 279 ten stages from Nishāpūr to Jurjān; ten stages from Nishāpūr to al-Dāmaghān; | and six stages from Nishāpūr to Sarakhs via the main highway and great road. The first stage is Qaṣr al-Rīḥ, called Dizbād in Persian,<sup>211</sup> then Khāksār, and then Mazdūrān, where the Ṭīn Pass is.<sup>212</sup> Sarakhs<sup>213</sup> is an important region. Its main city, which is very large, is situated in a sand desert; it has a mixed population. ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī, at the time under the command of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz, conquered it during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān. The inhabitants drink well water; there is no stream or spring. It has a group of people from [...].<sup>214</sup> Its land tax amounts to one million dirhams, which is included with the land tax of Khurāsān.

### Marw

From Sarakhs to Marw<sup>215</sup> via the main road is six stages, the first of which is Ushturmaghāk; then Talastāna; then al-Dandānqān; then Kanūkird, where the clan of ‘Alī b. Hishām b. Farrakhusraw<sup>216</sup> has estates. These stations are situated in the open desert, and each of them has a fortress in which the people take refuge from the Turks, who sometimes attack some of these places.

207 Added in the editor's notes on the basis of a parallel text in Iṣṭakhrī, 255.

208 ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir was governor of Khurāsān in 213–230/828–845; see the article by C. Edmond Bosworth in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

209 On the suburb named for this monument, see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 99.

210 Arabic *manār* (“lighthouse” or “minaret”), probably a minaret for the principal mosque; see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 98.

211 Both the Persian and Arabic mean “Castle of the Wind.”

212 Arabic *Aqabat Ṭīn* (Clay Pass).

213 On Sarakhs, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sarakhs.

214 There is a lacuna in the MS.

215 On Marw (Merv; Mary), see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marw al-Rūdh; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 35–46.

216 This appears to be ‘Alī b. Hishām al-Marwazī, who was governor of Baghdad during the reign of al-Ma’mūn, but was executed in 217/832; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1108 ff.

Then one comes to Marw, the most important district in Khurāsān. Ḥātīm b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhilī, who was under the command of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, conquered it during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. It is said that al-Aḥnāf b. Qays participated in its conquest, and that was in the year 31.<sup>217</sup> Its inhabitants are nobles (descended) from the Persian *dihqāns*. It also has some Arab tribesmen from the Azd, Tamīm, and other tribes. It used to be the residence of the governors of Khurāsān. The first who resided there was al-Ma'mūn, and then whoever governed Khurāsān subsequently, until 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir took up residence in Nishāpūr. The inhabitants of Marw get water from flowing springs and streams. Its land tax is included with that of Khurāsān. The famous fine apparel known as Khurāsān clothing is made there. | Among its rural districts are Zarq,<sup>218</sup> Aram Kaylabaq, Sawsaqān,<sup>219</sup> and Jarāra. From Marw to Āmul<sup>220</sup> is six stages, the first of which is Kushmāhan,<sup>221</sup> whence come Kushmāhanī raisins. All the stages are in the desert and are fortified posts. These are the rural districts of Khurāsān along the main road. The inhabitants of Āmul drink well water, except in areas near the Oxus (Jayhūn), which is (also known as) the Balkh River (Nahr Balkh). As for the areas to the right of the main road, in the direction of the Indian Ocean, they extend for ten stages in an easterly direction from Nishāpūr to Herat. Herat is one of the most prosperous regions of Khurāsān and has the most handsome people. Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays conquered it during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. Its inhabitants are Persian nobles and some Arabs. Its water comes from springs and streams. Its land tax is included in the land tax of Khurāsān. 280

### *Būshanj*

From Herat to Būshanj is one stage.<sup>222</sup> Būshanj is the homeland of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣ'ab.<sup>223</sup> Aws b. Tha'laba al-Taymī and al-Aḥnāf b. Qays, both of

217 31 A.H. = August 24, 651 – August 11, 652; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:193–194.

218 Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 41; *Hudūd*, 105.

219 Sūsanaqān in *Hudūd*, 105.

220 A town near an important ford across the Oxus (now known as Āmūyā or Charjūy), not to be confused with the city in Ṭabaristān mentioned earlier: see al-Maqqdisī, 291–292; Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, 1:69; and the article by L. Lockhart, M. Streck, and A. Bennigsen in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Āmul.

221 Cf. *Hudūd*, 105.

222 On the town of Būshanj, about a day's journey from Herat, see the article by W. Barthold and B. Spuler in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Būshandj; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 60.

223 Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn was the general who in 198/813 took Baghdad for al-Ma'mūn in the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. Al-Ma'mūn afterward appointed him to various

whom were under the command of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir, conquered it during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān.<sup>224</sup> Its inhabitants are a mix of non-Arabs;<sup>225</sup> there are only a few Arabs there.

### *Bādghīs*

From Būshanj to Bādghīs<sup>226</sup> is three stages. Bādghīs was conquered by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura in the days of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān.<sup>227</sup>

### *Sijistān*

- 281 From Būshanj to Sijistān<sup>228</sup> is five, some say seven, stages | by the desert route.<sup>229</sup> Sijistān is an important country. The chief city is Bust,<sup>230</sup> where Ma’n b. Zā’ida al-Shaybānī<sup>231</sup> resided during the caliphate of Abū Ja’far al-Manṣūr. Its inhabitants are Persians, but most of them say that they are descended from the Ḥimyarites of Yemen. It has about the same number of rural districts as Khurāsān, or more, but they are isolated and adjacent to the countries of Sind and Hind. It used to be comparable to Khurāsān and was its peer. Among its rural districts are Bust; Juwayn;<sup>232</sup> Rukhkhaj;<sup>233</sup> Khushshak; Bālis;<sup>234</sup>

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governorships and ultimately to the governorship of Khurāsān, where he died in 207/822. His descendants, the Ṭāhirids, continued to rule the province until 259/873. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn.

224 Cf. al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:192–193.

225 Arabic *akhlāṭ min al-‘ajam*, perhaps to distinguish them from the “noble Persians” mentioned in other cities.

226 A mountainous rural area north of Herat between the Harī Rūd and Kūshk rivers. See W. Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 47–49, and the article by Jürgen Paul in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bādghīs.

227 Cf. al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:192, 258.

228 Usually known by the later Persian form of the name, Sīstān. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sīstān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 64–72; *Ḥudūd*, 110, 344–346.

229 Arabic *majāba*. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:230.

230 See the articles by J. Sourdel-Thomine in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bust, and by Martina Rugiadi in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bust; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 70–73; *Ḥudūd*, 110, 344.

231 Ma’n b. Zā’ida was a military commander who served the last Umayyads, but was pardoned by the ‘Abbāsids and later sent to suppress a rebellion in Sīstān. He was killed at Bust in 152/769–770. See the article by H. Kennedy in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ma’n b. Zā’ida.

232 On the crossroads town of Juwayn in Sijistān (there are at least two other towns with the same name), see the article by R. Hartmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djuwayn*.

233 An area of southeastern Afghanistan around the later city of Qandahār. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Rukhkhadj; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 73–74; *Ḥudūd*, 111.

234 MS ?-l-m-r, corrected to Bālis by Wiet on the basis of Marquart, *Eranshahr*, 255; Bālis was an area in Baluchistan around Isfanjāy and Sibī; see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 75; *Ḥudūd*, 111.

Khawāsh;<sup>235</sup> Great Zaranj,<sup>236</sup> the capital of King Rutbīl,<sup>237</sup> four farsakhs in circumference, surrounded by a trench, with five gates, and with a river called al-Hindmand<sup>238</sup> flowing through the middle of it, the place to which the Tubbaʿ of Yemen fled and stayed;<sup>239</sup> Zāliq; and Sanārūdh. Sijistān has the river known as al-Hindmand, which comes from lofty mountains and flows through no country but desert before reaching Sijistān. It<sup>240</sup> borders on Makrān, toward the countries of Sind and al-Qandahār. Al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī was the first to conquer it,<sup>241</sup> crossing 75 farsakhs of desert to reach Zaranj, the capital where the kings resided, during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. He did not go beyond the place known as al-Qarnīn. Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams came there. Sijistān was in revolt until the caliphate of Muʿāwīya; then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura was appointed governor; he conquered the area and advanced to Kirmān and conquered it. Then he returned to Sijistān and reached a settlement with its people. Then the province revolted again, until al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī went there. Then it revolted yet again, until ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakra became governor. |

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### *The Governors of Sijistān*

Al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, on behalf of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz, during the caliphate of ʿUthmān.

Ribʿī b. Kās al-ʿAnbarī al-Kūfī, on behalf of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, during the caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—God’s blessings be upon him.

235 *Ḥudūd*, 110 (Khuvāsh).

236 On Zaranj (Persian Zarang), one of the main towns of Sijistān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zarang; *Ḥudūd*, 110.

237 Rutbīl (perhaps to be read as Zunbīl) was apparently a title held by a line of native rulers who opposed Islamic penetration into the region. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zunbīl.

238 Sic, for Hilmand, the river which with its tributaries drains southwest Afghanistan; on Zaranj (Zarang) and this river, see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 70; and the article by M. E. Yapp in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hilmand (Helmand).

239 The reference is to a legend about one of the pre-Islamic kings of Yemen, rather than to any identifiable historical event.

240 The feminine pronoun (*hiya*) could refer to the desert (*maḥāza*) or to Sijistān, both of which are feminine in Arabic, but not to the river, which is masculine in Arabic. The language is abbreviated and hard to parse. Wiet’s translation (“cette rivière est limitrophe du Mékran du côté du Sind et de Kandahar”) violates the grammar of the Arabic and the geography of the area.

241 See *Tārīkh-e Sīstān*, trans. Gold, 63–66, on the exploits of al-Rabīʿ.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, again<sup>242</sup> during the time of Mu‘āwiya, and he died there.

Al-Rabī‘ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī again, on behalf of Ziyād, in the time of Mu‘āwiya.

‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra, on behalf of Ziyād, in the time of Mu‘āwiya.

‘Abbād b. Ziyād, who governed Sijistān on behalf of Mu‘āwiya after the death of Ziyād.

Yazīd b. Ziyād, on behalf of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya.

Ṭalḥa b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzā‘ī, on behalf of Salm b. Ziyād—Ṭalḥa b. ‘Abdallāh died in Sijistān.

‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir, on behalf of al-Qubā‘, i.e., al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdallāh al-Makhzūmī, Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor of Basra; when Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr came to Iraq as governor on behalf of his brother, he confirmed ‘Abd al-‘Azīz over Sijistān, as he was a brave horseman.

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Adī b. Ḥāritha b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd Shams, on behalf of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd b. Abī l-‘Īṣ b. Umayya, on behalf of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

Then ‘Abdallāh b. Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd, on behalf of his father.

‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra, on behalf of al-Ḥajjāj in the time of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān; ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra died in Sijistān, and when he was near death he appointed his son Abū Bardha‘a to succeed him.

Then al-Ḥajjāj wrote to al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra to assume the governorship of Sijistān along with Khurāsān, and al-Muhallab appointed Wakī‘ b. Bakr b. Wā’il al-Azdī over Sijistān.

283 Then al-Ḥajjāj appointed | ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath al-Kindī—people advised him not to do so, but he refused to accept their advice. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was disobedient. He revolted against al-Ḥajjāj, marched against him, and waged war on him, but he returned to Sijistān in defeat. Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to Rutbīl, king of Sijistān, to seize ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and send him back to him; Rutbīl captured him, fettered him, and sent him along with al-Ḥajjāj’s envoys. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, however, threw himself from a roof on which he was, broke his neck, and died in Rukhkhaj. A peace was concluded between al-Ḥajjāj and Rutbīl, the King of Sijistān.

Al-Ḥajjāj appointed ‘Umāra b. Tamīm al-Lakhmī, but Rutbīl disliked him, so al-Ḥajjāj deposed him.

242 “Again” (*ayḍan*) refers to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura’s having conquered territory in Sijistān during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān; cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:192, 258.

Al-Ḥajjāj appointed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym al-Kinānī, but deposed him after a year; then he appointed Misma‘ b. Mālik b. Misma‘ al-Shaybānī, who died in Sijistān after deputizing his nephew, Muḥammad b. Shaybān b. Mālik.

Al-Ḥajjāj appointed al-Ashhab b. Bishr al-Kalbī, one of the people of Khurāsān.

Then al-Ḥajjāj joined Sijistān to Khurāsān under Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhili, who dispatched his brother ‘Amr b. Muslim; but al-Ḥajjāj then wrote him to go to Sijistān in person, so he went in the year 92,<sup>243</sup> in the days of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

Qutayba left Sijistān and deputized ‘Abd Rabbihi b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umayr al-Laythī over it; but after ‘Abd Rabbihi had been there for a while, Qutayba heard something about ‘Abd Rabbihi that displeased him. He therefore sent Manī‘ b. Mu‘āwiya b. Farwa al-Minqarī to take his place and ordered him to torture ‘Abd Rabbihi until he gave up what he had acquired; but Manī‘ did not do so, and Qutayba therefore deposed Manī‘ b. Farwa and appointed al-Nu‘mān b. ‘Awf al-Yashkurī, who tortured ‘Abd Rabbihi b. ‘Abdallāh so severely that he died.

Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik made Yazīd b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra governor of Iraq, and Yazīd appointed his brother Mudrik b. al-Muhallab over Sijistān; however, Rutbīl would not give him anything (in tribute), so Yazīd b. al-Muhallab deposed Mudrik his brother and made his son Mu‘āwiya | b. Yazīd 284  
b. al-Muhallab governor.

Then ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz became ruler and appointed ‘Adī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī governor of Iraq. ‘Adī appointed al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī governor of Khurāsān, joining Sijistān to it; then he deposed him and appointed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu‘aym al-Ghāmīdī—al-Sarī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āṣim b. Misma‘ was in charge of Sijistān at the time, and ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz confirmed him.

Then Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān became ruler. He made Ibn Hubayra al-Fazārī governor of Iraq, and Ibn Hubayra appointed al-Qa‘qā‘ b. Suwayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Uways b. Bujayr b. Uways al-Minqarī of Kufa over Sijistān.

Then Ibn Hubayra deposed al-Qa‘qā‘ and appointed al-Sayyāl b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu‘mān al-Shaybānī. During all these years Rutbīl was resisting them.

Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān became ruler and made Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī governor of Iraq. Khālīd appointed Yazīd b. al-Ghurayf al-Hamdānī of Jordan over Sijistān, but Rutbīl resisted him. Then Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī deposed Yazīd b. al-Ghurayf and appointed al-Aṣḥaf b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kalbī over Sijistān; he remained in Sijistān until Khālīd deposed him and appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī. The latter remained

243 92A.H. = October 29, 710 – October 18, 711.

governor until Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh was deposed and Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī was appointed (governor of Iraq).

When Yūsuf b. ‘Umar became governor of Iraq for Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, he appointed Ibrāhīm b. ‘Āṣim al-‘Uqaylī over Sijistān. He went to Sijistān and sent ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Burda back in chains to Yūsuf.

Then Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik became ruler and made Manṣūr b. Jumhūr governor of Iraq, and Manṣūr appointed Yazīd b. ‘Izzān al-Kalbī over Sijistān.

Then ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz became governor of Iraq and appointed Ḥarb b. Qaṭan b. al-Mukhāriq al-Hilālī over Sijistān.

285 Then ‘Abdallāh | b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz dispatched Ibn Sa‘īd b. ‘Umar b. Yaḥyā b. al-‘Āṣ al-A‘war, but the people of Sijistān expelled him from the country. Bujayr b. al-Salhab of the Bakr b. Wā’il had forged a document in the name of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz that stirred up animosity between the tribes of Bakr and Tamīm.

Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī became governor of Iraq and dispatched ‘Āmir b. Ḍubāra al-Murri to Sijistān, but he never arrived there. The dynasty of the Banū Hāshim<sup>244</sup> was established, and Abū Muslim sent Mālīk b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā‘ī to Sijistān. He said, “People of Sijistān, there will be war between you and us until you turn over to us the Syrians who are with you.” They said, “We will pay ransom for them,” and they ransomed them for a million dirhams. The Syrians expelled (Mālīk) from Sijistān.<sup>245</sup>

Then Abū Muslim sent ‘Umar b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Umayr b. Uṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurāra, whom he held in high esteem, to rule Sijistān. The people of Sijistān killed his brother Ibrāhīm b. al-‘Abbās, and war broke out between them. Abū Muslim dispatched Abū l-Najm ‘Imrān b. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Imrān to ‘Umar, telling him, “Join ‘Umar b. al-‘Abbās; if he has been killed, then you take over as commander of the country.”

Then Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr made Ibrāhīm b. Ḥumayd al-Marwarrūdhī governor. Next, al-Manṣūr deposed him and made Ma‘n b. Zā‘ida b. Maṭar b. Sharīk al-Shaybānī governor. He stayed at Bust and fought the rebels. Ma‘n governed badly. The people suffered all sorts of tribulations from him, so some of them concealed their swords inside bundles of reeds, jumped on him, and killed him.

244 That is, the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty, which traced its descent from the Prophet’s uncle, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

245 *Ta’rikh-i Sīstān*, trans. Gold, 107, gives the ransom as a million dirhams and adds that the Syrian commander, al-Haytham b. ‘Abdallāh, and a thousand of his horsemen were then given safe passage out of the province.

The one who killed him was a man from Ṭāq, one of the cantons of Zaranj. This was in the year 156.<sup>246</sup>

Yazīd b. Mazyad b. Zā'ida continued to fight the dissidents, and Abū Ja'far dispatched Tamīm b. 'Amr of the Banū Taymallāh b. Tha'laba to assist Yazīd b. Mazyad. He went to the country and sent back some of the dissidents to Abū Ja'far. Yazīd b. Mazyad returned to Iraq. Then Abū Ja'far deposed Tamīm b. 'Amr and made 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Alā' of the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il | governor of Sijistān. Abū Ja'far died while he was governor. Sijistān was then annexed to the governors of Khurāsān, who appointed men to govern it on their behalf. This was because the Khārijite rebels,<sup>247</sup> who had become numerous, had gained control of it. The land tax of Sijistān amounted to ten million dirhams, which was spent on its army, the security forces, and the border posts. 286

### *Kirmān*

Kirmān<sup>248</sup> is to the right<sup>249</sup> of Sijistān, opposite to al-Jūzjān.<sup>250</sup> The main city of Kirmān is al-Sirajān,<sup>251</sup> a well-fortified, important city whose people are brave and heroic. It has several towns and fortresses: Bimand, Khannāb, Kūhistān, Karistān, Maghūn,<sup>252</sup> Ṭamaskān, Sarwistān, and the fortresses of Bamm,<sup>253</sup> Manūjān, and Narmāshīr.<sup>254</sup> The country is vast and grand, but has little water. There are many palm trees there in a city called Jirubt.<sup>255</sup> There is a route to Sind from Jirubt via al-Rataq, al-Dihqān, and thence to al-Bul and al-Fahraj,<sup>256</sup> which the natives call Fahrah. It is the last town in the province of Kirmān, and the ruler of Makrān claims that it is one of his dependencies. From there one

246 156 A.H. = December 2, 772 – November 20, 773.

247 Arabic *shurāt*, (literally, “sellers”) a term applied to the Khārijites, who claimed to have “sold” their lives to God in exchange for Paradise, although the rebellions in Sistān at this time involved many other groups as well; see *Ta'rikh-e Sistān*, trans. Gold, 113, 118.

248 See the article by A. K. S. Lambton in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kirmān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 133–147.

249 That is, if one is traveling east toward Sijistān, one turns right (south) to reach Kirmān, which lies southwest of Sijistān.

250 That is, on the side of Sijistān that lies opposite to al-Jūzjān, which lies to the north of Sijistān.

251 Or Sirjān; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Siradjān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 137–138; *Hudūd*, 124, 374.

252 The reading is uncertain; possibly Māhān.

253 Or Bam; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 139; *Hudūd*, 125.

254 Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 137.

255 Or Jiruft; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 140–142.

256 See Aurel Stein, *Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*; P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*.



goes to Khurūj, which is the first town in Makrān, and thence to Fannazbūr, the capital of Makrān. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura b. Ḥabīb b. ‘Abd Shams conquered Kirmān, making a treaty with its king for two million dirhams and two thousand slaves in tribute. This was during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān.

As for the countries that lie between Sarakhs and the Indian Ocean:

### *Al-Ṭālaqān*

- 287 From the city of Sarakhs to al-Ṭālaqān<sup>257</sup> is four stages. Al-Ṭālaqān is situated between two great mountains. Because of its size, it has two congregational mosques where Friday prayers are held. It is where the felts called *ṭālaqānīyya* are made. From al-Ṭālaqān to al-Fāryāb<sup>258</sup> is four stages. Al-Fāryāb is the old city; the other urban area, called Yahūdān, is where the tax collector (*‘āmil*) of al-Fāryāb resides.<sup>259</sup>

### *Al-Jūzjān*

From al-Fāryāb to al-Jūzjān<sup>260</sup> is five stages. It has four towns: the capital of al-Jūzjān, called Anbār,<sup>261</sup> where the governors reside; the second is called Asān<sup>262</sup> or Ṣam‘ākan; the third, which is where the king of al-Jūzjān used to reside, is called Kundarm or Qurzuman;<sup>263</sup> and the fourth is called Shubūrqaṇ,<sup>264</sup> which

257 Not to be confused with a town of the same name near Qazvīn; see the article by C. E. Bosworth and J. L. Lee in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭālaqān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 35–37; *Ḥudūd*, 107.

258 The spelling of the name varies: al-Ya‘qūbī’s spelling implies the reading al-Fāryāb or al-Fāriyāb; other versions include Faryāb and Paryāb. See the article by R. N. Frye in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Faryāb; *Ḥudūd*, 107 (Pāryāb).

259 Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 33 interprets this to mean there was a large Jewish colony in this town and that Yahūdān (or al-Yahūdiyya) was where the “ruler” of Fāryāb lived. *Ḥudūd*, 107, mentions Jahūdhān as the residence of the “*malik* of Gūzgānān” (which was actually in a military camp outside the town).

260 Persian, Gūzgān. See the article by R. Hartmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djūzdjān*; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 32; *Ḥudūd*, 105–106, 328–337.

261 Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 32; *Ḥudūd*, 107 (Anbīr), 335; Ghirshman, *Chionites*, 26.

262 Perhaps the Sān mentioned in *Ḥudūd*, 107.

263 Usually Arabized as al-Jurzuwān from the Persian Gurzivān; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 424. According to the *Ḥudūd*, 107, Gurzivān was the former residence of the kings of Gūzgān, and K.nd.rm (vocalization uncertain) was a separate borough. Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 32, describes Kundarm as a village in Gurziwān and the residence of the local ruler.

264 Probably the Ushbūrqaṇ of *Ḥudūd*, 107; the modern town of Shibargān preserves the name.

was also a principality in ancient times. Al-Jūzjān is opposite Kirmān on the frontier of India.

### *Balkh*

For one going east, it is four stages from al-Jūzjān to Balkh.<sup>265</sup> Balkh has several rural districts and towns. ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Samura conquered it in the days of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. The city of Balkh is the greatest city of Khurāsān. King Ṭarkhān, the ruler of Khurāsān, used to reside there. It is a powerful city surrounded by two concentric walls; in olden days, it used to have three. It has twelve gates. Balkh is said to be the center of Khurāsān: Farghāna is thirty stages from it to the east; Rayy is thirty stages from it to the west; Sijistān is thirty stages from it in the direction of the *qibla*; Kābul and Qandahār are thirty stages from it; Kirmān is thirty stages from it; Qashmīr is thirty stages from it; Khwārazm is thirty stages from it; | and al-Multān is thirty stages from it.<sup>266</sup> The villages, estates, and farms in the environs of Balkh were enclosed by a great wall. From one gate of the wall enclosing the fields and villages to the gate on the opposite side is twelve farsakhs. Beyond this wall, there is no cultivation, estate, or village; there is nothing outside it but sand. This great wall surrounding Balkh has twelve gates. A second wall, which surrounds the suburb of the city, has four gates.<sup>267</sup> From the great wall to the second wall is five farsakhs. Then there is a city wall which is one farsakh inside the wall around the suburb. Al-Nawbahār,<sup>268</sup> which was the residence of the Barmakids,<sup>269</sup> is in the suburb. From one gate of the city wall to the one

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265 On Balkh, the main city of ancient Bactria, now located in northern Afghanistan, see the article by Jürgen Paul in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Balkh; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 11–15; *Hudūd*, 108, 337.

266 As noted by Barthold, *Historical Geography*, this attempt to make Balkh equidistant from all these cities is contrived and not quite accurate.

267 Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 13, notes that other geographers gave the inner wall seven gates.

268 On this important Buddhist sanctuary, see the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Naw Bahār, as well as Bulliet, *Patricians of Nishapur*. Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 14–15, summarizes the information that can be gleaned from descriptions by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang and by Arabic geographers.

269 The family that served the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs as viziers from the time of al-Šaffāḥ until their fall under al-Rashīd. The family name (Barmakī, pl. Barāmika) comes from the title of the hereditary head of the Nawbahār temple, derived from Sanskrit *parmak* (superior, chief). See the article by Kevin van Bladel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids.

opposite it is one farsakh. The city measures three miles by three miles.<sup>270</sup> Balkh has forty-seven pulpits (*minbars*) in its less important towns, including the ones called Khulm,<sup>271</sup> Siminjān,<sup>272</sup> Baghlān,<sup>273</sup> Sakalkand,<sup>274</sup> Walwālij,<sup>275</sup> Hūza, Ārhan,<sup>276</sup> Rāwan, Ṭarakān, Nawdiz,<sup>277</sup> Badhakhshān,<sup>278</sup> and Jurm,<sup>279</sup> which is the easternmost city among the dependencies of Balkh in the direction of Tibet. The first of the cities situated to the right of someone traveling east is 289 Andarāb;<sup>280</sup> then come Khast, Banjahār,<sup>281</sup> Barwān, and Ghūrawand,<sup>282</sup> | which al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak conquered in the days of al-Rashīd. It was well protected and was one of the dependencies of the Kābul-Shāh. These towns are located between the city proper of Balkh and al-Bāmiyān.

Then one comes to the town of al-Bāmiyān,<sup>283</sup> which is a town located on a mountain. There was a *dihqān* there named Asad, which is Shēr in Persian.<sup>284</sup> He was converted to Islam by Muzāḥim b. Bisṭām in the days of al-Manṣūr. Muzāḥim b. Bisṭām married Shēr's daughter to his son Muḥammad

270 That is, Arab miles (*mīl*, pl. *amyāl*), consisting of 1000 *bāʿ* (fathoms), each of 4 canonical ells (*al-dhirāʿ al-sharʿiyya*), each of 49.875 cm. = 1.995 km (1.240 English miles).

271 An agricultural area located in a plain at the foot of a mountain between Balkh and Ṭukhāristān and watered by a river according to *Hudūd*, 108 (modern Tāsh Qurghān according to Minorsky's note, 337).

272 Identified by Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 22 with the fortress of Haybak in the Khulm valley; description in *Hudūd*, 108–109, 338 (Simingān). Al-Yaʿqūbī is apparently unfamiliar with the antiquities located in this region.

273 Derived from a Bactrian word meaning sanctuary or temple; site of the ruins of the Surkh Kutal temple complex. See Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 22 n. 62; *Hudūd*, 109.

274 *Hudūd*, 109, 338.

275 Also spelled Warwaliz or Walwaliz; located by Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 24, in the Aq Saray valley in the area of Qunduz; *Hudūd*, 109, 340.

276 Perhaps the site of a ford across the Oxus mentioned by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 69–70, and n. 7.

277 The reading is uncertain; Wiet, 102, corrected it to Nawdiz (citing Iṣṭakhri, 298); the editor suggested Barwāz (after al-Maqdisi, 296), but the orthography makes this unlikely.

278 Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 24–26.

279 Wiet gives Jirm; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 24 has Jurm (a town which still exists).

280 Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 23; *Hudūd*, 109, 341.

281 Perhaps Panjhīr (Panjshīr); see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 23.

282 Or Ghūrband/Ghōrband; see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 23; also the article by M. Jamil Hanifi in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. Gōrband.

283 On Bāmiyān, see the article by Pierre Centlivres in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bāmiyān; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 23; *Hudūd*, 109, 341.

284 Al-Yaʿqūbī equates the Arabic name Asad (Lion) with the Persian word for lion, *shēr*, but

b. Muzāḥim, whose *kunyā* was Abū Ḥarb. When al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā came to Khurāsān, he dispatched one of (Muḥammad's) sons, named al-Ḥasan, to Ghūrawand, and he and some other military officers conquered it. He gave him control of al-Bāmiyān and gave him the title<sup>285</sup> "Shēr-Bāmiyān" after that of his grandfather. Al-Bāmiyān is one of the nearest of the towns of Ṭukhāristān.

Several springs of water arise from the mountain of al-Bāmiyān. From them a river valley runs to al-Qandahār, the distance of a month's march. One river passes through another gorge and runs to Sijistān, the distance of a month's march. Another river goes to Marw, a journey of about thirty days. Another river goes to Balkh, a journey of twelve days. Another river goes to Khwārazm, a journey of forty days. All these rivers come from the mountain of al-Bāmiyān, owing to its elevation. It has mines of copper, lead, and mercury.

Among the cities to the left of one headed east are those called al-Tirmidh,<sup>286</sup> Sarmankān,<sup>287</sup> Dārazankā,<sup>288</sup> al-Ṣaghāniyān (the largest of the towns to the left of one headed east from Balkh),<sup>289</sup> Kharūn, Māsand, Bāsārān,<sup>290</sup> Kabarsarā',<sup>291</sup> Qubādhiyān, Yūz (which is the land of Ḥātim b. Dāwūd), Wakhsh,<sup>292</sup> Halāward,<sup>293</sup> Kārbank,<sup>294</sup> | Andishārā', Rūstābik<sup>295</sup> (which is the principality of al-Ḥārith b. Asad b. Bīk, after whom the horses called Bikiyya are named),<sup>290</sup> Hulbuk,<sup>296</sup> Munk<sup>297</sup> (which is the boundary of the land of the Turks, which continues on to the place known as Rāsht), Kumād, and Bāmir.<sup>298</sup>

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the word in this case is actually a title meaning shah or king, rather than lion; see Wiet, 103, n. 1.

285 Literally "name."

286 On Tirmidh, see the article by W. Barthold in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tirmidh; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 71–76.

287 Sarmakān in the MS, corrected by the editor; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 73 gives Ṣarmanjān, Ṣarmanjīn, or Charmangān; his note says that Sam'ānī gives Jarmankān as Persian form of the name.

288 Or Dārzangī; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 74.

289 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 73.

290 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 70 n. 1.

291 The reading is uncertain; the Leiden editor suggests that it may be Kabarshārāgh.

292 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 69.

293 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 69.

294 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 70 (Kārbang).

295 That is, "the Canton of Bīk"; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 69.

296 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 68–69.

297 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 69.

298 Or, in Arabic, Fāmīr; in Persian Pāmīr; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 70 n. 2.

The towns of Balkh lying to the north are Daryāhanīn (meaning Iron Gate),<sup>299</sup> Kishsh, Nakhshab, and Şughd, from which one goes to the principality of Samarqand.

As for the lands which are south of the Balkh River (Oxus), in the direction of the *qibla*, from Balkh one goes in the direction of the *qibla* toward Tūkhāristān,<sup>300</sup> toward Andarāb, and toward al-Bāmiyān, which is the first of the principalities of lower (or) western Tūkhāristān. It is situated on a large mountain and has a strong fortress. From there one goes to Badhakhshān and to the city of the Kābul-Shāh, a strongly fortified, impregnable city called Ḥrr?d?n.<sup>301</sup> It is difficult to reach because before it there are rugged mountains, rough paths, difficult valleys, and strong forts. There is one road to it from Kirmān and another from Sijistān. It has a powerful king who rarely pays obeissance to anyone. However, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak, when he became governor of Khurāsān for al-Rashīd, dispatched an army headed by Ibrāhīm b. Jibrīl to the land of the Kābul-Shāh in the year 176,<sup>302</sup> and sent with them the rulers of the principalities of Tūkhāristān and the *dihqāns*. Among the rulers was al-Ḥasan Shēr, king of Bāmiyān. They invaded the region and conquered the city of al-Ghūrawand, the Gorge of Ghūrawand, Sārḥūd, Yandil-Ustān, | and Shāh Bahār,<sup>303</sup> where the idol the people worshipped was kept; it was broken up and burned. Some of the princes of the lands of the Kābul-Shāh sought a safe-conduct from al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā—the people of the town of Kāwsān with their ruler \_\_\_\_k.s<sup>304</sup> and the people of the towns of al-Māzarān and M\_\_\_\_<sup>305</sup> with their rulers. He granted them safe conduct, and they sent hostages. The capital of Kābul, which is called Jurwas,<sup>306</sup> was conquered by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān. At the

299 Arabic Bāb al-Ḥadīd, translating the Persian place name, which could be transcribed more accurately as Dar-i Āhanīn.

300 Sic ed. Leiden. Wiet, 105, emends to Badhakhshān.

301 This place is not mentioned by any other source; the orthography and vocalization are uncertain; on Kābul, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kābul.

302 176 A.H. = April 28, 792 – April 17, 793 C.E.

303 Sārḥūd, Yandil-Ustān, and Shāh Bahār: the letters in the MS are completely undotted, and therefore the readings are conjectural. Wiet, 106, interprets the names as Shārajwadh, Yandil-Istān, and Shāh-Bahār.

304 The only letters of this six-letter word that are unambiguous are the final k and s.

305 Only the initial m of this six-letter word is unambiguous.

306 Amended without explanation by the editor from MS *ḥrws* (?); another name known only from al-Ya‘qūbī and of doubtful orthography and vocalization.

present time, it is in rebellion, although merchants can enter it and export from it the very large myrobalan<sup>307</sup> known as Kābulī.

### *Marwarrūdḥ*

As for the countries from the city of Marw to the city of Balkh: From the city of Marw to Marwarrūdḥ<sup>308</sup> is five stages. Marwarrūdḥ was conquered by al-Aḥnaf b. Qays on behalf of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān in the year 31.<sup>309</sup> One goes from Marwarrūdḥ to Balkh via Zamm,<sup>310</sup> which is on the Oxus River (Nahr Balkh), and Āmul, which is also on the Oxus. It is six stages between the latter and Marw. These are the towns (*buldān*) of the rural districts of Khurāsān in the direction of the Indian Ocean.

As for the towns on the right bank of the Oxus, there is al-Tirmidh. It is an important city on the east bank of the Oxus, while Balkh is on the west bank. It is a very populous, spacious city. On the same side as al-Tirmidh, also on the Oxus, is the city of al-Quwādhīyān,<sup>311</sup> similar to al-Tirmidh. From there one goes to the principality of Hāshim b. Bānījūr, which consists of Wakhsḥ and Halāward,<sup>312</sup> two important, well-fortified cities. Then one goes to the city of Shūmān,<sup>313</sup> which is adjacent to the principality of Hāshim b. Bānījūr and Hāshim’s family. From there one goes to al-Aḥd?lī,<sup>314</sup> which is the city of Dāwūd b. Abī Dāwūd; and thence to Wāshjird,<sup>315</sup> a major frontier city | and extensive territory containing seven hundred strong forts. This is because they raid the Turks, and it is four farsakhs between them and the land of Turkistan. From al-Tirmidh to al-Ṣaghānīyān is four stages. Al-Ṣaghānīyān<sup>316</sup> is a large, important country incorporating rural districts and a number of towns, including the

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307 Arabic *ihlīlaj*, the plum-like fruit of the *Terminalia chebula* tree, used in various medicines. See the article by Al Dietrich, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Halīlādī.

308 Marwarrūdḥ (or Marw al-Rūdḥ), on the Murghāb River, was five stages upriver from Marw al-Shāhijān (here called simply “Marw”). See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marw al-Rūdḥ.

309 31AH = August 24, 651 – August 11, 652.

310 Now Kerki, according to Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 19.

311 On this town and district, also written as Qubādhiyān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qubādhiyān; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 71–72.

312 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 69.

313 See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shūmān; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 74.

314 The reading is conjectural; perhaps to be read as Afdīyān.

315 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 71.

316 Persian, Chaghānīyān; see the article by B. Spuler in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Čaghānīyān; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72–74.

rural districts of Ḥardan, Bahārān,<sup>317</sup> and Kāsak. From al-Ṣaghāniyān to the principality of al-Khuttal<sup>318</sup> is three stages. The capital city of al-Khuttal is Wāshjird. It is the one we mentioned as having seven hundred forts and as being on the Turkish frontier.

### *Khuttal*

From al-Khuttal one goes to upper Tukhāristān [sic] and the principality of Ḥumār Beg,<sup>319</sup> the king of Shiqinān<sup>320</sup> and Badhakhshān. The large river comes from there to Shiqinān. All of this is the principality of upper Ṭukhāristān.

As for what lies beyond the Oxus River on the main road, the first town is Farabr,<sup>321</sup> which is the frontier post for the people of Marw—that is, when the Turks advance towards this city, the people of Marw and its environs rush to it. From Farabr to Bākand is one stage. Bākand is an important city with a mixed population. From Bākand to Bukhārā is two stages.

### *Bukhārā*

293 Bukhārā<sup>322</sup> is a spacious country with a mixed population of Arabs and non-Arabs. It has always been strongly defended. Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān conquered Bukhārā in the days of Muʿāwiya. Then he left it to go to Samarqand, and its people rebelled. It remained in rebellion until Salm b. Ziyād conquered it in the days of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya. Then it revolted and resisted | until Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhili arrived there in the days of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and conquered it. The land tax of the country—the country of Bukhārā—amounts to one million dirhams. Their dirhams are nearly copper.<sup>323</sup>

317 Probable reading: the first letter is defective in the text.

318 On the region of Khuttal on the upper Oxus River, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khuttalān* or *Khuttal*.

319 The letters are unpointed; the reading is based on Barthold, *Turkestan*, 65.

320 Better known as Shughnān.

321 Also vocalized as Firabr. The town was on the opposite side of the Oxus from Āmul; see the article by B. Spuler in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Firabr; Le Strange, *Lands*, 404, 443.

322 On Bukhārā, see the article by W. Barthold and R. N. Frye in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Bukhārā*.

323 Arabic *darāhimuhum shabih bi-l-nuḥās*: As the dirham was normally struck of silver, this may refer to a debased coinage or to coins struck of bronze (sometimes referred to by the related word *shabah* or *shibh*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, 4:1500, s.v. *shabah*). Wiet, 110, renders: “Ses dirhems ressemblent à des monnaies de cuivre.”

### *Sogdia (al-Ṣughd)*

From Bukhārā to the country of Sogdia, for one who turns toward the *qibla*,<sup>324</sup> is seven stages. The country of Sogdia is spacious and has important, strong, well-fortified towns including Dabūsiyya,<sup>325</sup> Kushāniyya,<sup>326</sup> Kishsh,<sup>327</sup> and Nasaf (which is Nakhshab).<sup>328</sup> These rural districts—the rural districts of Sogdia—were conquered by Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhili in the days of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

### *Samarqand*

From Kishsh to the capital city of Sogdia is four stages. Samarqand<sup>329</sup> is one of the most important, grandest, best defended, and most populous of cities, and its men are the strongest, bravest, and most persevering in warfare. It is in close proximity to the Turks. Samarqand revolted several times after it had been conquered, owing to its fortifications, the courage of its men, and the degree of their bravery. Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhili conquered it in the days of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik and made a peace settlement with its *dihqāns* and princes. It had a great defensive wall, which was torn down, but the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd rebuilt it. It has a large river which comes from the land of the Turks; it resembles the Euphrates and is called ʿāsif.<sup>330</sup> It flows through the land of Samarqand to the country of Sogdia and thence to Usrūshana,<sup>331</sup> going through Ishtākhanj, Usrūshana, and Shāsh. From Samarqand to Usrūshana, the principality of Afshīn,<sup>332</sup> is five stages in an easterly direction. The principality of Usrūshana is vast | and important; it is said to have four hundred forts

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324 That is, south; however, the towns mentioned lie either directly east or southeast of Bukhārā.

325 See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dabūsiyya; *Hudūd*, 113 (Dabūsī); Barthold, *Turkestan*, 96 n., 97.

326 *Hudūd*, 113 (Kushānī, “the most prosperous town of Sughd”); Barthold, *Turkestan*, 95–96.

327 Or Kish; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kish; *Hudūd*, 113; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 134–135 (now Shahr-e Sabz).

328 Also called ʿarshi; see the articles by B. Spuler in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿarshi, by V. Minorsky, s.v. Nakhshab; *Hudūd*, 114 (Nakhshab); Barthold, *Turkestan*, 136–142.

329 On Samarqand, see the article by H. H. Schaeder and Yolande Crowe in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Samarqand.

330 The river is the Zarafshān; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zarafshān. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 82 n. 2, suggests a reading of Nāmiq.

331 See the article by J. H. Kramers in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Usrūshana; *Hudūd*, 115, 354 (where the name is given in an alternate form as Surūshana).

332 Arabic *mamlakat Afshīn*. On Afshīn as the title of the princes of Usrūshana, see the article by W. Barthold, H. A. R. Gibb, and Matthew S. Gordon in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Afshīn.



and a number of large towns, among them Arsmānda,<sup>333</sup> Zāmin,<sup>334</sup> Mānk,<sup>335</sup> and Ḥiṣnak. It has a large river, which is a tributary of the ʿāsif, the river of Samarqand. Nuggets of gold are found in this river and in no other place in Khurāsān, according to what I have heard. In all the cities of Khurāsān there are Arabs from the tribes of Muḍar, Rabīʿa, and all the divisions of Yemen, except in Uṣrūshana, where the people resisted letting the Arabs live with them, until a man of the Banū Shaybān came to them, settled there, and married one of them. From the city of Uṣrūshana to Farghāna is two stages.

### *Farghāna*

The town in Farghāna<sup>336</sup> where the king resides is called Kāsān.<sup>337</sup> It is an important and powerful town. All these towns are dependencies of Samarqand.

### *Ishtākhanj*

Ishtākhanj<sup>338</sup> is an important city with forts and cantons. It used to be a separate principality, but al-Muʿtaṣim turned over the principality of Ishtākhanj to ʿUjayf.<sup>339</sup> From it to Samarqand is two stages. From Farghāna to al-Shāsh<sup>340</sup> is five stages. Al-Shāsh is an important town and one of the dependencies of Samarqand. Whoever travels from Samarqand to al-Shāsh travels seven stages to Khujanda,<sup>341</sup> which is one of the towns of Samarqand, then four stages from Khujanda to al-Shāsh.

333 Marsmānda according to *Ḥudūd*, 115; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 168.

334 *Ḥudūd*, 115; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 94.

335 In other sources Mīnk; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 168.

336 On the Farghāna Valley, see the articles by W. Barthold in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Farghāna, and by Scott C. Levi in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Farghana Valley; *Ḥudūd*, 115–116.

337 Barthold, *Turkestan*, 162–163.

338 In other sources, Ishtikhān; the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ishtikhān; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 95.

339 On the army commander ʿUjayf b. ʿAnbasa, who served al-Maʿmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿUdjayf b. ʿAnbasa. He is mentioned by al-Yaʿqūbī in the *Taʾrīkh*, 2:570, 571, 574, 576, 582, and 584.

340 Al-Shāsh is the Arabic transcription of the native name (Čāč) of the city later known as Tashkent; see the article by W. Barthold in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tashkent; *Ḥudūd*, 118 (Chāch).

341 On Khujand(a), see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khudjand(a); Barthold, *Turkestan*, 164–165 (Khojend).

*Al-Shāsh*

From al-Shāsh to the major frontier town of Asbīshāb<sup>342</sup> is two stages. It is the town from which campaigns against the Turks are launched. It is the furthest of the dependencies of Samarqand. 295

These are the towns of Ṭukhāristān, Sogdia, Samarqand, al-Shāsh, and Far-ghāna that lie beyond the (Oxus) river on the main road. Beyond that are the countries of the polytheists. The countries of the Turks which surround Khurāsān and Sijistān are collectively known as Turkistan. The Turks comprise a number of nationalities and a number of principalities, among them the Kharlukhiyya, the Tughuz-Ughuz, the Turkash, the Kaymāk, and the Ghuzz.<sup>343</sup> Each nationality of the Turks has a separate principality, and they fight each other. They have no permanent dwellings or forts; rather, they stay in Turkish ribbed dome-tents, whose supports are strips of leather of hides of horses or cattle and whose coverings are felt. They are the most skillful of people at working felt, because it is their clothing. There are no crops in Turkistan except for millet (*dukhn*), which is *jāwars*.<sup>344</sup> Their food is mare's milk, and they also eat horse meat, but they mostly eat game. Iron is scarce among them, so they tip their arrows with bone. Nevertheless, they surround the land of Khurāsān and attack from every direction and carry out raids. There is no country in Khurāsān where the people do not have to fight the Turks or where Turks of every nationality do not attack.

These are the towns and rural districts of Khurāsān and Sijistān, the distances between all the cities, and their circumstances. Let us now mention its governors from the conquest to the present time, as well as the amount of its land tax.

*The Governors of Khurāsān*

The first to enter Khurāsān was 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz b. Rabī'a b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān wrote to him in the year 30,<sup>345</sup> when he was in charge of Basra, and wrote to Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, who was his governor in Kufa, commanding the two of them to invade Khurāsān. | He 296

342 Isfijāb (Ispijāb) in most accounts: see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Isfīdjāb; *Hudūd*, 118; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 175–178.

343 On early Turkish ethnography, see the article by Edith Ambros, et. al., in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Turks, and the article by Cl. Cahen, G. Deverdun, and P. M. Holt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghuzz. Al-Ya'qūbī's Tughuz-Ughuz, more properly Toquz-Oghuz (Nine Clans), refers to a confederation of Turkish tribes formed at the beginning of the 7th century C.E.

344 That is, *gāwars*, the Persian word for millet. See the article by A. Dietrich in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djāwars*.

345 30 A.H. = September 4, 650 – August 23, 651; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:192–193.

said that whichever of them got to Khurāsān first would be commander over it. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir received a letter from the king of Ṭūs, saying, “I will get you there first, provided that you make me ruler of Nishāpūr.” So he got ‘Abdallāh there first, and the latter wrote him a document that remains in the possession of his descendants to the present day. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir conquered several rural districts in Khurāsān in the year 31.<sup>346</sup> His vanguard was commanded by ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī, and he was accompanied by al-Aḥnaf b. Qays al-Tamīmī.

Then ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir left, putting Qays b. al-Haytham b. Asmā’ b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamī in charge of Khurāsān. He left al-Aḥnaf b. Qays with him.

Then ‘Abdallāh appointed Ḥātim b. al-Nu‘mān al-Bāhilī, who stayed in Khurāsān conquering and raiding until ‘Uthmān was killed in the year 35.<sup>347</sup>

The Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—peace be upon him—appointed Ja‘da b. Hubayra b. Abī Wahb b. ‘Amr b. ‘Ā‘idh al-Makhzūmī governor of Khurāsān.<sup>348</sup> Māhawayh, the *marzubān* of Marw, had approached ‘Alī—peace be upon him—while he was in Basra; ‘Alī granted him terms of capitulation and wrote him a document which is preserved in Marw to this day.

After ‘Alī—peace be upon him—was assassinated, Mu‘āwiya appointed ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir over Khurāsān. Ibn ‘Āmir dispatched ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura there. The two of them went together and besieged Balkh until they conquered it.<sup>349</sup>

Then ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura left and turned over Khurāsān to ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī.

Then Mu‘āwiya appointed Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān over Basra, Khurāsān, and Sijistān. Ziyād dispatched al-Ḥakam b. ‘Amr al-Ghifārī, a Companion of the Prophet—God’s blessing be upon him—to Khurāsān as commander. He left for  
 297 Khurāsān in the year 44.<sup>350</sup> He was a well-behaved, pious man. | After he had conquered some of the rural districts of Khurāsān, Ziyād wrote to him, “The Commander of the Faithful Mu‘āwiya has written to me that I should reserve the white and the yellow for him,<sup>351</sup> so do not distribute any silver or gold.” Disregarding the letter, al-Ḥakam paid the fifth, but distributed the remainder among the troops, and wrote to Ziyād: “I have found the Book of God to take

346 31 A.H. = August 24, 651 – August 11, 652.

347 ‘Uthmān died on 18 Dhū l-Ḥijja 35 (June 17, 656); see al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:204.

348 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:213–214; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akḥbār*, 103.

349 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:258.

350 44 A.H. = April 4, 664 – March 24, 665; cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:264.

351 I.e., that all the silver and gold (“the white and the yellow”) taken as spoils should be sent to Mu‘āwiya, not just the customary fifth (the *khums*), as mandated by Qur’ān 8:41.

precedence over the letter of the Commander of the Faithful Mu'āwiya. Even if the heavens and the earth were closed up over a believer, if he feared God, God would give him a way of deliverance from them.<sup>352</sup> Peace." Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra was one of al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr's men. Al-Ḥakam died in Khurāsān.

Then Ziyād dispatched al-Rabī' b. Ziyād b. Anas b. al-Dayyān b. Qaṭan b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī as commander over Khurāsān. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was his secretary. Mu'āwiya appointed Khālīd b. Mu'ammar al-Sadūsī governor of Khurāsān. He set out to go there, but Ziyād had him poisoned, and he died and never reached Khurāsān. Ziyād appointed 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī' b. Ziyād to replace his father. Then he deposed him and appointed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura b. Ḥabīb.

Then Ziyād died, and Mu'āwiya confirmed 'Abd al-Raḥmān over Sijistān and appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād as governor of Khurāsān. He dispatched him with troops and ordered him to cross the river of the country of Ṭukhāristān. He went out with a large force and raided the country of Ṭukhāristān. Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra was the tactical commander and in charge of the campaign. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād remained in Khurāsān for two years; then he returned to Mu'āwiya, making Aslam b. Zur'a b. 'Amr b. al-Ṣā'iq al-Kilābī his deputy over Khurāsān.

Mu'āwiya appointed 'Ubaydallāh governor of Basra and his brother 'Abdallāh b. Ziyād over Khurāsān. He was there for four months, but Mu'āwiya heard of his weakness and shameful behavior and deposed him.<sup>353</sup>

After 'Abdallāh b. Ziyād, Mu'āwiya appointed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād<sup>354</sup> governor of Khurāsān, but he did not approve of him and so deposed him.

Then Mu'āwiya appointed Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān—Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān had previously refused and had spoken insultingly to him. Sa'īd made his way to Khurāsān and raided Samarqand—he is said to have been the first who crossed beyond the Oxus.<sup>355</sup> He raided Ṭukhāristān, | Bukhārā, and Samarqand. Aslam b. Zur'a al-Kilābī was in charge of the land tax in Khurāsān. Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān asked him for the funds, but he would not give them to him and instead had them sent to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, the governor of Basra. Aslam b. Zur'a then fled from Khurāsān and wrote to Mu'āwiya to inform him that he had done so, and that Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān wanted to take the money. So Mu'āwiya deposed Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān and appointed Aslam b. Zur'a over Khurāsān. Aslam set out for Khurāsān and reached Marw al-Shāhijān, where Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān was. Aslam

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352 Cf. Qur'ān, 21:30, 65:2.

353 Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:281–282.

354 Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:281; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 107.

355 Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:282.

was in command of a sizable troop. One of his officers thrust a lance into Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān's tent and killed one of his slave girls. Saʿīd wrote to Muʿāwiya, and Muʿāwiya wrote back to him and to Aslam, summoning both of them before him. Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭallib had gone to Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān, but he died in Marw. The poet Mālik b. al-Rayb was also with Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān, along with Yazīd b. Rabīʿa b. Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyārī. Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān then departed from Khurāsān.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād made his brother ʿAbbād b. Ziyād governor of Khurāsān. He went there and asked Yazīd b. Mufarrigh to become his comrade. Ibn Mufarrigh left Saʿīd and joined him, but the association turned out badly and that is why he satirized it and mocked Ziyād's family.<sup>356</sup>

Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād became governor of Khurāsān, but he left it and designated Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī as his deputy.

Then Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya made Salm b. Ziyād<sup>357</sup> governor of Khurāsān. There was strong hostility between him and his brother ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. He was accompanied by al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim, Talḥa b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzāʿī—known as “the Ṭalḥa of Ṭalḥas” (*Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalḥāt*)—Amr b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Muʿammar al-Taymī, ʿAbbād b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī, ʿImrān b. Faṣīl al-Burjumī, and other notables of Basra. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād tore down the houses of all those who had set out with his brother. However, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya wrote to him that he should rebuild them with gypsum, | baked brick, and teak at his own expense, so he rebuilt them. Salm raided Khwārazm and conquered the cities of Kandākin and Bukhārā.

Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya died, and the insurrection of Ibn al-Zubayr broke out; so Salm went back, appointing ʿArfaja b. al-Ward al-Saʿdī as his deputy. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī<sup>358</sup> went with Salm to follow him, but he sent him back and wrote out his investiture over Khurāsān. When he went back, ʿArfaja refused to yield power to him. They fought with arrows, and an arrow struck ʿArfaja, who died.

ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim remained in Khurāsān, raiding and conquering. He was loyal to Ibn Zubayr until ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān killed Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and sent his head to ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim, writing to invite him to submit.<sup>359</sup> But the latter took Muṣʿab's head, washed it, embalmed it, put it in a shroud,

356 On Ibn Mufarrigh and his invectives against the family of Ziyād, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Mufarrigh.

357 Cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:300–301; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 107.

358 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 108.

359 Cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:323–324.

and buried it. He replied insolently to ‘Abd al-Malik and refused to accept what ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān wanted him to do, and so the troops (*ahl*) of Khurāsān fell upon him and murdered him. The one who killed him was Wakī‘ b. al-Dawriqiyya,<sup>360</sup> who swore allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, to whom they sent ‘Abdallāh’s head.

When affairs became settled for ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, he appointed Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd b. Abī l-‘Īṣ b. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams<sup>361</sup> governor of Khurāsān. Umayya crossed into the territory beyond the Oxus and reached Bukhārā. Then Bukayr b. Wishāḥ<sup>362</sup> revolted against him, so he returned.

Umayya remained in charge of Khurāsān until al-Ḥajjāj was appointed governor of Iraq.<sup>363</sup> When al-Ḥajjāj became governor, he wrote to ‘Abd al-Malik, informing him that there were disturbances in Khurāsān, and authority over it was returned to him. He made al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra governor of Khurāsān and ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra governor of Sijistān. When al-Muhallab reached Khurāsān, he stayed there a while and then went on to Ṭukhāristan and then to Kishsh, the capital of Sogdia. Then al-Muhallab fell ill and returned to Marwarrūdh suffering from gangrene in his leg. Al-Muhallab died in Khurāsān after having delegated authority to his son | Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who governed it for a while.<sup>364</sup> 300

Then al-Ḥajjāj deposed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and made al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab governor of Khurāsān.<sup>365</sup> He remained in Khurāsān until al-Ḥajjāj seized Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and imprisoned him. After al-Ḥajjāj had seized Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, he wrote to Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhili,<sup>366</sup> who was his agent (*āmil*) in Rayy, to become governor of Khurāsān, ordering him to arrest al-Mufaḍḍal and the rest of the Muhallabid family and send them to him in fetters. He did this: Qutayba b. Muslim went to Khurāsān and sent the Muhallabids to al-Ḥajjāj. He went to Bukhārā and conquered it; then he went to al-Ṭālaqān, where Bādhām had revolted, and fought him until he defeated him

360 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:324, where he is called Wakī‘ b. ‘Umayr, after his father—b. al-Dawriqiyya means “the son of the Dawriqī woman.” Cf. Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 108.

361 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:324; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 109.

362 So in the MS, but the Leiden editor of the corresponding passage of the *Ta’rīkh* (2:324) prefers the reading Wassāj.

363 The appointment took place in 75/694; cf. Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 109.

364 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:330.

365 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:341–342.

366 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 111.

and killed him. Qutayba was still in Khurāsān when al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik became ruler. His authority and power over the country had become great: he killed Nizak Ṭarkhān and went to Khwārazm; then he went to Samarqand and conquered it and concluded a peace treaty with Ghūzak the Ikshīd of Samarqand.

A few months after al-Ḥajjāj died, Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik became ruler.<sup>367</sup> He made Yazīd b. al-Muhallab governor of Iraq and ordered him to hunt down the partisans of al-Ḥajjāj. When Qutayba b. Muslim heard about that, he decided to revolt, but Wakī‘ b. Abī Sūd al-Tamīmī seized him and killed him.<sup>368</sup> Wakī‘ remained in Khurāsān, confident that Sulaymān would appoint him governor. However, he did not do so; instead, Sulaymān made Yazīd b. al-Muhallab<sup>369</sup> governor of Khurāsān as well as Iraq.

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab went to Khurāsān in person to pursue Qutayba’s partisans; he arrested Wakī‘ b. Abī Sūd and treated him brutally. The rural districts of Khurāsān revolted against Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, so he dispersed his brothers and sons as officials over the rural districts of Khurāsān and put them in charge of tax collection. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān became ruler. When Yazīd heard about his accession, he left Khurāsān, designating his son Mukhallad as his deputy there and taking all his money with him. Some people advised him against doing this, but he did not listen and went to Basra.<sup>370</sup>

301 Meanwhile, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had deposed Yazīd and had appointed ‘Adī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī. ‘Adī convinced Yazīd to go to ‘Umar; so he went, but ‘Umar imprisoned him. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz made | al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥakāmī<sup>371</sup> governor of Khurāsān and ordered him to detain Mukhallad b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and make sure he could not get away; which he did. A delegation from Tibet came to him, asking him to send them someone to enlighten them about the religion of Islam.

Then ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz deposed al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh and appointed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu‘aym al-Ghāmīdī.<sup>372</sup> He instructed him to move the female dependents and children of the Muslims from the territory beyond the Oxus to Marw, but they would not comply and stayed there.

367 Al-Ḥajjāj died in Ramaḍān 95/June 714, and according to al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:351, Sulaymān became caliph on 15 Jumādā 1 96 (January 26, 715).

368 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:354–356; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 112, gives the name as Wakī‘ b. Abī Aswad.

369 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 112.

370 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:362.

371 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:362; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 113.

372 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:362–363; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 113.

Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān became ruler<sup>373</sup> and made Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik governor of Iraq and Khurāsān. Maslama appointed Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-‘Āṣ<sup>374</sup> over Khurāsān. He made war on the kingdom of Farghāna and besieged Khujanda in the country of Sogdia and killed and took prisoners.

Then Maslama deposed him and appointed Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr al-Ḥarashī, a Syrian. Then Khurāsān and Iraq were united under ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī,<sup>375</sup> who made Muslim b. Sa‘īd b. Aslam b. Zur‘a al-Kilābī governor of Khurāsān. He went to Khurāsān and started raiding, but accomplished nothing; the people of Farghāna fought him until they defeated him.

Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik became ruler,<sup>376</sup> and by then the propagandists in Khurāsān on behalf of the Banū Hāshim had appeared.<sup>377</sup> He made Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Asad b. Kurz al-Qasrī<sup>378</sup> governor of Iraq and Khurāsān and ordered him to send someone he could trust to Khurāsān. Khālīd sent his brother Asad b. ‘Abdallāh. When news reached him about the ‘Abbāsīd propagandists, Asad arrested a number of people he suspected and had their hands and feet cut off.<sup>379</sup>

News of the unrest in Khurāsān reached Hishām, who then appointed as his own representative Ashras b. ‘Abdallāh al-Sulamī.<sup>380</sup> Then he deposed him and appointed al-Junayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Khārīja b. Sinān al-Murri,<sup>381</sup> whom he then deposed and replaced with ‘Āṣim b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Hilālī.<sup>382</sup>

Then news reached Hishām that civil strife had broken out in Khurāsān, so he reattached it to Khālīd | b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī.<sup>383</sup> The latter dispatched

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373 Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik became caliph in Rajab 101 (January–February 720); cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:371.

374 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:373; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 114.

375 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:374; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 114.

376 Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik became caliph on the death of Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik in Sha‘bān 105 (January 724). Curiously, al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:379, says that Hishām reached Damascus in Ramaḍān 105, which he identifies as “Kānūn of the non-Arabs” (December or January), which would apply to Sha‘bān, but not to Ramaḍān 105, which fell in February 724.

377 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:383, on the beginnings of the ‘Abbāsīd propaganda.

378 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:379; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 114.

379 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:383.

380 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 115.

381 Ibid.

382 Ibid.

383 That is, placed the province again under the authority of the governor of Iraq.



his brother Asad b. 'Abdallāh. Asad b. 'Abdallāh died in Khurāsān, having designated Ja'far b. Ḥaṇẓala al-Bahrānī, a Syrian, as his deputy over it.

Hishām deposed Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh from Iraq, made Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī governor, and ordered him to send him a man who knew about Khurāsān. He sent 'Abd al-Karīm b. Salīṭ b. 'Aṭīya al-Ḥanafī to him, and Hishām questioned him about Khurāsān and its conditions and its notables. He discussed the matter with him and finally recommended Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī.<sup>384</sup> So Hishām wrote out his investiture as governor of Khurāsān—he had previously been in charge of one of the rural districts of Khurāsān. He deposed Ja'far b. Ḥaṇẓala and took over the administration of the province. He arrested Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn in Balkh and imprisoned him in the citadel. He wrote to Hishām, but Hishām had already died when the letter arrived.

Al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik became ruler.<sup>385</sup> Yaḥyā b. Zayd managed to escape from prison and made his way to the district of Nishāpūr. Naṣr b. Sayyār dispatched Salm b. Aḥwaz al-Hilālī, who overtook Yaḥyā b. Zayd in al-Jūzjān. They fought, and Yaḥyā b. Zayd was struck by a stray arrow and killed. Salm b. Aḥwaz crucified the body over the gate of al-Jūzjān. Yaḥyā b. Zayd remained crucified there until Abū Muslim was victorious and took him down, shrouded him and buried him, and killed everyone who had approved of his murder.

The propagandists of the Banū Hāshim in Khurāsān became numerous in the year [1]26.<sup>386</sup> Naṣr b. Sayyār fought with Juday' b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī al-Azdī.

Then al-Walīd was murdered, and Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik became ruler.<sup>387</sup> Khurāsān was in a state of unrest, the Hāshimite propagandists had become numerous, and the tribes of Rabī'a and Yemen had both dissociated themselves from Naṣr b. Sayyār.

When Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam became ruler,<sup>388</sup> the activity of Abū Muslim in Khurāsān had come out into the open. Naṣr b. Sayyār was powerless against him, so he sought a truce and cessation of hostilities. Then Abū Muslim killed Naṣr b. Sayyār and took control of Khurāsān in the year 130.<sup>389</sup> He sent out his agents and troops, and he dispatched Qaḥṭaba

384 Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:392; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 116.

385 According to al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:397, he became caliph on 20 Rabī' 1 125 (January 21, 743).

386 126 A.H. = October 25, 743 – October 12, 744.

387 According to al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:401, he became caliph on 1 Rajab 126 (April 19, 744).

388 According to al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:404, he became caliph in Ṣafar 127 (November–December, 744).

389 130 A.H. = September 11, 747 – August 30, 748.

and others to Iraq. | Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad the Commander of the Faithful became the ruler, and the blessed Hāshimite dynasty was established.<sup>390</sup> 303

Abū Muslim stayed in Khurāsān until the year 136.<sup>391</sup> Then he asked the Commander of the Faithful Abū l-‘Abbās for permission to perform the pilgrimage. Having received permission, he came to Iraq, leaving Abū Dāwūd Khālīd b. Ibrāhīm al-Dhuhlī<sup>392</sup> as his deputy over Khurāsān. Then the Commander of the Faithful Abū l-‘Abbās died, and Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr became ruler.<sup>393</sup> Abū Dāwūd Khālīd b. Ibrāhīm was still Abū Muslim’s deputy in Khurāsān. Then Abū Muslim was murdered,<sup>394</sup> and Sunfādh<sup>395</sup> revolted in Khurāsān, seeking revenge for Abū Muslim. Al-Manṣūr dispatched Jahwar b. Marrār al-‘Ijlī against him; he defeated him, killed him, and dispersed his followers.

Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr made ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī<sup>396</sup> governor of Khurāsān in the year 148,<sup>397</sup> and he went there. He had been in charge of al-Manṣūr’s police (*shurṭa*). When he had amassed a lot of money and supplies in Khurāsān, he rebelled openly and made no secret of his opposition. Al-Manṣūr dispatched al-Mahdī against him. He fought him, captured him, and sent him to Abū Ja‘far, who had him killed and crucified at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra in the year 149.<sup>398</sup> Al-Mahdī resided at al-Rayy. When Qārīn the Iṣbahbadh of Ṭabaristān revolted, al-Mahdī dispatched Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī and Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī against him. Ṭabaristān was conquered, and Qārīn was captured.

Al-Mahdī made Asīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuzā‘ī<sup>399</sup> governor of Khurāsān—Asīd died there. Then he appointed Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā‘ī over it; he stayed

390 Arabic *al-dawla al-Hāshimīyya al-mubāraka*. According to al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:418, Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad (al-Saffāh) became caliph on 13 Rabī‘ 132 (November 26, 749).

391 136 A.H. = July 7, 753 – June 26, 754; the pilgrimage would have taken place in the last month of the year.

392 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 123.

393 According to al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:436, he became caliph on 12 Dhū l-Ḥijja 136 (June 8, 754).

394 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:115, Abū Muslim died on 24 Sha‘bān 137 (February 12, 755).

395 Called Sunbādh in al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:442; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:119–120.

396 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 123.

397 148 A.H. = February 27, 765 – February 15, 766; but this is a mistake for 140 (May 25, 757 – May 13, 758); see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:128; Wiet, 127 n. 1.

398 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:134–135, places the revolt and death of ‘Abd al-Jabbār in 141 (May 14, 758 – May 3, 759).

399 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 125 (reverses the order with Abū ‘Awn).

there for a while, but then al-Manṣūr deposed him and appointed Abū ‘Awn ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd.<sup>400</sup> Then ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd was deposed.

Having become caliph,<sup>401</sup> al-Mahdī sent back Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba,<sup>402</sup> who stayed there until he died.

Then al-Mahdī made Mu‘ādh b. Muslim al-Rāzī,<sup>403</sup> a client of the Rabī‘a, governor of Khurāsān. Meanwhile, Yūsuf al-Barm the Khārijite<sup>404</sup> (*al-Ḥarūrī*) had revolted, and al-Mahdī dispatched | Yazīd b. Mazyad b. Zā‘ida al-Shaybānī to fight Yūsuf al-Barm. He fought him until he captured him and sent him to al-Mahdī, who cut off his hands and feet. Yūsuf al-Barm’s revolt was followed immediately by that of Ḥakīm al-A‘war, known as al-Muqanna‘,<sup>405</sup> while Mu‘ādh b. Muslim was still governor of Khurāsān. With him were ‘Uqba b. Salm al-Hunā‘ī, Jibrīl b. Yaḥyā al-Bajalī, and al-Layth, client of the Commander of the Faithful. But al-Mahdī designated Sa‘īd al-Ḥarashī to fight al-Muqanna‘; he repeatedly defeated him until al-Muqanna‘ went to Sogdia and barricaded himself in a fortress at Kishsh. Hard pressed by the siege, he and his partisans drank poison; they all died together, and the fortress was conquered.

Al-Mahdī deposed Mu‘ādh b. Muslim from Khurāsān and made al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī<sup>406</sup> governor. Towards the end of his caliphate, al-Mahdī deposed al-Musayyab and made al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī<sup>407</sup> governor of Khurāsān, who remained there until al-Mahdī died and in the caliphate of Mūsā al-Hādī.<sup>408</sup>

400 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 124.

401 According to al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:468, 472, al-Mahdī became caliph on the day of his father’s death, 3 Dhū l-Ḥijja 158 (October 4, 775).

402 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 125 (after ‘Abda b. Qudayd).

403 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 127.

404 On the revolt of Yūsuf al-Barm in eastern Khurāsān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yūsuf al-Barm; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:478–479; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 126–127. Although al-Ya‘qūbī labels the revolt’s leader a Khārijite in allusion to the groups that “seceded” (*kharaja*) from the army of the caliph ‘Alī, rejecting his acceptance of human mediation between himself and Mu‘āwiya—their assembling at a place called al-Ḥarūrā’ earned them the name of Ḥarūrīyya—there is little evidence that the revolt was a continuation of the Khārijite movement.

405 On the revolt of al-Muqanna‘ (“the Masked One”—he is said to have hidden his face behind a veil of silk or a mask of gold and to have claimed to be divine), see the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muqanna‘, and Patricia Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 106–143. Curiously, al-Ya‘qūbī does not mention this revolt in the *Ta’rīkh*.

406 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 127.

407 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 114 (Abū l-‘Abbās ...)

408 Mūsā al-Hādī ruled from Muḥarram 169/August 785 to Rabi’ 170/September 786. The

Hārūn al-Rashīd made Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī<sup>409</sup> governor of Khurāsān, but he suffered a stroke and died. Then he made the latter's son, al-ʿAbbās b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath,<sup>410</sup> governor in his father's place; then he deposed him and made al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ,<sup>411</sup> who was al-Rashīd's maternal uncle, governor. He could not control Khurāsān, and so he deposed him and appointed Ḥamza b. Mālīk b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʿī. Then he deposed him, and appointed al-Faḍl b. Yaḥya b. Khālīd b. Barmak<sup>412</sup> governor of Khurāsān. The latter went to Balkh and conquered a number of rural districts of Ṭukhārīstān, Kābul-Shāh, and Shiqinān.

Then al-Rashīd deposed al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd and appointed ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān<sup>413</sup> governor. He had been in charge of al-Rashīd's security forces (*shurṭa*). ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā came to Khurāsān. Abū ʿAmr the Khārījite had revolted, so he fought him until he killed him. Then Ḥamza the Khārījite revolted against ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān in Bādhghīs. | ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā hastened to oppose him, defeating him and pursuing him to Kābul, where he fought him until he killed him. After Ḥamza, Abū l-Khaṣīb revolted against him at Bāward, so he fought him and killed him. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā acquired an impressive amount of wealth. ʿAlī had dispatched Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār b. Rāfiʿ al-Laythī to Samarqand; Rāfiʿ revolted, and his might increased and his movement gained momentum.

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text of the Leiden edition at this point is problematic. The editor decided to suppress an instance of the word *wa-* (and) that he deemed a copyist's error. As printed, the text translates: "Towards the end of his caliphate, al-Mahdī deposed al-Musayyab and made al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī governor of Khurāsān, who remained there until al-Mahdī died, and in the caliphate of Mūsā al-Hādī [*and*, suppressed by the editor] Hārūn al-Rashīd made Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad ... governor of Khurāsān." This implies the unlikely scenario that Hārūn, who was out of favor during al-Hādī's reign, appointed the governor of Khurāsān. Furthermore, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:605, 609, places Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad's appointment after the death of al-Hādī and attributes the appointment of al-ʿAbbās b. Jaʿfar and al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ to al-Rashīd. One solution is to assume that the editor has wrongly emended the MS and mispunctuated the text. The translation here reverts to the MS reading. However, there is still the problem that al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:488, locates al-Ghiṭrīf's disastrous governorship in the reign of al-Hādī and makes no mention of him during the reign of al-Rashīd.

409 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 129.

410 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 129.

411 Cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:488; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 129.

412 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 130.

413 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 131 (after Manṣūr b. Yazīd).

Hārūn heard that this had happened with the collaboration of ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā;<sup>414</sup> he therefore dispatched Harthama b. A‘yan, who seized ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā and took him to al-Rashīd in irons. His wealth was also seized and confiscated. Harthama b. A‘yan al-Balkhī was made governor of Khurāsān in the year 191.<sup>415</sup>

Then al-Rashīd went to Khurāsān, leaving his son Muḥammad al-Amīn as his deputy in Baghdad. He took al-Ma‘mūn with him to Khurāsān, and the army accompanied him. When he reached Ṭūs he fell ill. The illness became severe, so he sent al-Ma‘mūn, along with Harthama and the military officers, to Marw. Al-Rashīd died in Ṭūs in Jumādā 11 of the year 193,<sup>416</sup> and he was buried there.

Al-Ma‘mūn stayed in Marw as governor of Khurāsān, its rural districts, and its other dependencies. He dispatched Harthama b. A‘yan to Samarqand for the war against Rāfi‘ b. al-Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī; he fought him until he conquered Samarqand. Rāfi‘ surrendered under safe-conduct, and Harthama sent him to al-Ma‘mūn, who sent him on to Muḥammad (al-Amīn), informing him of the victory. Al-Ma‘mūn remained in Marw for the remainder of the year 193 and 194.<sup>417</sup> Then Muḥammad summoned him to Baghdad, dispatching for that purpose al-‘Abbās b. Mūsā b. ‘Īsā, Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. Nahīk, and Ṣāliḥ the *ṣāhib al-muṣallā*.<sup>418</sup> Al-Ma‘mūn refused to go back, saying this was in violation of the agreement. (Al-Amīn) therefore sent ‘Iṣma b. Abī ‘Iṣma al-Sabī‘ī against him with an army, | but ‘Iṣma stayed in al-Rayy and did not leave. Then (al-Amīn) dispatched ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Māhān, whom he had released from prison,<sup>419</sup> to Khurāsān. When al-Ma‘mūn heard of that, he sent Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣ‘ab al-Būshanjī from Marw with four thousand troops. He encountered ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā at al-Rayy and killed him. Then al-Ma‘mūn also dispatched Harthama b. A‘yan to

414 Cf. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:515.

415 191A.H. = November 17, 806 – November 5, 807; cf. Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 132.

416 March 809; the parallel passage in al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:521, dates the death of al-Rashīd to the preceding month, Jumādā 1 (February 809); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:739–740, reports both dates.

417 That is, the remainder of 809 until October 810.

418 “Keeper of the Caliph’s Prayer Rug”; on the ceremonial functions of this court official see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:778, 795 (trans. M. Fishbein, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXI, 25, n. 122, and 45), and 3:979, 1016 (trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 17, n. 38, and 66). Al-Ya‘qūbī’s narrative of the falling out of the two brothers and their eventual war begins at *Ta’rīkh*, 2:529.

419 As has been mentioned, Hārūn al-Rashīd had dismissed ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā as governor of Khurāsān, confiscated his wealth, and had him placed under house arrest in Baghdad (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:732). After Hārūn’s death, al-Amīn released ‘Alī and put him in charge of the campaign against al-Ma‘mūn in Khurāsān.

Iraq. Al-Ma'mūn remained in Marw until Muḥammad (al-Amīn) was killed at the end of Muḥarram 198,<sup>420</sup> and he was given the oath of allegiance as caliph.

Al-Ma'mūn remained in Khurāsān for the years 199 and 200, sending officials to Iraq. He sent successively Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid b. Rib'ī al-Ṭā'ī al-Ṭūsī; 'Alī b. Hishām b. Khusraw al-Marwarrūdhī; Dhū l-'Alamayn 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd, son of al-Faḍl b. Sahl's maternal aunt, as chief of the land tax in Iraq; and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, as plenipotentiary.<sup>421</sup> Harthama b. A'yan left Iraq in anger and went to al-Ma'mūn; al-Ma'mūn arrested him, and he died after three days in prison in Marw in the year 200.<sup>422</sup> Then, in 202,<sup>423</sup> al-Ma'mūn swore an oath of allegiance in Marw to al-Riḍā 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—upon whom be peace—as heir apparent. He left Marw that same year, journeying at a leisurely pace until he came to Sarakhs. He stayed there, and al-Faḍl b. Sahl, his vizier, was killed in the bath in Sarakhs.<sup>424</sup> Al-Ma'mūn executed a number of others in connection with him. Al-Ma'mūn traveled on to Ṭūs, and when he reached Ṭūs he stayed there. That was in the year 203.<sup>425</sup> Al-Riḍā—upon whom be peace—died in Ṭūs.<sup>426</sup> Al-Ma'mūn had written all the princes | of Khurāsān to pacify them until things became calm.

307

Al-Ma'mūn made Rajā' b. Abī l-Ḍaḥḥāk, the husband of al-Faḍl b. Sahl's sister, governor of all Khurāsān. Al-Ma'mūn arrived in Baghdad on 15 Ṣafar 204.<sup>427</sup> All of Khurāsān deteriorated under Rajā' b. Abī l-Ḍaḥḥāk; al-Ma'mūn therefore appointed Ghassān b. 'Abbād<sup>428</sup> governor. He set things right and restored order. Al-Ma'mūn found him praiseworthy, and he stayed in office for the rest of 204 and several months of 205.

Then Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣ'ab al-Būshanjī<sup>429</sup> maneuvered al-Ma'mūn into appointing him governor of Khurāsān and investing him over it. He went

420 30 Muḥarram 198 = September 30, 813. Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:536–537.

421 Arabic *'alā jamī' al-umūr*, literally “over all matters.”

422 200 A.H. = August 11, 815 – July 29, 816. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:996 ff. Harthama did indeed die in 200; but cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:546, where the date of his death is given as 201.

423 202 A.H. = July 20, 817 – July 8, 818; but cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:545, where the date of this event is given as 7 Ramaḍān 201 (March 29, 817); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1013, gives it as 2 Ramaḍān 201 (March 24, 817).

424 Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:548; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1027, gives a date of 2 Sha'bān 202 (February 13, 818) for the murder.

425 203 A.H. = July 9, 818 – June 27, 819.

426 Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:550–551.

427 August 11, 819; but al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:551, gives the date as the following month, Rabī' 1.

428 Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:550; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 134.

429 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 135–136.

there in the year 205.<sup>430</sup> When he heard that al-Ma'mūn had an unfavorable opinion of him, he encouraged signs of rebellion but did nothing openly himself. Al-Ma'mūn heard about it, and it is said that Ṭāhir was guilefully given a (poisoned) drink. Ṭāhir died in the year 207.<sup>431</sup>

Al-Ma'mūn appointed Ṭāhir's son, Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn,<sup>432</sup> to replace him. He remained in firm control as commander of Khurāsān for seven years. Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir died in the year 215.<sup>433</sup>

Al-Ma'mūn had appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir<sup>434</sup> governor of the rural districts of al-Jabal and Azerbaijan; he went there, but fell ill in al-Dīnawar. Then al-Ma'mūn named him governor of Khurāsān in place of his brother Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir, sending the document of investiture to him via Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm and Yaḥyā b. Aktham, the Chief Qadi. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir went to Khurāsān and resided at Nishāpūr, which he made his home; no other governor of Khurāsān before him had resided there. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir remained in charge of Khurāsān and its districts for fourteen years, with firm authority, governing powerfully, and the entire province was in good order. He died at Nishāpūr in the year 230,<sup>435</sup> at the age of forty-eight.

Al-Wāthiq appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir's son, Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir,<sup>436</sup> governor of Khurāsān. He remained in Khurāsān during the caliphates of al-Wāthiq, al-Mutawakkil, and al-Muntaṣir and for part of the caliphate of al-Musta'in. He governed it firmly for eighteen years. He died at Nishāpūr in Rajab 248,<sup>437</sup> at the age of forty-four.

308 Al-Musta'in appointed Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh's son, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. | 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir,<sup>438</sup> governor of Khurāsān. He remained its governor from the year 248 to the year 259. Affairs were disturbed by the revolt of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Ṭālibī in Ṭabaristān and elsewhere, as well as by the revolt of Ya'qūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār in Sijistān,<sup>439</sup> which spread to the rural districts of Khurāsān. Ya'qūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār advanced to Nishāpūr in Shawwāl 259<sup>440</sup> and cap-

430 205 A.H. = June 17, 820 – June 5, 821.

431 207 A.H. = May 27, 822 – May 15, 823; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:556–557.

432 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 135.

433 215 A.H. = February 28, 830 – February 17, 831.

434 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 135.

435 230 A.H. = September 18, 844 – September 6, 845.

436 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 137.

437 September 862.

438 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 138.

439 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 138.

440 August 873.

tured Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. He made certain that he and the members of his family could not escape, confiscated their property and what was in their residences, and carried them in fetters to a fortress in Kirmān called the fortress of Bamm. They remained in that state until al-Ṣaffār died. Khurāsān came to be without them,<sup>441</sup> and ‘Amr b. al-Layth,<sup>442</sup> al-Ṣaffār’s brother, took control of it. Five commanders of the Ṭāhirid family were governors of Khurāsān, ruling for fifty-five years. With the fall of dynasties, affairs pass away, circumstances alter, weakness befalls, and inadequacy becomes visible.

The land tax of Khurāsān, from all the districts, amounted every year to forty million dirhams, apart from the fifths (of spoils) paid from the frontier regions. The Ṭāhirid family spent all of it as they saw fit. In addition, they received thirteen million from Iraq, apart from gifts.

Such is the Eastern Quarter. We have mentioned every report about it we have received and every account we have learned, and we have described its circumstances. Let us now mention the Southern Quarter<sup>443</sup> and what is in it. In God lies success.

### The Southern Quarter

For anyone who wishes to travel from Baghdad to Kufa and to the road leading to the Ḥijāz, Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭā’if, it is 30 farsakhs, three stages, from Baghdad to Kufa. The first stage ends at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra, 12 farsakhs from Baghdad. Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī had it built in the days of Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān.<sup>444</sup> | At that time, Ibn Hubayra was Marwān’s governor of Iraq and wanted to distance himself from Kufa. Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra is a great and prosperous city in which officials and governors reside. Its populace is a mixture of peoples. It is on a canal called al-Ṣarāt that feeds from the Euphrates. From Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra it is a distance of two Arab miles to the main part of the Euphrates, at a bridge over the main part of the Euphrates called the Sūrā Bridge.<sup>445</sup> From Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra one travels to a place named Sūq Asad

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441 That is, without a Ṭāhirid ruler.

442 Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 142.

443 Arabic *al-Rub’ al-Qiblī*, the quarter that lies toward the *qibla*, the direction toward Mecca faced by Muslims in prayer: in Iraq, this would be south-southwest, but al-Ya’qūbī uses the expression more generally to designate the Southern Quarter.

444 Marwān II, the last Umayyad caliph, reigned 127–132/744–750.

445 On Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra and the Sūrā Bridge, see the article by J. Lassner in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaṣr ibn Hubayra, and G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 70–71. As Le Strange notes, by



on the west bank of the Euphrates in the county (*tassūj*) called al-Fallūja. Then one travels from Sūq Asad to Kufa. The stretches from Baghdad to Kufa are in populous areas and large, prosperous villages, one after another, with a mixed population of non-Arabs and Arabs.

Kufa is the chief city of Iraq, the largest garrison city,<sup>446</sup> the Dome of Islam,<sup>447</sup> and the Abode of Emigration (*Dār al-Hijra*) of the Muslims. It is the first city that the Muslims laid out in Iraq, in the year 14.<sup>448</sup> In it are the tribal land allotments (*khīṭaṭ*) of the Arabs. It is located on the main part of the Euphrates, from which its people obtain water. It is one of the finest of towns, one of the most spacious, salubrious, and extensive.

Its land tax revenues (*kharāj*) are included within the land tax revenues of the counties of the Ṣawād. The counties of the Ṣawād associated with Kufa are the county of al-Jubba; the county of al-Budāt; Furāt Bādaqlā; al-Sālīhīn; and Nahr Yūsuf. Al-Ḥīra is three Arab miles from it.

Al-Ḥīra is above al-Najaf.<sup>449</sup> Al-Najaf was on the shore of Baḥr al-Milḥ, which in ancient times used to reach up to al-Ḥīra. Al-Ḥīra is the residence of the clan of Buqayla and others. It used to be the residence of the kings of the Banū Naṣr

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“main part” of the Euphrates (*muʿzam al-furāt*), al-Yaʿqūbī refers to the western branch of the Euphrates after the river bifurcated around the latitude of Karbalāʾ, *not* the present-day main channel (cf. his placement of Kufa on the “main part” of the Euphrates, below). The eastern branch was also known to ʿAbbāsīd-era writers as the Sūrā River. *Pace* al-Yaʿqūbī, the Sūrā Bridge spanned this eastern (Sūrā) branch, *not* the “main part” or western branch.

446 Arabic *al-miṣr al-aʿzam*: The term *miṣr* (pl. *amṣār*) in early Islam applied to the settlements that developed out of armed encampments established by the Arabs in conquered territories. It applied especially to Basra and Kufa in Iraq, and to Fustāt in Egypt. Later usage extended the word to any large urban area. Al-Yaʿqūbī appears to intend both senses here, as he mentions both the size of Kufa and its history. See the articles by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Miṣr* (section B), and by Hichem Djaīt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Kūfa.

447 Arabic *Qubbat al-Islām*: the dictionaries mention this epithet for Kufa (e.g., Lane, *Lexicon*, 2536, s.v. *qubba*). Al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāgha*, s.v., notes a related idiom, *huwa qabb qawmihi*, which he glosses as “he is the head (*qabb*) of his people.” The epithet may be connected with another expression, *qubbat al-arḍ*, the “dome of the earth,” that is, its geographical center; see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḳubba.

448 14 A.H. = February 25, 635 – February 13, 636.

449 Al-Najaf (the Embankment) is here the name not just of the town near Kufa, the location of the tomb of the first Shīʿi Imam, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, but also the surrounding site more generally, a slightly raised plateau which did indeed hem in the marshy lake known as Baḥr al-Milḥ (the Salty Sea). This lake is now, as in al-Yaʿqūbī’s time, limited to the area further north around Karbalāʾ and is also known today as Buḥayrat al-Razāza. See the article by E. Honigsmann and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nadījaf.

of Lakhm, who were of the clan of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir.<sup>450</sup> The notables of the populace of al-Ḥīra are Christians. Among them, from the Arab tribes who follow the Christian religion, are, from the Banū Tamīm, the clan of the poet 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī,<sup>451</sup> others from Sulaym, others from Ṭayyī', and still others. Al-Khawarnaq is nearby to the east, three Arab miles from al-Ḥīra. Al-Sadīr is in the steppe nearby.<sup>452</sup>

*The Tribal Land Allotments (Khiṭaṭ) of Kufa*

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb<sup>453</sup> wrote to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ<sup>454</sup> when he conquered 310 Iraq, ordering him to settle at Kufa and ordering the troops to divide it into allotments. Every tribe with its leader marked out its allotment, and 'Umar granted plots to the Companions of the Messenger of God—God's blessings and peace be upon him. Thus, 'Abs was settled alongside the mosque, although a group of them later moved to the outskirts of Kufa. Salmān b. Rabī'a al-Bāhilī, al-Musayyab b. Najaba al-Fazārī, and some people from Qays claimed an allotment opposite the house of Ibn Mas'ūd. 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh, and 'Amr b. Ḥurayth claimed the houses around the mosque. 'Umar granted a plot to Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, who built a house and then sold it to Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa. He granted a plot to Sa'd b. Qays near the house of Salmān b. Rabī'a, with a street running between the two plots. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ claimed as a plot for himself the house that is known as the house of 'Umar b. Sa'd. ('Umar) granted plots to Khālīd b. 'Urfuṭa, Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār, and 'Umāra b. Ruwayba al-Tamīmī. He granted a plot to Abū Mas'ūd 'Uqba b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī, and another plot next to that of Juhayna to the Banū Shamkh b. Fazāra. He granted the Square of Khunays<sup>455</sup> as a plot to Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Abī Waqqāṣ, and granted a plot to Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṭā'ī. 'Umar granted Usāma b. Zayd what lay between the mosque and the house of 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār for a house. He granted to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī half of al-Ārī (the Stables), which was an open space by the mosque. He granted

450 On the pre-Islamic city of al-Ḥīra, the Christian Arab clan of the Lakhmids, and their famous king al-Nu'mān, see the article by A. F. L. Beeston and I. Shahid in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥīra.

451 'Adī b. Zayd (d. c. 600 C.E.) was a member of a family of Christian Arab bureaucrats that served the Sasanians. See the article by Tilman Seidensticker in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Adī b. Zayd.

452 Al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadīr were famous palaces in the vicinity of Kufa attributed to the Lakhmids. See the article by L. Massignon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khawarnaq.

453 The second caliph, ruled 13–23/634–644.

454 One of the commanders who led the early Islamic conquest of Iraq, and its first governor.

455 Reading Persian *chahār-sū* for al-Ya'qūbī's Shihār Sūj, and Khunays for Khunaysh, on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:745.

to Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān with a group of ‘Abs (the other) half of al-Ārī, which was an open space where the horses of the Muslims were kept. He granted to ‘Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī the plaza that is named after ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—upon him be peace.<sup>456</sup> He granted a plot to Abū Jabīra al-Anṣārī, who was in charge of the military register (*dīwān al-jund*). He granted to ‘Adī b. Ḥātim and the rest of Ṭayyī’ the area of Bishr’s Pasture.<sup>457</sup> He granted a plot to al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, and he granted a large, extensive plot to Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Bajalī and the rest of Bajīla. He granted | a plot to al-Ash’ath b. Qays al-Kindī and Kinda from the area of Juḥayna up to (the plot of) the Banū Awd. A group from Azd came and found an open space between Bajīla and Kinda, and so they settled there. Hamdān were scattered throughout al-Kūfa. Tamīm, Bakr, and Asad came and settled on the outskirts. When (‘Umar) granted Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Jadalī a plot among Bajīla, Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh said, “Why did this man, who is not one of us, settle among us?” ‘Umar said to him, “Move to wherever you think best.” So he moved to Basra, but most of Aḥmas left Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh and moved to the pasture-lands.<sup>458</sup> Since then, the tribal allotments have changed and have become known by (the name of) the group that bought them and built upon them.

To every tribe belonged a pasture (*jabbāna*) named after them and their notables: among them were the ‘Arzam pasture, the Bishr pasture, the Azd pasture, the Sālīm pasture, the Murād pasture, the Kinda pasture, the pasture

456 ‘Alī (d. Ramaḍān 40/January 661), the Prophet Muḥammad’s cousin, was the fourth caliph and the first Shī‘ī Imam.

457 Arabic *Jabbānat Bishr* (Bishr’s Jabbāna). The original sense of *jabbāna* was “high, level pasturage” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:377, s.v.). In the layout of the new Arab garrison cities, the term designated “a piece of unbuilt land serving, *inter alia*, as a meeting place and a cemetery” (P. Crone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khiṭṭa*). Thus one might translate, “Bishr’s Pasture/Open Space/Cemetery.” Similarly, al-Ya‘qūbī will refer shortly to *Jabbānat ‘Arzam*, and so on for each *jabbāna* (pasture/open space/cemetery).

458 Aḥmas b. al-Ghawth b. Bajīla was a subtribe of Bajīla. See Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, 9:14. Arabic *intaqalat Aḥmas ... ilā l-jabbāna*: again, in accordance with Arabic usage, the definite article on *al-jabbāna* may indicate that the word is being used generically, to indicate the *kind* of land to which the clan of Aḥmas moved, or that they moved to *the* Jabbāna (pasture/cemetery) later known by their name. What is being described is a situation where ‘Umar granted lands to an interloper, al-Jadalī, from the vast allotment previously granted to the tribe of Bajīla described earlier. This annoyed the leader of Bajīla, Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh, a warlord active in the conquest of Iraq who might have expected better treatment, and so he decamped to the other new garrison town of al-Baṣra. However, the Aḥmas segment of his tribe refused to go with him and instead moved to other unclaimed pasture lands, presumably on the outskirts of Kūfa.

of the Ṣā'idīs, the green space (*ṣaḥrā'*) of Uthayr, the green space of the Banū Yashkur, and the green space of the Banū 'Āmir.

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wrote to Sa'd, ordering him to make the streets of Kufa 50 black cubits wide. The marketplace was placed in the area extending from the palace and the mosque to the house of al-Walid, to al-Qallā'un, and to the houses of Thaḳīf and Ashja'. There were rush mat awnings over it until the days of Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī,<sup>459</sup> who rebuilt the markets, created a booth and an arched portico for sellers of each sort of merchandise, and assigned its rental income to the army—10,000 soldiers used to reside in Kufa.

### *The Stages from Kufa to Medina and Mecca*

Whoever wishes to travel from Kufa to the Ḥijāz leaves by the southern road, amid thriving stopping places and watering stations where there stand palaces belonging to the caliphs of the Banū Hāshim.<sup>460</sup> The first stage is al-Qādisiyya; then comes al-Mughītha, then al-Qar'a', then Wāqīṣa, then al-'Aqaba; then al-Qā', then Zubāla, then al-Shuqūq, then Biṭān, which is Qabr al-'Ibādī—the four latter places are dwelling places of the Banū Asad—and al-Tha'labiyya, which is a walled compound (*madīna*), Zarūd |, and al-Ajfur—encampments of the Ṭayyi'. Next comes the compound of Fayd, which is the compound in which the agents responsible for the Mecca road reside. Its people are Ṭayyi' and it is at the foot of their mountain known as Salmā. Then comes Tūz, which is also a Ṭayyi' area, then Samīrā' and al-Ḥājir—the people of the latter two places are Qays, mostly from the Banū 'Abs. Then come al-Naqira and the mines of al-Naqira, whose people are a mixture of Qays and others. From there, whoever wants to go to Medina, the City of the Messenger of God—God's blessings and peace be upon him—turns off toward Baṭn Nakhla; whoever is bound for Mecca turns toward Mughīthat al-Māwān, which is the territory of the Banū Muḥārib; then comes al-Rabadha, then al-Salīla, then al-'Umaq, then the mines of the Banū Sulaym, then Ufay'īya, then al-Mislaḥ, then Ghamra, from which one commences the pilgrimage.<sup>461</sup> Then comes Dhāt 'Irq, then Bustān Ibn 'Āmir, then Mecca.

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459 The Umayyad governor of Iraq from 105/723 to 120/738. See the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī.

460 That is, belonging to the 'Abbāsīd family.

461 The *hajj*: the pilgrimage to Mecca that every Muslim is enjoined to undertake at least once in his or her lifetime. In fact, Dhāt 'Irq, the next place mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī (about 94 km north-east of Mecca), is the place where pilgrims from Iraq traditionally enter the consecrated state known as *iḥrām*, donning the garments of a pilgrim and beginning to observe the obligatory prohibitions. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Iḥrām*.

*The City of the Messenger of God—God's Blessings and Peace be upon Him*

Whoever is bound for the City of the Messenger of God—God's blessing and peace be upon him—heads from the stopping place called the mines of al-Naqira to Baṭn Nakhl, then to al-'Usayla, then Ṭarafa, then to Medina. Medina, or Ṭayba,<sup>462</sup> as the Messenger of God—God's blessing and peace be upon him—named it, is situated on level land: green and open, yet having two hills, one of them Uḥud, the other 'Ayr. Its populace are the Emigrants (*Muhājirūn*), the Supporters (*Anṣār*), and the Successors (*Tābi'ūn*).<sup>463</sup> Also in it are Arab tribes from (the confederation of) Qays b. 'Aylān—from Muzayna, Juhayna, Kināna, and others.

Medina has four streambeds whose waters come in the season of rains and spring torrents from hills at a place called Ḥarrat Banī Sulaym at a distance of 10 farsakhs from the city. These streambeds are Wādī Buṭḥān, Greater 'Aqīq, Lesser 'Aqīq, and Wādī Qanāt. The water of these streams comes at the time of spring torrents, and it all collects at a place called al-Ghāba and issues forth  
 313 into a streambed called | Wādī Iḍam. Then the Greater and Lesser 'Aqīq pour into certain wells, among them Bi'r Rūma, which is Ḥafīr Banī Māzin, and Bi'r 'Urwa.<sup>464</sup> During the rest of the year, the people of Medina drink from these two wells and from other wells not as well known as these two. There are also wells that water the palm groves and fields, whose water is drawn by *nāḍiḥas*, which are camels that work (drawing water) at irrigation wells.<sup>465</sup> At Medina there are also springs flowing and running with water, among them 'Ayn al-Ṣawrayn, 'Ayn Thaniyyat Marwān, 'Ayn al-Khāniqayn, 'Ayn Abī Ziyād, Khayf al-Qāḍī, 'Ayn Barad, and the Spring of the Wives of the Prophet—God's blessing and peace be upon him. Most of the holdings of the populace are palm groves from which they derive their living and their food. The city's revenues come from the tithes on the dates and the alms-tax.

462 Ṭayba (Sweet Smelling) is one of the nicknames of Medina.

463 The Emigrants (*Muhājirūn*) were the Meccan converts to Islam who followed the Prophet from Mecca to his new headquarters at Medina in the year 1/622 or shortly thereafter. The Supporters (*Anṣār*) were the members of Median tribes (primarily Aws and Khazraj) who became Muslims. The Successors (*Tābi'ūn*) were those of the second generation of early Muslims.

464 Arabic *bi'r* = well; *Ḥafīr Banī Māzin* = the Excavation (that is, Well) of the Banū Māzin.

465 Arabic *zarāniq* (pl. of *zurnūq*). For a description of these devices, see Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:1229, s.v. *zurnūq*.

The Great Sea is three days from Medina; its seaport is a place called al-Jār,<sup>466</sup> where merchant ships and ships carrying food from Egypt anchor.

It is six Arab miles from Medina to Qubā', where the halting places of al-Aws and al-Khazraj used to be before Islam, and where the Messenger of God—God's blessing and peace be upon him—halted before traveling on to Medina itself. It was at Qubā' that he stayed—God's blessing and peace be upon him—at the home of Kulthūm b. al-Hidm, but then Kulthūm died, so he stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama al-Anṣārī. The house of Sa'd b. Khaythama is next to the mosque of Qubā'. Then the Prophet moved to Medina, where he settled its feuds.<sup>467</sup> The people laid out the allotments (*khiṭaṭ*)—before that, they had lived dispersed in separate areas—and the built-up areas became connected, so that they became a city.

It is ten stages from Medina to Mecca, and the route is heavily populated and prosperous. The first stage ends four Arab miles from Medina, at Dhū l-Ḥulayfa, where pilgrims leaving Medina enter into a state of consecration.<sup>468</sup> From there one goes to al-Ḥufayra, where are the settlements of the Banū Fihri of Quraysh, then to Malal, which at this time is the settlement of a group of descendants of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>469</sup> Then one proceeds to al-Sayāla, where there is | a group of descendants of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>470</sup>—God's peace be upon him—and where there was a group of Quraysh and others. Then one proceeds to al-Rawḥā', which is the settlement of Muzayna, and then to al-Ruwaytha, where there is a group of descendants of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and other Arabs.<sup>471</sup> Then one proceeds to al-'Arj, which is another settlement of Muzayna, and then to Suqyā Banī Ghifār, which is the settlement of the Banū Kināna. Then one proceeds to al-Abwā', which is the settlement of Aslam, and then to

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466 The old Red Sea port for Medina, south of modern Yanbu'; see the article by A. Dietrich in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djār.

467 Arabic *kataba ma'āqilaha* (he wrote its blood-moneys). See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, *Glossarium*, ccclxxi–ccclxxii, s.v. 'Q-L. The document referred to is the so-called Constitution of Medina; on which see Michael Lecker, *The "Constitution of Medina": Muḥammad's First Legal Document*.

468 As part of the pilgrimage rituals, pilgrims enter a state of consecration symbolized by donning a special seamless wrap worn as a pilgrimage garment called the *iḥrām*. While in this state, pilgrims are also subject to certain restrictions: they may not shave, trim their nails, hunt, uproot plants, etc.

469 Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, the brother of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and cousin of the Prophet, died in a military expedition against the Byzantines at Mu'ta in southern Jordan in the year 8/629.

470 Al-Ḥasan was the son of 'Alī and the second Shī'ī Imam. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:266, dates his death to Rabī' 1 49 (April/May 669).

471 'Uthmān, the third caliph, reigned 23/644 to 35/656.

al-Juḥfa, where there is a group of the Banū Sulaym. Ghadīr Khumm is two Arab miles off the road from al-Juḥfa.<sup>472</sup> Then one proceeds to Qudayd, where there is the settlement of Khuḏā'a, then to 'Uṣfān, and then to Marr al-Ẓahrān, which is the settlement of Kināna. From there one proceeds to Mecca.

### *Mecca and Its Dependencies*

It is 225 Arab miles from Medina to Mecca. The pilgrims halt at these stations and other watering-places, one group tarrying, another cutting their stay short, according to their pace on the road, quick or slow. The people enter Mecca from Dhū Ṭuwā, which is the lower part of Mecca, and by 'Aqabat al-Madaniyyīn, which is the upper part of Mecca and from which the Messenger of God—God's blessing and peace be upon him—entered.<sup>473</sup>

Mecca is situated amid great mountains, and it contains streambeds that come from ravines.<sup>474</sup> The mountains surrounding the city are: Abū Qubays, the high mountain from which the sun rises upon the Sacred Mosque;<sup>475</sup> Qu'ayqī'an; Fāḏih; al-Muḥaṣṣab; Thawr, near al-Ṣafā; Ḥirā'; Thabir; Tuffāḥa; al-Maṭābikh; al-Falaq; al-Ḥajūn; and Saqar.

315 Mecca's ravines are as follows: al-Ḥajūn Ravine, Dār Māl Allāh Ravine, al-Baṭṭāṭīn Ravine, Falaq Ibn al-Zubayr Ravine, Ibn 'Amir | Ravine, al-Jawf Ravine, al-Khūz Ravine, Adhākhīr Ravine, Khaṭṭ al-Ḥizāmīya Ravine, al-Ṣafā Ravine, al-Razzāzīn Ravine, al-Jubayriyyīn Ravine, al-Jawf Ravine,<sup>476</sup> al-Jazzārīn Ravine, Zuqāq al-Nār Ravine, Jabal Tuffāḥa Ravine, al-Ḥajjāj Ravine, al-'Aṭṭārīn Ravine, Great Jiyād Ravine, Little Jiyād Ravine, al-Nafar Ravine, the Ravine of Thawr and Khiyām 'Unqūd, Yarranī Ravine, the Ravine of 'Alī, Thaniyyat al-Madaniyyīn Ravine, and al-Ḥamām Ravine.

472 Ghadīr Khumm is a pool near Mecca at which the Prophet stopped in the year 10/632 as he returned from his Farewell Pilgrimage. According to tradition (reported by al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:125), he is said to have spoken words indicating his closeness to 'Alī. As a result, Shī'ites have taken the Prophet's speech at Ghadīr Khumm as proof of 'Alī's status as Imam and rightful leader of the Muslim community. The event is commemorated by many Shī'ite groups. See the article by L. Vecchia Valieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ghadīr Khumm*.

473 That is, at the time of the conquest of Mecca in 8/630.

474 Arabic *wa-hiya awdiyātun dhātu shi'āb*, literally, "and it is streambeds possessing ravines." The idea is that these streambeds (dry, except during the infrequent rains, when they can turn into torrents) pass through the basin in which the city is built, but originate back toward the mountains in deep ravines, gorges, or canyons (*shi'āb*, pl. of *shi'b*, which appears as an element in the following toponyms).

475 That is, the mosque surrounding the Ka'ba.

476 This ravine is repeated in the ms, as noted by De Goeje.

The Sacred Mosque stands between Jiyād and Qu‘ayqi‘ān. The last person to restore the Sacred Mosque, adding to it and enlarging it so that the Ka‘ba stood in the center of it, was al-Mahdī in the year 164.<sup>477</sup> The Sacred Mosque covers an area of 120,000 square cubits. The length of the Mosque from the Banū Jumah Door to the Banū Hāshim Door, which is near the green marker,<sup>478</sup> is 404 cubits; its width from the al-Nadwa Door to the al-Şafā Door is 304 cubits. It boasts 484 marble columns, each pillar ten cubits in height, 498 arches, and 23 doors.

The Commander of the Faithful al-Mahdī built the two green markers that stand between al-Şafā and al-Marwa. There are 112 cubits between the two markers; there are 754 cubits between al-Şafā and al-Marwa.

The height of | the Ka‘ba is 28 cubits. From the corner of the Black Stone to the Syrian corner is 25 cubits; from the western corner in al-Ḥijr to the Syrian corner, 22 cubits; from the western corner to the Yamānī corner, 25 cubits; from the Yamānī corner to the corner in which lies the Black Stone, 21 cubits. 316

The people of Mecca obtain drinking water from brackish wells and from the *qanāts* that Umm Ja‘far, the daughter of Ja‘far the son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Manşūr, built during the caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd.<sup>479</sup> She had them flow from the place called al-Mushāsh in lead channels 12 Arab miles apart. The people of Mecca and the pilgrims thus obtain water from the cistern of Umm Ja‘far.

Al-Ṭā‘if is two stages from Mecca. Al-Ṭā‘if is the settlement of the tribe of Thaḳīf; it is a dependency of Mecca subject to Mecca’s governor.

Mecca’s dependencies are: Ru‘aylā’ al-Hawdha; Ru‘aylā’ al-Bayād, where lie the mines of Sulaym, Hilāl, and ‘Uqayl of Qays; Tabāla, the people of which are of Khath‘am; Najrān, which belongs to the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b, and which was their settlement in the Time of Ignorance;<sup>480</sup> al-Sarāt, the people of which

477 The ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī reigned 158/775 to 169/785. On his reconstruction of the Meccan sanctuary, see al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 2:476–477. 164 A.H. = September 7, 780 – August 25, 781.

478 This and the following lines about markers refer to the green pillars placed between the hills of al-Şafā and al-Marwa. These two places figure in the pilgrimage ritual of *sa‘y* (running), in which (according to the most common understanding) pilgrims re-enact Hagar’s desperate search for water by running seven times between these two hills. The green markers indicate places where pilgrims should begin and end their running.

479 A *qanāt* is an underground water-channel. The one described here was built by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd’s wife Zubayda (Umm Ja‘far). For an account of her philanthropic work in improving the water supply of Mecca, initiated in 193/808, see the article by Renate Jacobi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zubayda bt. Dja‘far b. Abī Dja‘far al-Manşūr.

480 *Al-Jāhiliyya*, that is, the period before the preaching of Islam by the Prophet Muḥammad.



are of al-Azd; 'Asham, which is a gold mine; Baysh; al-Sirrayn; al-Ḥasaba; 'Athr; Jedda, which is the sea-port; Ruhāt; Nakhla; Dhāt 'Irq; Qarn; 'Ufān; Marr al-Zahrān; and al-Juhfa.

Of the Arab tribes around Mecca, there are, from Qays: Banū 'Uqayl, Banū Hilāl, Banū Numayr, and Banū Naṣr; from Kināna: Ghifār, Daws, Banū Layth, Khuzā'a, Khath'am, Ḥakam, and al-Azd.

317 Mecca has many springs where the productive lands of the people lie, at Marr al-Zahrān; 'Arafa; Ruhāt; Tathlith, where there is a gold mine at 'Asham; | Dhū 'Alaq; and 'Ukāz.

Its revenues come from the tithes and alms-taxes. Provisions are transported to it from Egypt, to its port, which is Jedda.

### *From Mecca to Yemen*

From Mecca to Ṣan'ā' there are 21 stages: the first is al-Malakān; then Yalamlam, where pilgrims from Yemen enter the state of ritual purity; then al-Līth; then 'Ulyab; then Qurbā; then Qanawnā; then Yaba; then al-Ma'qir; then Ḍankān; then Zanīf; then Rīm; then Baysh; then al-'Ursh of Jāzān; then al-Sharja; then al-Sal'; then Balḥa; then al-Mahjam; then al-'Āra; then al-Marwa; then Sawadān; and then Ṣan'ā', the largest city, in which the governors and notables of the Arabs reside.

Yemen is comprised of 84 *mikhlaḥs*, which are like the (administrative divisions known as) *kūras* and *madīnas* (in other provinces).<sup>481</sup> Their names are: al-Yaḥṣibayn; Yalā; Dhimār; Ṭamu'; 'Iyān; Ṭamām; Hamal; Qudam; Khaywān; 318 Sinḥān; Rayḥān |; Jurash; Ṣa'da; al-Akhrūj; Majnaḥ; Ḥarāz; Hawzan; Qufā'a; al-Wazīra; al-Ḥujr; al-Ma'āfir; 'Unna; al-Shawāfi; Jublān; Waṣāb; al-Sakūn; Shar'ab; al-Janad; Maswar; al-Thujja; al-Mazra'; Ḥayrān; Ma'rib; Haḍūr; 'Ulqān; Rayshān; Jayshān; al-Nihm; Baysh; Ḍankān; Qanawnā; Yaba; Zanīf; al-'Ursh of Jāzān; al-Khaṣūf; al-Sā'id; Balḥa, which is (also called) Mawr; al-Mahjam; al-Kadrā', which is (also called) Sahām; al-Ma'qir, which is (also called) Dhuwāl; Zabīd; 319 Rima' |; al-Rakb; Banī Majīd; Lahj; Abyan; Bayn al-Wādiyayn; Alhān; Ḥaḍramawt; Muqrā; Ḥays; Ḥaraḍ; al-Ḥaqlayn; 'Ans; Banī 'Āmir; Ma'dhin; Ḥumlān; Dhī Jura; Khawlān; al-Sarw; al-Dathīna; Kubayba; and Tabāla.

<sup>481</sup> *Mikhlaḥ* (pl. *makhālīf*) is a geographic term used specifically in Yemen. It apparently is related to the Sabaic (Old South Arabian) term *kh.lf*, meaning "vicinity of a town." See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mikhlaḥ*. Al-Ya'qūbī gives a similar list, with minor variants, in the *Ta'rikh*, 1:227–228. Neither here nor in the parallel passage in the *Ta'rikh* do these names add up to 84.

*The Islands of Yemen*

Zayla', which is off al-Mandab; Dahlak, which is off Ghalāfiqa and is the island of the Negus;<sup>482</sup> Raḥsū, which is off al-Dahlak; and Bāḍi', which is off 'Athr, the port for Baysh, and is the territory of the tribe of Kināna.<sup>483</sup>

*Its Ports*

Aden, the port of Ṣan'ā', where ships from China dock; Salāhiṭ; al-Mandab; Ghalāfiqa; al-Ḥirda; al-Sharja, which is Sharjat al-Qarīṣ; 'Athr; al-Ḥasaba; al-Sirrayn; and Jedda |.

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*A List of the Arab Tribes Inhabiting Each Region of Yemen*

Baysh: its populace is of al-Azd, and there is also a group from the Banū Kināna. Al-Khaṣūf and al-Sā'id: its populace is of Ḥā and Ḥakam. Al-Kadrā' and al-Mahjam: its populace is of 'Akk. Al-Ḥuṣayb: its populace is of Zubayd and of Ash'ar. Ḥays is the main center (*madīna*) for al-Rakb and the Banū Majīd. Ḥaraḍ is the main center for al-Ma'āfir. Al-Janad is the main center for Shar'ab. The city of Jayshān belongs to Ḥimyar; Tabāla, to Khath'am; Najrān, to the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka'b; Ṣa'da, to Khawlān; and Shar'ab, Qufā'a, and al-Ḥujr are Kinda territory.

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**The Third or Polar Quarter Which is the Northern Quarter**

Having mentioned (the Quarter of) Canopus, which is the Southern Quarter, let us now mention the Quarter of Polaris, which is the Northern Quarter, and the cities and rural districts that lie in it.<sup>484</sup>

482 The King of Abyssinia. The Dahlak archipelago was often held as an Abyssinian dependency.

483 It is difficult to identify these islands. Zayla', according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 2:966–967, s.v., is the name of an African people and their land on the coast opposite Yemen. The only *island* that fits our author's description is Mayyun, directly off Bāb al-Mandab between Yemen and Djibouti. Dahlak is the well-known archipelago off the coast of Eritrea (presumably the island of Great Dahlak is what our author is identifying here). Raḥsū (or perhaps Raḥsuwa) may perhaps be identified with Saso Island just opposite Jizān in Saudi Arabia. Bāḍi' is almost certainly Bodhi Island, just where it should be off the coast north of Baysh.

484 On al-Ya'qūbī's division of the world into quarters, see above, ed. Leiden, 268–269, where he explains his use of the star Canopus (al-Tayman) to designate the Southern Quarter.

Whoever wishes to travel from Baghdad to al-Madā'in and the cities and counties (*tasāsij*) that adjoin it along the banks of the Tigris, and to Wāsiṭ, Basra, al-Ubulla, al-Yamāma, Bahrain, Oman, Sind, and India, leaves Baghdad and travels along whichever bank of the Tigris he wishes, either the east or the west. He goes through large towns inhabited by Persians, until he reaches  
 321 al-Madā'in, seven | farsakhs from Baghdad. Al-Madā'in was the residence of the kings of the Persians, and the first to settle there was Anūshirwān.<sup>485</sup> Al-Madā'in is composed of a number of cities on both banks of the Tigris. On the east bank lies the city called al-'Atīqa (the Ancient), in which is the old White Palace—no one knows who built it.<sup>486</sup> The Congregational Mosque, which the Muslims built when the city was conquered, is in al-'Atīqa. Also on the east bank is the city called Asbānbur, in which is the great Audience Hall of Chosroēs.<sup>487</sup> The Persians have nothing else like it: its roof is 80 cubits high. Between these two cities is a distance of one Arab mile. It was in this city that Salmān al-Fārisī and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān used to live;<sup>488</sup> their tombs are located there. Adjoining these two cities is a city called al-Rūmiyya. It is said that the Romans built it when they were victorious over the kingdom of Persia. It was there that the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr was staying when he killed Abū Muslim.<sup>489</sup> The distance between these three cities is approximately two or three Arab miles.

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There he also describes his use of the star Polaris (al-Jady) to designate the Northern Quarter. *Al-Jady* is thus the reading to be favored over the Leiden edition's *al-jarbī* in this section. De Goeje adds the following note here (translated here from Latin): "From what follows, it is clear that there has been an error in placement (of this section-title), for the description of eastern Iraq, eastern Arabia and India belongs to the southern quarter. Therefore the title, with the introductory remarks, should properly be located in the lost part of the manuscript before the description of Armenia, etc."

485 The Sasanian king, Chosroēs (Persian *Khusraw*, Arabic *Kisrā*) 1 Anūshirwān, ruled 531–579 C.E. On al-Madā'in, see the article by M. Streck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Madā'in.

486 Al-'Atīqa (the Ancient) is Ctesiphon; the White Palace was the old royal residence.

487 Asbānbur (Persian, Aspānbur) is the site of the Audience Hall of Chosroēs (Arabic *Īwān Kisrā*), an imposing brick ruin, the only surviving structure from the Sasanian capital, and one of the largest vaults ever constructed in antiquity.

488 Salmān al-Fārisī was a Companion of the Prophet, reputed to have been the first Persian convert to Islam. The site of his tomb in Iraq is now called Salmān Pāk. Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān al-'Absī, also a Companion of the Prophet, was an important commander during the Muslim conquest of Iraq.

489 In 136/753, the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr had his powerful—and possibly treacherous—general Abū Muslim killed in his presence at al-Rūmiyya. For an account of the event, see al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:438–441.

On the west bank of the Tigris is a city called Bahurasīr and one called Sābāt al-Madā'in, one farsakh from Bahurasīr. The towns on the east bank of the Tigris draw their water from the Tigris and those on the west bank from the Euphrates by means of a canal called the King's Canal, which feeds from the Euphrates. All these cities were conquered in the year 14 by Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.<sup>490</sup>

From al-Madā'in to Wāsiṭ is five stages. The first of them is Dayr al-Āqūl, which is the main city of the Middle Nahrawān and in which reside a group of leading non-Arab landowners (*dahāqīn ashraf*). Next comes Jarjarāyā, which is the main city of the Lower Nahrawān and the residence of some Persian nobles; from it came Rajā' b. Abī l-Ḍaḥḥāk and Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb.<sup>491</sup> Next comes al-Nu'māniyya, which is the main city of the Upper Zāb; near it are the residences of the Nawbakht family.<sup>492</sup> In the city of al-Nu'māniyya is Dayr Hizqil, in which the mentally ill are treated.<sup>493</sup> Next comes Jabbul, which is a prosperous, ancient city. Next comes Mādarāyā |, which is an ancient residence of non-Arab nobles. Next comes al-Mubārak, an ancient canal. After al-Nu'māniyya, on the west bank of the Tigris, lies the town known as Nu'mābādh, which is a river port from which provisions are transferred from the Tigris to the Nīl Canal. Next comes Nahr Sābus, which is on the west bank and lies across the river from the city of al-Mubārak, on the east bank. From there, one travels by road to the counties of Bādarāyā and Bākusāyā, and then to the Bridges of Khayzurān, traveling along the east bank. Next comes Fam al-Ṣilḥ, where the residences of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl are located. It was to this place that al-Ma'mūn traveled when he visited al-Ḥasan b. Sahl and consummated his marriage to al-Ḥasan's daughter Būrān.<sup>494</sup>

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Next comes Wāsiṭ, which is composed of two cities on either bank of the Tigris: the old city is on the east bank of the Tigris, and al-Ḥajjāj had a (new) city built on the west bank and built a bridge of boats between them.<sup>495</sup> In

490 14 A.H. = February 25, 635 – February 13, 636.

491 Rajā' b. Abī l-Ḍaḥḥāk was an 'Abbāsīd financial administrator and secretary under the caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 198–218/813–833). Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb was vizier under the caliph al-Muntaṣir (r. 247–248/861–862).

492 On this family of courtiers, astrologers, theologians, and littérateurs of 'Abbāsīd times, see the article by L. Massignon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nawbakht.

493 The asylum was well known. A report of a visit to it by the littérateur al-Mubarrad during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil can be found in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:9–10 (§ 2883–2884).

494 On this wedding in Ramaḍān 210 (December 825 – January 826), which became famous for its opulent 17-day-long celebration, see the article by Katherine H. Lang in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Būrān. Al-Ya'qūbī gives an account of it in *Ta'rikh*, 2:559.

495 Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf was the Umayyad governor of Iraq and later of the East more generally, from 75/694 to 95/713. On the city of Wāsiṭ, see the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wāsiṭ.

this western city, al-Ḥajjāj built his palace and the Green Dome, which is called the Green (Dome) of Wāsiṭ,<sup>496</sup> and the Congregational Mosque. It has city walls around it. The governors after al-Ḥajjāj resided there. Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī was there when he was routed by the troops of Qaḥṭaba, and he fortified himself there until he was given safe-conduct.<sup>497</sup> The residents of these two cities are a mixture of Arabs and non-Arabs. Those who are of the (non-Arab) landholding class (*dahāqīn*) reside in the eastern city, which is the city of Kaskar. The land tax of Wāsiṭ is included in the land tax of the counties of the Sawād. The reason it was named Wāsiṭ (Equidistant) is that from it to Basra is 50 farsakhs, to Kufa 50, to al-Ahwāz 50, and to Baghdad 50; therefore it was called Wāsiṭ. Adjacent to it is Nahrabān, where the raw fiber from which Armenian cloth is made is produced. From there it is carried to Armenia, and there it is spun and woven.

Next one reaches ‘Abdāsī, and then al-Madhār, which is the main city of Maysān. The city of al-Madhār is on the Tigris also. Adjoining al-Madhār is the rural district (*kūra*) of Abazqubādh |—the main city is called Fasā. From Wāsiṭ to Basra the route runs through the Baṭā’ih Marshes. They are called Baṭā’ih<sup>498</sup> because a number of watercourses come together there. One travels from the Baṭā’ih via the One-Eyed Tigris (Dijla al-‘Awra’),<sup>499</sup> and then one arrives at Basra and anchors on the banks of the Canal of Ibn ‘Umar.

### *Basra*

Basra was the chief city of the world, the storehouse of its commodities and goods. It is an oblong city, its area being two farsakhs by one farsakh according to the original plan that was used to lay it out at the time of its conquest in the reign of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the year 17.<sup>500</sup> The inner part of the city, which is the part that faces north, runs along two canals. The first is a canal known as the Canal of Ibn ‘Umar, which is the canal ....<sup>501</sup>

496 To distinguish it from *the* Green Dome, the palace of the Umayyads in Damascus.

497 Yazīd b. ‘Umar was the last Umayyad governor of Iraq, until early 132/749, when he was forced by ‘Abbāsīd troops under the command of the general Qaḥṭaba to fortify himself in Wāsiṭ, only to surrender later that year. See al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:411–412.

498 *Baṭā’ih* (pl. of *baṭhā’*) means a broad, low-lying watercourse.

499 In al-Ya’qūbī’s time, both the Tigris and the Euphrates flowed into the swamps (al-Baṭā’ih) about 60 miles below Wāsiṭ. The swamps, in turn, drained into the Persian Gulf by the single waterway called Dijla al-‘Awra’ (One-eyed Tigris). See the article by R. Hartmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Didjla*.

500 17 A.H. = January 23, 638 – January 11, 639.

501 Here there is a long gap in the text. The Leiden editor added the following footnote



### [The Western Quarter]

... and Kharshana 500 horsemen, Salūqiya 500 horsemen, Tarāqiya 5,000 horsemen, Maqadūniya 3,000 horsemen.<sup>502</sup> Thus the entire army of the land of the Romans<sup>503</sup>—troops stationed in the rural districts (*rasātīq*) and towns—is 40,000 horsemen. Of these men not a single soldier is paid a regular salary; rather, they station men in every area who go to battle with their *patricius* (*biṭrīq*) in time of war.

We have already mentioned some accounts of the land of the Romans, its manpower, cities, fortresses, ports, mountains, valleys, watercourses, lakes, and places for launching attacks upon it in another book.<sup>504</sup> Here now are the routes to the frontier regions (*al-thughūr*) and that which is adjacent to them.

Whoever wishes to travel from Aleppo by the main road to the west leaves Aleppo for the city of Qinnasrīn, and then to a place called Tall Mannas, which is the first dependency (*ʿamal*) of the military district of Ḥimṣ.<sup>505</sup>

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(translated here from Latin): “Ten folia following in the MS are missing, so that the seventh quire is now gone. The part we lack contained the end of the description of Basra, the description of eastern Arabia, Khuzistan, Persia, and India, then the whole northern quarter [cf. note 484 above], and finally the beginning of the western quarter.” Parts of the lost section will be found in the “Fragments” section, below.

502 One can infer that the missing section dealt with the Byzantine-Muslim frontier, including the military district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn and the two frontier regions of al-Thughūr and al-ʿAwāṣim. It also appears to have given details about Byzantine military arrangements, including, as these figures suggest, troop deployments in Anatolia. These may reflect the Byzantine system of military themes (districts). “Kharshana” is the Charsianon theme, “Salūqiya” is the Seleucia theme, “Tarāqiya” apparently stands for the Thraceseion theme—these lying in Anatolia—while “Maqadūniya” stands for Macedonia. Some other excerpts from this missing section appear in the “Fragments” section, below.

503 Arabic *al-Rūm*. Most historians writing in English would call them *Byzantines*; Arabic, however, maintains the self-designation of the rulers of the Eastern Roman Empire, who continued to call themselves *Romans* long after the administrative language had become Greek. Translators often render *al-Rūm* as ‘Greeks,’ mistakenly implying that these areas were populated by ethnic Greeks. In the text, *al-Rūm* will be rendered ‘Roman(s).’ In the footnotes, either ‘Roman’ or ‘Byzantine’ will be used according to context and convenience.

504 The other book to which al-Yaʿqūbī refers apparently is not his *History*, but a separate monograph on Byzantium. It has not survived.

505 A *jund* was one of the five military districts into which the province of al-Shām (Syria)

*The Military District (Jund) of Ḥimṣ*

Thence one travels to the city of Hama,<sup>506</sup> an old city on a river called the Orontes.<sup>507</sup> The populace of this city is a group from the tribal faction of Yemen, and the majority are from Bahrā' and Tanūkh. From the city of Hama one proceeds to the city of al-Rastan, then to the city of Ḥimṣ.

The city of Ḥimṣ is one of the most spacious cities of Syria, and it has a great river from which the people obtain their water.<sup>508</sup> The people of Ḥimṣ are entirely from the tribal faction of Yemen: from Ṭayyī', Kinda, Ḥimyar, Kalb, Hamdān, and other tribes of Yemen. Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ<sup>509</sup> conquered the city by treaty in the year 16,<sup>510</sup> but the city rebelled after the conquest, so he made a treaty with its people a second time.

The subdistricts (*āqālīm*) of Ḥimṣ include: Al-Tamah,<sup>511</sup> whose people are from Kalb; al-Rastan; Hama, which is a city on a great river and whose people are from Bahrā' and Tanūkh; Ṣawwarān, where there is a group from Iyād; Salamiyya, a city in the hinterland built by 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,<sup>512</sup> who dug a canal to it and irrigated the soil in order to cultivate saffron and whose populace consists of descendants of 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Hāshimī, their clients (*mawālī*), and a mixture of people who are merchants and farmers; Tadmur (Palmyra), an old city of marvelous construction, said to have been built by Sulaymān b. Dāwūd the prophet—God's peace be upon him—because of its many wonderful monuments and

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was divided. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djund. Al-Ya'qūbī's original text also included a description of the *jund* of Qinnasrīn in the north, but that section is missing. Some passages from this lost Qinnasrīn section have been included in the "Fragments" section, below.

506 Arabic Ḥamāt or Ḥamāh; see the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥamāt.

507 Al-Ya'qūbī gives the name of the Orontes river in a form (*al-Urunṭ*) taken directly from Greek. The more common name of the river in Arabic is al-'Āṣī. See the article by R. Hartmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-'Āṣī.

508 On Ḥimṣ (ancient Emessa, modern Homs), see the article by N. Elisséeff in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥimṣ. The river is the Orontes.

509 Abū 'Ubayda was an early Companion of the Prophet and one of the principal commanders of the Muslim conquest of Syria and Palestine. See the article by Khalil Athamina in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū 'Ubayda 'Amir b. al-Jarrāḥ.

510 16 A.H. = February 2, 637 – January 22, 638.

511 De Goeje notes that the reading of this name is uncertain. In his note on the relevant passage in Ibn Khurdādhbih, he suggests an alternate reading: al-Bamah. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, 76.

512 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ was a prominent member of a branch of the 'Abbāsīd ruling family noted especially for their ties to Syria.

whose people are from Kalb; Tall Mannas, a settlement of Iyād, built as a residence by Ibn Abī Duʿād;<sup>513</sup> Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, an old city in ruins, whose people are from Tanūkh; al-Bāra, whose people are from Bahrā; Fāmiya,<sup>514</sup> an old Greek city in ruins on a large lake, its people being from ʿUdhra and Bahrā; the city of Shayzar, whose people are a group from Kinda; the city of Kafartāb; and al-Aṭmīm, which is an old city whose people are a group from the tribal faction of Yemen, from all the tribes, but mostly from Kinda.

There are four cities on the seacoast of the military district of Ḥimṣ: Latakia, whose people are a group from | Yemen, from the tribes of Salīḥ, Zubayd, 325 Hamdān, Yaḥṣub, and others; Jabala, whose people are from Hamdān, but which also includes groups from Qays and from Iyād; Bulunyās, with a mixed population; and Anṭartūs,<sup>515</sup> whose people are a group from Kinda. The usual official land tax from Ḥimṣ, excluding royal estates, is 220,000 dinars.

### *The Military District of Damascus*

From Ḥimṣ to the city of Damascus is four stages. The first stage is Jūsiya, which is in (the military district of) Ḥimṣ. The second is Qārā, which is the first dependency (*ʿamal*) of the military district of Damascus. The third is al-Quṭayyifa, where there are residences that belonged to Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān.<sup>516</sup> From there one continues to the city of Damascus.

Whoever travels from Ḥimṣ along the Post Road (Ṭarīq al-Barīd) takes it from Jūsiya to al-Biqāʿ, then to the city of Baalbek, which is one of the most majestic cities of Syria. In it there is a wondrous building of stone and a wondrous spring from which issues a great river. Inside the city are gardens and orchards. From the city of Baalbek one proceeds to ʿAqabat al-Rummān (Pomegranate Pass), then to the city of Damascus.

The city of Damascus is an old, majestic city.<sup>517</sup> It was the main city of Syria in the Days of Ignorance (*al-jāhiliyya*) as well as the Days of Islam. It has no peer in all the military districts of Syria in the number of its waterways and buildings. Its main river is called the Baradā. The city of Damascus was conquered in the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the year 14 by Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, who

513 Aḥmad b. Abī Duʿād (d. 240/854) was chief judge under the ʿAbbāsids, first under al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218/833–227/842) and continuing until the year 232/846, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil.

514 Classical Apamea.

515 De Goeje notes that the MS clearly marks this toponym as “Anzarzūs” instead of its more common name.

516 Umayyad caliph, reigned 105/724–125/743.

517 On the city of Damascus, see the article by N. Elisséeff in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dimashk.



entered it by one of its gates, called the Jābiya Gate, under a peace agreement (*ṣulḥ*) after a year's siege.<sup>518</sup> Khālīd b. al-Walīd entered from another of its gates, called the Eastern Gate, without a peace agreement, but Abū 'Ubayda extended the treaty status to the entire city. They wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and he confirmed what Abū | 'Ubayda had done.<sup>519</sup>

Damascus was a residence of the kings of Ghassān, and the city contains the remains of buildings that once belonged to the family of Jafna.<sup>520</sup> The majority of the people of the city of Damascus belong to the tribal grouping of Yemen. There is also a group from Qays and the residences of the Banū Umayya. Their palaces make up most of the residences. There is also the Green (Dome) of Mu'āwiya, which is the Governor's Residence,<sup>521</sup> and its mosque. None more beautiful than it exists in Islam in terms of its marble and gilded decoration. Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān built it during his caliphate.<sup>522</sup>

The military district of Damascus has the following rural districts (*kuwar*): Al-Ghūṭa, whose people are from Ghassān and from the tribal faction of Qays, but who also include a group from Rabī'a; Ḥawrān, whose main city is Buṣrā<sup>523</sup> and whose people are a group from the Banū Murra of Qays, except for al-Suwaydā, where there is a group from Kalb; al-Bathaniyya, whose main city is Adhri'āt and whose people are a group from the tribal faction of Yemen and a group from Qays; al-Zāhir, whose main city is Amman; and al-Ghawr, whose main city is Jericho.<sup>524</sup> These last two cities comprise the territory of al-Balqā'.

518 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:2146, Damascus fell in Rajab of the year 14 (August–September 635).

519 Al-Ya'qūbī's point is to affirm that Damascus's status under Islamic law was that of property taken by treaty, not by conquest. This was something of a dilemma as, according to traditional accounts of the conquest of the city (which al-Ya'qūbī follows), half of the city was conquered by force by Khālīd b. al-Walīd, while the other half simultaneously surrendered peaceably to Abū 'Ubayda.

520 The clan of Jafna (Arabic *Āl Jafna*) was one of the ruling clans of the Ghassānids. The Ghassānids were Christian Arabs who functioned as auxiliaries for the Byzantine empire on its Syrian frontier, just as the Lakhmids in Iraq functioned for the Sasanians. See the article by Irfan Shahīd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ghassān*.

521 Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41/661–60/680) was governor of Syria and founder and first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. His primary residence, and that of his descendants, was Damascus, where his green-domed palace was a prominent landmark.

522 That is, al-Walīd I, ruled 86/705–96/715.

523 On the history of Buṣrā (ancient Bostra), see the article by A. Abel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Boṣrā*.

524 Arabic Riḥā, corrected by another hand in the MS to Ariḥā, the longer form of the name. See the article by E. Honigsmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Riḥā*.

Its people are a group from Qays, and there is also a group from Quraysh. Then there is Jibāl,<sup>525</sup> whose main city is ‘Arandal and whose people are a group from Ghassān, Balqayn, and others. Then there are Ma‘āb and Zughar, which have a mixed population. Near them is a village called Mu‘ta, where Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa were killed.<sup>526</sup> Then there is al-Sharāt, whose main city is Adhruḥ and whose people are clients of the Banū Hāshim. In it lies al-Ḥumayma, the residence of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and his descendants.<sup>527</sup> Then there is al-Jawlān,<sup>528</sup> whose main city is Bāniyās and whose people are a group from Qays, most of them Banū Murra, but also a small group from the tribal faction of Yemen. Then there is Jabal Sanīr, whose people are from Banū Ḍabba, | but where there is also a group from Kalb. Then there is Baalbek, whose people are a group of Persians, and in whose outskirts are a group from the tribal faction of Yemen. Then there is Jabal al-Jalīl, whose people are a group from ‘Āmila. Then there is Lebanon, (whose main city is) Sidon, where there are groups from Quraysh and from the tribal grouping of Yemen.<sup>529</sup>

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The military district of Damascus has the following rural districts (*kuwar*) along the seacoast: the rural district of ‘Irqa, which has an old city, where there are a group of Persians who had been transferred there and also a group from the Banū Ḥanīfa tribe of Rabī‘a; the city of Tripoli, whose people are a group of Persians that Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān moved there—they have a wonderful port that can harbor a thousand ships; Jubayl, Sidon, and Beirut—the people

525 More frequently al-Jibāl (with the article), an area southeast of the Dead Sea (not to be confused with Jibāl province in northwestern Iran); see the article by J. Sourdel-Thomine in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djibāl.

526 The Battle of Mu‘ta, in southern Jordan, took place in Jumādā 1 of the year 8 (August–September 629) and was the first Muslim military encounter with the Byzantines. The Muslims were defeated, and three of the commanders whom the Prophet sent to lead the expedition were killed, including his cousin Ja‘far and the poet Ibn Rawāḥa. Al-Ya‘qūbī gives an account of the expedition in *Ta‘rīkh*, 2:66–67.

527 ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hāshimī was the grandfather of the first two ‘Abbāsid caliphs, al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. The Umayyad caliph al-Walīd 1 exiled him to his estate at al-Ḥumayma for plotting against the Umayyads, and he died there in 117/735 or 118/736. The estate subsequently became a hub of activity for the ‘Abbāsid cause under his son, Muḥammad.

528 The Golan in southwestern Syria; see the article by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djawlān.

529 The Leiden text reads: *wa-Lubnān Ṣaydā wa-bihā qawm min Quraysh wa-min al-Yaman*. Given the repetitive structuring of the sentences in this section, one can assume that the phrase *wa-madīnatuhā* (and its city is) has been dropped out between the toponyms “Lubnān” and “Ṣaydā.”

of all these rural districts are a group of Persians that Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān moved there.

Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ conquered all the rural districts (*kuwar*) of Damascus in the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the year 14.<sup>530</sup> The land tax of (the military district of) Damascus, excluding royal estates, amounts to 300,000 dinars.

### *The Military District of Jordan*<sup>531</sup>

From the city of Damascus to the military district of Jordan is four stages. The first is Jāsim, a dependency (*'amal*) of Damascus; then Khisfin, also a dependency of Damascus; then Fīq, with its well-known pass. One goes from there to the city of Tiberias,<sup>532</sup> which is the main city of (the military district of) Jordan. It is at the foot of a mountain on a majestic lake from which flows the famous river Jordan. In the city of Tiberias there are hot springs that flow summer and winter without interruption, so that hot water flows into their bath-houses without their needing fuel for this purpose. The people of the city of Tiberias are tribesmen from the Ash'ar, who are the majority there.

The military district of Jordan has the following rural districts (*kuwar*): Tyre, which is the main city of the coast. The arsenal (*dār al-ṣinā'a*) from which the warships of the regime (*sulṭān*) sail to raid the Greeks is located there. The city is fortified and majestic and is inhabited by a mixture of peoples. The city of Acre is also on the coast. Qadas is one of the most majestic of rural districts. Then come Baysān, Faḥl, Jarash, and al-Sawād: the people of these rural districts are a mixture of | Arabs and non-Arabs.

The rural districts of Jordan were conquered in the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb by Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, except for the city of Tiberias, whose people sued for a treaty of peace. Other rural districts of the military district of Jordan were conquered by Khālīd b. al-Walīd and 'Amr b. al-Āṣ<sup>533</sup> under the authority of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ in the year 14.<sup>534</sup> The land tax of the military district of Jordan, excluding royal estates, amounts to 100,000 dinars.

530 14 A.H. = February 25, 635 – February 13, 636.

531 For an overall account of the Islamic administrative area of Jordan (al-Urdunn), which was only partly coterminous with the modern state of Jordan, see the article by F. Buhl, C. E. Bosworth, P. M. Cobb, C. E. Bosworth, and Mary C. Wilson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Urdunn.

532 Arabic Ṭabariyya; see the article by M. Laverigne in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭabariyya.

533 'Amr b. al-Āṣ (d. c. 42/663) was an early Muslim commander best known as the conqueror and first governor of Egypt. For an overview of his life, see the article by Khaled M. G. Keshk in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ.

534 14 A.H. = February 25, 635 – February 13, 636.

*The Military District of Palestine*<sup>535</sup>

From the military district of Jordan to the military district of Palestine is three stages. The old main city of Palestine was a city called Ludd. However, when Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik became caliph,<sup>536</sup> he had the city of al-Ramla built; he destroyed the city of Ludd and transferred the people of Ludd to al-Ramla.<sup>537</sup>

Al-Ramla is the main city of Palestine. It has a small river, from which its people obtain drinking water, and the Abū Fuṭrus river is about 12 Arab miles from the city. The people of al-Ramla drink water from wells and from cisterns into which the rainwater flows. The people of the city are a mixture of Arabs and non-Arabs, and its non-Muslims<sup>538</sup> are Samaritans.

Palestine has the following districts (*kuwar*): ʾĪliyā, which is Jerusalem,<sup>539</sup> in which are the monuments<sup>540</sup> of the prophets—God’s peace be upon them; Ludd,<sup>541</sup> whose main city is still standing in its original state, but in ruins; ʿAmwās,<sup>542</sup> Nablus, an old city, site of the two holy mountains,<sup>543</sup> under which lies a city carved in the rock, | its people being a mixture of Arabs, non-Arabs, and Samaritans; Sebastia,<sup>544</sup> which is a dependency of Nablus; Caesarea,<sup>545</sup> a

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535 On the history of Islamic Palestine (Filasṭīn), see the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Filasṭīn.

536 The Umayyad caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik ruled from 96–99 (February 715 to September 717).

537 As noted also in al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:351. Ludd is ancient Lydda (modern Lod). On al-Ramla, see the article by E. Honigmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ramla.

538 Arabic *dhimmatuḥā*, (its *dhimmīs*), that is, its non-Muslims monotheists granted a promise (*dhimma*) of protection against the payment of a poll tax. See the article by Yohanan Friedman in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Dhimma.

539 The Arabic name used here, *Bayt al-Maqdis* (House of the Sanctuary), echoes the Aramaic *Bēt Maqdāšā* and the Hebrew *Bayt ha-Miqdāsh*, both designations of the Temple. A shorter form of the same name is al-Quds, the usual name for Jerusalem in older and modern Arabic. Jerusalem was also called ʾĪliyā, from its Roman name Aelia. See the article by S. D. Goitein and O. Grabar in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḳuds.

540 Arabic *āthār al-anbiyāʾ*, literally, “the vestiges, or relics, of the prophets.”

541 Arabic Ludd corresponds to ancient Lydda (Hebrew Lod); see the article by M. Sharon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ludd.

542 On ʿAmwās (or ʿAmawās, ancient Emmaus), see the article by J. Sourdel-Thomine in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿAmwās.

543 That is, Mount Gerizim in the south and Mount Ebal in the north. On the role of these two mountains among the Jews and Samaritans, see Deuteronomy 27; on Nablus, see the article by F. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nābulus.

544 Arabic Sabastīyya; also known as Samaria.

545 Arabic Qaysāriyya; see the article by M. Sharon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaysāriyya, Qaysāriyya.

city on the coast, one of the most impregnable cities of Palestine, and the last of the region's cities to be conquered, namely by Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān in the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; and Yubnā,<sup>546</sup> which is an old city on a hill. It is this city of which it is related that Usāma b. Zayd said: "When the Messenger of God—God's blessing and peace be upon him—sent me (to Syria on campaign), he gave me an order, saying: 'Go to Yubnā early in the morning, and burn it down.'"<sup>547</sup> The people of this city are a group of Samaritans. Then there are: Jaffa on the coast, which the people of al-Ramla use as a port; Bayt Jibrīn, an old city whose people are a group from Judhām and near which is the Dead Sea, from which is extracted *humara*, which is bitumen (*mūmiyā*); 'Asqalān<sup>548</sup> on the coast; Gaza<sup>549</sup> on the coast, it being the first part of the third clime and containing the tomb of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf.<sup>550</sup> The populace of the military district of Palestine is a mixture of Arabs from Lakhm, Judhām, 'Āmila, Kinda, Qays, and Kināna.

The land of Palestine was conquered in the year 16 after a lengthy siege that lasted until 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb went out (from Medina) and granted a treaty to the populace of the district (*kūra*) of Īliyā, which is Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem).<sup>551</sup> They had said: "We will not agree to a treaty except with the caliph himself." So he went to them and granted them a treaty. Most of the rural districts of Palestine were conquered, except for Caesarea; Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ made Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān his deputy over them, and he conquered

546 Ancient Iamnia, Hebrew Yavneh.

547 In the last year of his life, Muḥammad sent Usāma b. Zayd in an expedition against the Byzantines to avenge the defeat the Muslims had suffered at Mut'a, where Usāma b. Zayd's father had been killed. Because of Muḥammad's sudden illness and death, the expedition did not leave until after Abū Bakr had become caliph. Accounts may be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1794–1797, 1845–1851, and al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 3:117–1127. In neither account is the place to be attacked and burned called Yubnā. In al-Ṭabarī it is called Ābil, and in al-Wāqidī it is called Ubnā, and is located near Mu'ta, where Zayd's father had been killed. De Goeje's note in the Leiden edition of the *Geography* discusses how an original reading of Ābil may have been transformed into Yubnā.

548 On 'Asqalān (modern Ashkelon), see the article by Amalia Levanoni in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Asqalān.

549 On Gaza (Arabic, Ghazza), see the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghazza.

550 Great-grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad. He is said to have died in Gaza while engaged in trade there.

551 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2408, Jerusalem and its region were conquered in Rabī' II of the year 16 (May 637).

Caesarea in the year 18.<sup>552</sup> The total land tax of the military district of Palestine in addition to that accruing from the (royal) estates amounts to 300,000 dinars.

Whoever wishes to travel by road from Syria via Palestine to Mecca passes through rugged, | rough mountainous terrain until he reaches Ayla<sup>553</sup> and then Madyan.<sup>554</sup> Then he continues along the road with the people from Egypt and the Maghrib. 330

### *Egypt and Its Rural Districts*<sup>555</sup>

Whoever leaves Palestine heading west, bound for Egypt, leaves al-Ramla for the city of Yubnā and then to the city of 'Asqalān on the coast. Then he continues to the city of Gaza, also on the coast, and to Rafah, which is the last of the dependencies (*a'māl*) of Syria (*al-Sha'm*).<sup>556</sup>

Then he continues to a place called al-Shajaratān,<sup>557</sup> which marks the border of Egypt, and then to al-'Arīsh,<sup>558</sup> which is the first of the outposts (*masāliḥ*) and dependencies (*a'māl*) of Egypt. Al-'Arīsh is inhabited by tribesmen from Judhām and other tribes and is a coastal town. One continues from al-'Arīsh to a town called al-Baqqāra, and from there to a town called al-Warrāda amid hills of sand.

Then one continues to al-Faramā, which is the first city of Egypt. It has a mixed population. It is three Arab miles between the city and the Green Sea.<sup>559</sup> From al-Faramā to a town called Jurjir is one stage, and from it to a town called

552 As al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2579, notes, the dates for the conquest of Caesarea are given variously as 16, 19, and 20 (he does not mention 18, and places the narrative of the conquest under the year 15). 18 A.H. = January 12, 639 – January 1, 640. The length of the siege may have been responsible for the variation in dates. The article by M. Sharon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḳaysariyya*, *Ḳaysariyya*, gives Shawwāl 19 (September–October 640) as the date.

553 On Ayla (Biblical Elath, modern Eilat), see the article by Michael Lecker in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ayla.

554 On the town of Madyan in northwestern Arabia, see the article by F. Buhl and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Madyan *Shu'ayb*.

555 The material on Egypt in the Fragments indicates that this section may originally have been longer.

556 On Rafah, see the article by M. A. Bakhit in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rafah. By "last of the dependencies of Syria," al-Ya'qūbī means that Rafah was close to the border between Egypt and the four military districts into which Greater Syria (al-Sha'm) was divided, one of which was the military district (*jund*) of Palestine, to which Rafah belonged.

557 The name means Two Trees; no precise location is known.

558 On al-'Arīsh, see the article by F. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-'Arīsh.

559 That is, the Mediterranean.

Fāqūs is one stage. From Fāqūs one goes to a town called Ghayfa, and then to al-Fuṣṭāṭ.<sup>560</sup>

331 Al-Fuṣṭāṭ used to be known as Babylon,<sup>561</sup> and it is the place now known as al-Qaṣr (the Palace).<sup>562</sup> When ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ conquered Babylon in the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the year 20,<sup>563</sup> the Arab tribes marked out allotments around the tent (*fustāt*) of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, and for that reason it was named al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Then they spread out over the land and marked out allotments along the Nile—each Arab tribe marked out its allotment in the place assigned to it. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ built the congregational mosque and the governor's residence, known as Dār al-Raml (Sand House), | and set the markets around the congregational mosque on the east bank of the Nile. He established a guard post (*maḥras*) and a commandant (*ʿarīf*) for every tribe. He built the fortress of Giza on the west bank of the Nile, made it a garrison for the Muslims, and settled tribesmen there. He wrote announcing this to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who wrote back saying, “Do not put any body of water between me and the Muslims.” ʿAmr conquered the districts (*kuwar*) of Egypt by treaty, except for Alexandria. He continued fighting the people of that city for three years, conquering it in the year 23,<sup>564</sup> for there was no other city like it in the country in impregnability, size, and materiel.

The rural districts (*kuwar*) of Egypt are named for their main cities, since every district has a main city noted for some particular feature. Among the cities and rural districts of Upper Egypt are: the city of Memphis, standing, but in ruins (the people of Egypt say that it is the city in which Pharaoh lived); the city of Būṣīr Kūrīdis; the city of Dilāṣ, after which Dilāṣī bridles are named; the city of al-Fayyūm (in earlier times people used to say “Egypt and al-Fayyūm,” due to the importance of al-Fayyūm and its extensive agriculture—it produces

560 On al-Fuṣṭāṭ, just south of modern Cairo and the first city to be founded in Egypt by its Muslim conquerors, see the article by J. Jomier in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

561 Arabic, Bābalyūn (as emended by the Leiden editor): the ms reads Bāb al-Nūn, as if the copyist understood it to mean “Gate of the Fish.” Babylon was the old Roman fortress at the head of the Delta, now located in Old Cairo. The name probably goes back to ancient Egyptian Pi-Hapi-n-On, which the Greeks identified with the name of the Mesopotamian city of Babylon. See the article by C. H. Becker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bābalyūn.

562 This may refer to the palace built by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn in his new capital, al-Qaṭāʾiʿ, north of al-Fuṣṭāṭ. The palace was demolished after the fall of the Ṭūlūnids in 292/905, but the mosque, completed in 265/879, still stands. See the article by J. Jomier in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

563 The fortress of Babylon fell to the Arabs on 21 Rabīʿ 11 20 (April 9, 641).

564 23 A.H. = November 18, 643 – November 6, 644; however, various dates are given, mostly earlier, in 21 or 22; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:2580–2581. The confusion may have to do with the fact that Alexandria revolted after its conquest and had to be reconquered.

excellent wheat, and flax-cloth<sup>565</sup> is made there); the city of al-Qays (Qaysī robes and fine wool garments are made there); the city of al-Bahnasā (Bahnasī curtains are made there); the city of Ahnās (garments are made there and there are lebbek trees there);<sup>566</sup> the city of Ṭaḥā (it produces excellent wheat and the earthenware jugs [*kizān*] that the people of Egypt call *bawāqīl*); Anšinā, an old city on the east bank of the Nile (Pharaoh's magicians are said to have come from there and some magic is said to remain there); the city of al-Ushmūnayn, one of Egypt's largest cities (the swiftest horses, mules, and beasts of burden are there); the city of Asyut, one of Upper Egypt's largest cities (scarlet textiles are made there that resemble Armenian cloth); Qahqāwa, near which are an old | city called Būtij and a city called Bushmūr, which produces variegated 332 Yūsufi wheat;<sup>567</sup> the city of Akhmīm<sup>568</sup> with a riverfront on the east bank of the Nile (*qaṭū'* textiles<sup>569</sup> and Akhmīmī hides are made there, and also there is the monastery known as Dayr Bū Shanūda, which is said to contain the tomb of two of Christ's disciples); and the city of Abshāya, also called al-Bulyanā.<sup>570</sup>

565 Arabic *kḥaysh*, a course flax cloth; in modern Egyptian Arabic the word means burlap.

566 Arabic *shajar al-labkh*, would seem to refer specifically the lebbek tree, Albizia lebbek, a large member of the mimosa family with showy seed-pods, but other identifications are possible.

567 Arabic *al-qamḥ al-yūsufi al-mujazza'*. The nature of this variety of wheat is unknown. *Yūsufi* means that its origin was ascribed to Joseph, presumably when he served as Pharaoh's minister as described in the Qur'an and the Bible. *Mujazza'* normally means "opalescent" or "variegated." The same variety is mentioned in al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf*, 22 ("Yūsufi wheat, which is the wheat with the largest grains, longest shape, and heaviest weight"), though without mention of the town of Bushmūr. In fact, de Goeje's textual apparatus calls the reading *Bushmūr* suspect (the word is undotted in the ms). Al-Mas'ūdī, who does not mention Bushmūr, implies that Yūsufi wheat was produced in the Delta, and Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 1:634, locates al-Bushmūr (sic) near Dumyāt. S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, 1:354–356, discusses the the location of the town, which Timm would place in the Delta, al-Ya'qūbī's testimony notwithstanding. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 1:755, lists Būtij as a small town (*bulayda*) on the west bank of the Nile in the nearer part of Upper Egypt, another reason to suspect the reading *Bushmūr*. All that can be said, therefore, is that this variety of wheat may have been grown both in the Delta (according to al-Mas'ūdī) and in Upper Egypt (according to al-Ya'qūbī).

568 On Akhmīm (or Ikhmīm), see the article by Petra M. Sijpesteijn in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v., Akhmīm.

569 Arabic *al-farsh* (or, *al-furush*) *al-qaṭū'*: some sort of textile for use in carpeting or blankets; the exact meaning cannot be determined.

570 On al-Bulyanā, see Timm, *Ägypten*, 1:312–314. Al-Ya'qūbī may be confused about the other place-name, Abshāya. Timm, *Ägypten*, 3:1140–1147 locates an Ibšāy/lbshāy at nearby al-Mansha, Coptic Psōi, Greek Ptolemais Hermiou, just upstream from Akhmīm.



From Abshāya, you travel to the oases through desert wastes and rugged mountains for six stages. Then you proceed to the Outer Oasis.<sup>571</sup> It is a country with forts, cultivated fields, bubbling springs, flowing waters, date palms, different varieties of trees, vines, rice fields, and more; then to the Inner Oasis.<sup>572</sup> It has a city called al-Farfarūn with a mixed population of Egyptians and others. [If you do not travel to the oases, you continue] from the city of Abshāya, which is called the city of al-Bulyanā, to the city of Hū. The city of Hū is an old city that used to have four rural districts (*kuwar*): Hū and Dandara on the west bank of the Nile, Fāw and Qinā on the east | bank. The city fell into ruins and its population declined due to the large number of bedouins, rebels, and bandits of the region who went out to it. The people moved away from it to more prosperous places.

It is two stages from the city of Hū to the city of Qift on the east bank.<sup>573</sup> It contains monuments of the kings of the Ancients and a temple. From Qift you travel to the emerald mines. It is a mine called Kharibat al-Malik (the King's Ruin), eight stages from the city of Qift. There are two mountains there: one called al-ʿArūs (the Bridegroom), the other al-Khaṣūm (the Quarreler). Both contain emerald mines. There is a place there called Kawm al-Ṣābūnī, (as well as) Kawm Muhrān, Makābir, and Safsīd. All these places contain mines in which gemstones are found—the pits from which the gems are extracted are called *shiyam*, or, in the singular, *shīma*. There used to be an old mine there called Bīrūmīṭ.<sup>574</sup> It was in use in pre-Islamic days, as was the mine of Makābir. From the mine called Kharibat al-Malik to Jabal Ṣāʿīd, which is a gold mine, is one stage. Then one travels to a place called al-Kalbī, a place called al-Shukrī, a place called al-ʿIjlī, a place called al-ʿAllāqī al-Adnā,<sup>575</sup> and a place called al-Rifa, which is the port of Kharibat al-Malik. All these places are gold mines. From Kharibat (al-Malik) to a gold mine called Raḥam is three stages. At Raḥam there are tribesmen from Balī, Juhayna, and a mixture of other people who are visited for the purpose of conducting trade. These are the mines of precious stones and the gold mines that are in close proximity to them.

571 Arabic *al-Wāḥ al-Khārīja*, that is, Kharga Oasis. See the article by Ayman F. Sayyid in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Wāḥāt.

572 Arabic *al-Wāḥ al-Dākhila*, that is, Dakhla Oasis.

573 On Qift, ancient Coptos, see the article by J.-C. Garcin in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qift.

574 Reading uncertain.

575 I.e., “Nearer al-ʿAllāqī”, to distinguish it from the better-known al-ʿAllāqī (*tout court*), located some distance to the south.

From the city of Qift (one continues) to the city of Luxor.<sup>576</sup> It is a city that has fallen into ruin, and the city | of Qūš on the east bank of the Nile has taken its place.<sup>577</sup> The rural district (*kūra*) and city of Isnā are on the west bank of the Nile.<sup>578</sup> It is said that its people are (called) al-Marīs; Marīsī donkeys come from here.<sup>579</sup> Then the rural district (*kūra*) of Edfu,<sup>580</sup> on the west bank of the Nile; the rural district (*kūra*) of Binbān, on the west bank; then the great city of Aswan.<sup>581</sup> Merchants from the mines are there, and it is on the east bank of the Nile. It has many date palms and cultivated fields and merchandise brought from the lands of the Nubians and of the Buja.<sup>582</sup> The last city of the lands of Islam in this direction is a city on an island in the middle of the Nile called Philae,<sup>583</sup> which is enclosed by stone walls. Then comes the frontier with the lands of Nubia at a place called al-Qaṣr at a distance of one mile from Philae.

### *The Gold Mines*

Whoever wishes to travel to the mines—the gold mines—leaves Aswan for a place called al-Ḍayqa, between two mountains, then to al-Buwayb, then to al-Bayḍiyya, then to Bayt Ibn Ziyād, then to ‘Udhayfir, then to Jabal al-Aḥmar, then to Jabal al-Bayād, then to Qabr Abī Mas‘ūd, then to [...],<sup>584</sup> then to Wādī l-‘Allāqī.<sup>585</sup> All these places are gold mines to which prospectors flock. Wādī l-‘Allāqī is like a large city with a large number of people and a mixture of Arab and non-Arab prospectors. It also has markets and commodities for sale. They obtain their water from wells dug in the Wādī l-‘Allāqī. Most of the people at al-‘Allāqī are tribesmen from the Rabī’a from the Banū Ḥanīfa, people originally

576 Arabic *al-Aqṣur* or *al-Uqṣur* (the Palaces), named for its monumental ruins of Pharaonic temples; see the article by U. Haarmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ukṣur.

577 Qūš, in fact, is some 30 km north of Luxor; see the article by J.-Cl. Garcin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kūš.

578 On Isnā (modern Esna), see the article by H. Ritter in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Isna.

579 Here al-Ya‘qūbī seems to be confused, for the term al-Marīs (from Coptic MA-PHC, denoting the southern lands of Egypt), designates the northernmost Nubian kingdom, beginning south of Aswan. See the article by S. Munro-Hay in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marīs. See also, Timm, *Ägypten*, 4:1590–1592, who suggests that a settlement by this name was located south of al-Ashmunein.

580 Arabic *Atfū*; on Edfu, see the article by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Adfū.

581 On Aswan (ancient Syene, Arabic Aswān or Uswān) see the articles by J. Cl. Garcin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Uswān, and by Johanna Pink in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Aswan.

582 Al-Ya‘qūbī will soon devote a full section to the Buja (also known as Bija or Beja).

583 Arabic *Bilāq*, derived from Coptic *Pilāk*.

584 The undotted letters are too ambiguous to read.

585 Wādī l-‘Allāqī in Lower Nubia extends to the east of Lake Nasser, starting about 100 km (62 miles) south of Aswan; see the article by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-‘Allāqī.

from al-Yamāma who moved there with their women and children. Wādī l-‘Allāqī and its environs are mines for gold. The people work in every nearby spot. Each group of merchants and others has black slaves working in the pits. They bring out the gold in a form like yellow arsenic, and then it is smelted.

335 From al-‘Allāqī to a place called | Wādī l-[...] <sup>586</sup> is one stage. Then (the traveler continues) to a place called [...], <sup>587</sup> then to a place called [...], <sup>588</sup> where people gather in search of gold. There are Rabī‘a tribesmen from al-Yamāma there. From al-‘Allāqī to a mine called Baṭn Wāḥ is one stage. From al-‘Allāqī to a place called I‘mād is two stages. To a mine called Mā’ al-Ṣakhra is one stage. To a mine called al-Akshāb is two stages. To a mine called Mīzāb, where tribesmen of Balī and Juhayna have settled, is four stages. To a mine called [...] <sup>589</sup> is two stages.

From al-‘Allāqī to ‘Aydḥāb is four stages. <sup>590</sup> ‘Aydḥāb is a Salt Sea port from which people set sail to Mecca, the Ḥijāz, and Yemen. Merchants travel to it and carry away gold, ivory, and other things in their ships. From al-‘Allāqī to [...], <sup>591</sup> which is the last of the gold mines to which Muslims travel, is thirty stages. From al-‘Allāqī to a place called [...], <sup>592</sup> where tribesmen from the Banū Sulaym and others from Muḍar have settled, is ten stages. From al-‘Allāqī to a mine called al-Sanṭa, where there are tribesmen from Muḍar and others, is ten stages. From al-‘Allāqī to a mine called al-Rafaq is ten stages. From al-‘Allāqī to a mine called Sakhtīt is ten stages. These are the mines to which the Muslims travel and to which they go in search of gold.

### [*The Land of the Nubians*]

Whoever wishes to travel from al-‘Allāqī to the land of the Nubians, who are called the ‘Alwa, travels thirty stages—first to Kabāw, then to a place called al-Abwāb, and then to the largest city of the ‘Alwa, which is called Sōba. <sup>593</sup> The

586 The undotted letters are too ambiguous to read.

587 The undotted letters are too ambiguous to read.

588 The undotted letters are too ambiguous to read.

589 The undotted letters are too ambiguous to read.

590 On the Red Sea port of ‘Aydhab, see the article by Donald Whitcomb in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Aydhab.

591 The undotted letters are too ambiguous to read.

592 The undotted letters are too ambiguous to read.

593 On the geography and peoples of Nubia, see the article by S. Hillelson, V. Christides, C. E. Bosworth, A. S. Kaye, and Ahmed al-Shahi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nūba. Al-Ya‘qūbī lumps together several distinct kingdoms: Marī, Muqurra, and ‘Alwa, proceeding from north to south. See the articles by S. Munro-Hay in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muqurra, by S. M. Stern in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Alwa, and by J. Spaulding in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sōba.

king of the 'Alwa resides there, | and Muslims frequently go there. From (this city) comes an account of the source of the Nile: It is said that the peninsula of 'Alwa is connected to the peninsula of Sind, and that the Nile flows from beyond 'Alwa to the land of Sind in a river called Mihrān, just as it flows in the Nile of Egypt, and there it floods at the same time as it floods in Egypt. In the peninsula of 'Alwa there are animals like those in the lands of Sind: elephants, rhinoceroses, and the like. In the Mihrān River there are crocodiles just as in Egypt.<sup>594</sup> 336

From Aswan one can travel to the nearest part of the land of the Nubians, who are known as Muqurrā. It is a place called Māwā. It was there that Zakariyyā' b. Qirqī lived, who succeeded his father Qirqī as king of the Nubians. It is thirty stages from Māwā to the largest city of the Nubians, where the king of the Nubians resides. That city is Dongola.<sup>595</sup>

[*The Land of the Buja*]

From al-'Allāqī to the land of the Buja,<sup>596</sup> who are named al-Ḥadāriba and the [...] <sup>597</sup> is 25 stages. The city of the king of the Ḥadāriba Buja is called Hajar. Muslims visit it for its trade goods. The Buja live in tents made of hides, pluck their beards, and remove the nipples from boys' breasts, lest their breasts resemble those of women. They eat sorghum<sup>598</sup> and similar things. They ride camels and fight in combat on them just as one fights on horseback, and they throw javelins without missing.

From al-'Allāqī to the land of the Buja people called al-Zanāfija is 25 stages. The city in which the king of the Zanāfija resides is called Baqlīn. Muslims travel | to it on occasion for trade. Their way of life is like that of the Ḥadāriba. 337

594 In early Islamic cartography, the Horn of Africa was often depicted as stretching far to the East, forming the southern shore of the Indian Ocean. Thus, al-Ya'qūbī's claim that the Nile might, in unknown lands south of Nubia, "continue" flowing on to Sind (roughly modern Pakistan), where it is known as Mihrān (a name for the Indus), would not have seemed as far-fetched then as it does now. Zoologically his argument is flawless.

595 De Goeje, 336, notes that the text is corrupt here, including an illegible toponym alongside that of Dongola. The English translation slightly rephrases the Arabic.

596 Arabic geographers usually specify the vocalization as "Buja," but Bija is also given and is closer to the normal English form, Beja. On the ethnography of these nomadic peoples living between the Nile and the Red Sea, see the article by P. M. Holt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Bedja*.

597 The tribal name is illegible; presumably it is al-Zanāfija, as below; cf. also al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:218, although the reading there is also conjectural.

598 Arabic *dhura*, usually is sorghum, but also can mean millet.

They have no religious law, and in times past they worshipped only an idol that they called Ḥaḥākhuwā.<sup>599</sup>

[*Lower Egypt*]

As for the cities of Lower Egypt, the first of them is Atrīb, which has an expansive hinterland. Nearby is the village known as Banhā, which produces a renowned variety of honey.<sup>600</sup> Then comes the city of ‘Ayn Shams.<sup>601</sup> It is an ancient city said to contain residences that belonged to Pharaoh. Nearby are some wondrous ruins, where there are two massive, tall obelisks of hard stone inscribed with writing in the ancient tongue. Water drips from the top of one of them—no one knows its cause. Then come the cities of Natū, Baṣṭa, Ṭarābiya, Qurbayṭ, Ṣān, and Iblīl. These nine cities are called the rural districts (*kuwar*) of al-Ḥawf.<sup>602</sup>

Then come the cities of Banā, an ancient and majestic city; Būṣīr, which is comparable to Banā in size and majesty;<sup>603</sup> Samannūd;<sup>604</sup> Nawasā; al-Awsiya, which is the city of Damīra; and al-Bujūm. These six cities on the east bank of the Nile are called the rural districts (*kuwar*) of Baṭn al-Rīf.<sup>605</sup>

(Then come) the cities of Sakhā, Tīda, al-Afrāḥūn, Ṭuwwah, and the city of Manūf al-Suflā.<sup>606</sup> These seven cities and subdistricts are in an “island” in the Nile between the Dimiyāt Branch and the al-Gharb Branch.<sup>607</sup>

599 The vocalization of the word is uncertain. More detail about Beja religion can be found in al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 1:218. The Beja name for Satan given there (*Ṣaḥā Ḥarāqa*) and *Ḥaḥākhuwā* look like copyists’ attempts to make sense of the same foreign word.

600 On Banhā and its famous honey, some of which is said to have been sent by the ruler of Egypt as a gift to the prophet Muḥammad, see the article by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Banhā.

601 On ‘Ayn Shams and its obelisks, see the article by C. H. Becker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ayn Shams.

602 See the article by G. Wiet and H. Halm in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Sharḳiyya. Baṣṭa, Ṭarābiya, and Qurbayṭ (thus ed. Leiden, but undotted in the ms and better read as Furbayṭ) correspond to three Byzantine pagarchies: Bubaste, Arabia, and Pharbaitos. On Ṣān (Byzantine Tanis) and Iblīl, see the article by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. Ṣān.

603 On the twin settlements of Būṣīr and Banā, see the article by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Būṣīr or Abūṣīr.

604 On Sammanūd, see the article by Ayman F. Sayyid in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sammanūd.

605 On the term Baṭn al-Rīf, see the article by G. Wiet and H. Halm in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Sharḳiyya.

606 On Lower and Upper Manūf (Manūf al-Suflā and Manūf al-Ulyā, respectively), see the article by H. Halm in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Manūf.

607 In fact, al-Ya‘qūbī has listed only five cities. By “island,” al-Ya‘qūbī means the Nile Delta, the wedge of land between these two branches, not a real island in the course of the Nile. The al-Gharb (West) Branch is the modern Rashīd (Rosetta) Branch of the Nile.

As for the cities that are on the coast of the Salt Sea, the first of them is al-Faramā, which is the ancient city from which you enter Egypt. Then comes the city of Tinnīs, which is surrounded by the Great Salt Sea and by a lake that is fed by the Nile.<sup>608</sup> It is an ancient city in which are manufactured fine garments, densely woven and soft, of Dabīqī cloth, fine linen (*qaṣab*), | striped cloth, velvet, embroidered cloth, and other sorts of garments. It has a harbor for ships arriving from Syria and the Maghrib. Then comes the city of Shaṭā, which is on the seacoast and is where the Shaṭawī *shurūb* garments are made.<sup>609</sup> Then comes the city of Damietta, which is on the seacoast.<sup>610</sup> The Nile extends up to Damietta, then branches off: some of it flows into Lake Tinnīs, which is navigable by great boats and ships, and the rest of it flows into the Salt Sea. At Damietta, densely-woven Dabīqī garments, *shurūb* garments, and fine linen (*qaṣab*) are made. Then comes Būra, a fortress on the seacoast, a dependency of Damietta. Garments and papyrus are made there. Then comes the fortress of Naqīza on the seacoast. Then comes the city of al-Barallus,<sup>611</sup> which is on the coast of the Salt Sea and is the site of the *ribāt*.<sup>612</sup> Then comes the city of Rosetta, which is a prosperous, populous city.<sup>613</sup> It has a harbor through which the waters of the Nile flow into the Salt Sea. Ships from the sea enter it in order to sail up the Nile. Then come the cities of Ikhnū on the seacoast and Wasīma, where papyrus is made.

Then comes the great and glorious city of Alexandria, whose size, magnificence, and numerous antiquities are beyond description.<sup>614</sup> One of the wonders of the ancient ruins there is the lighthouse on the seacoast at the mouth of the Great Harbor. It is a strong and artfully constructed lighthouse 175 cubits tall. Atop it are hearths in which fires are lit whenever the watchmen see ships

608 The city of Tinnīs is situated on an island in Lake Manzala. See the article by J.-M. Mouton in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tinnīs.

609 On Shaṭā, a few miles from Damietta, on the western shore of Lake Tinnīs, see the article by G. Wiet and H. Halm in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shaṭā. *Shurūb* cloth apparently was a variety of fine and precious linen; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. SH-R-B.

610 On the town of Damietta (Arabic, Dimyāt), see the article by P. M. Holt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dimyāt.

611 So vocalized by the Leiden editor in a form closer to the Coptic and the original Greek name (Paralos). The modern form is Burullus. See the article by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Burullus (Borollos).

612 A *ribāt* usually is a frontier fortress (often, as here, a coastal frontier) garrisoned by volunteers who hope to gain spiritual merit in prosecuting *jihād* against infidels. The exact sense here is problematic. See the article by J. Chabbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ribāt.

613 On the city of Rosetta (Arabic, Rashīd), see the article by A. S. Atiya and H. Halm in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rashīd.

614 On Alexandria, see the article by S. Labib in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Iskandariyya.

far out at sea. In Alexandria there are two obelisks of variegated stone resting on (bases of) copper (in the form of) crayfish;<sup>615</sup> they are both inscribed with ancient writing. The city's ancient ruins and wonders are many. The city has a canal that brings sweet water from the Nile and then empties into the Salt Sea.

339 Alexandria has the following rural districts (*kuwar*) | that are not on the coast of the Salt Sea, but along the banks of the Nile canals: the rural districts of al-Buḥayra, Maṣīl, al-Malidas—these are the rural districts along the Alexandria Branch, which enters the city. Then come the rural districts of Tarnūt, Qartasā, Khirabtā—these also lie along that branch. Then there are the rural districts of Ṣā, Shabās, al-Ḥayyiz, al-Badaqūn, and al-Sharāk—these lie along a Nile branch called al-Nastarū. Alexandria has the following other rural districts: Maryūt, a prosperous district with vineyards and orchards, famous for its fruit; Lūbiya; and Marāqiya—the latter two are on the coast of the Salt Sea. Tribesmen from the Banū Mudlij division of Kināna inhabit the nearest villages of these of these districts, and Berber tribesmen inhabit most of the others. There are villages and fortresses in them.

All the rural districts of Egypt were conquered in the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; the commander was 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il al-Sahmī. The revenues of Egypt from the poll tax under 'Amr in the caliphate of 'Umar in the first year totalled 14,000,000 dinars. When 'Amr collected only 10,000,000 in the second year, 'Umar sent him a message saying, "O traitor!" In the caliphate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, (the governor) 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ collected 12,000,000 dinars. Then the people converted to Islam, so that in the reign of Mu'āwiya the revenues from the land tax with the poll tax totalled (only) 5,000,000 dinars. In the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, they totalled 4,000,000 dinars, and then the revenues of Egypt fell to 3,000,000 dinars.

340 Egypt and all its villages obtain their water from the Nile summer and winter, with it rising in the summer. It comes from the land of the 'Alwa,<sup>616</sup> emanating from springs and increasing from the rains that come in the summer, so that it spreads over the face of the earth until it covers the whole | land. Then it begins to recede in one of the Coptic months called Bāba, which is Tishrīn al-Awwal,<sup>617</sup> and the people begin cultivating and planting crops, for the land of Egypt receives little rain, except for the part along the coasts. All of Egypt's non-

615 That is, bases of copper or copper-faced stone in the form of crayfish or decorated with crayfish. By crayfish, al-Ya'qūbī is probably describing a scarab beetle.

616 That is, Nubia.

617 That is, October.

Arabs are Copts: those of Upper Egypt are called al-Marīs<sup>618</sup> and those of Lower Egypt are called al-Biyamā.

### *The Road to Mecca from Egypt*

For anyone who wishes to go on pilgrimage to Mecca from Egypt, the first stage is called Jubb ‘Amīra, where all the pilgrims gather on the day of their departure. Then comes a stage called al-Qarqara in a waterless desert; then a stage called ‘Ajarūd, where there is an ancient deep-shafted well of bitter water. Then one comes to Jisr al-Qulzum.<sup>619</sup> Whoever wishes to do so may enter the city of Qulzum, which is a large city on the seacoast, where there are merchants who prepare the supplies to be sent from Egypt to the Ḥijāz and to Yemen. There is also a harbor for ships. It has a mixed population, and its merchants are men of means. From Qulzum, the people camp in steppe and desert terrain for six stages until they reach Ayla—they supply themselves with water for these six stages. The city of Ayla is an important city on the coast of the Salt Sea. It is where the pilgrims from Syria meet the pilgrims from Egypt and the Maghrib,<sup>620</sup> and there are many | commodities available. It has a mixed population, and there is a group of people who claim to be clients of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.<sup>621</sup> At Ayla there is also a striped mantle said to be the mantle of the Messenger of God—God’s blessing and peace be upon him. He is said to have given it to Ru’ba b. Yuḥanna when he traveled to Tabūk.<sup>622</sup>

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From Ayla one proceeds to Sharaf al-Ba’l, and from Sharaf al-Ba’l to Madyan, which is a prosperous ancient city with many springs, continuously flowing streams of sweet water, orchards, gardens, and date groves. It has a mixed population.

Whoever wishes to leave Madyan for Mecca proceeds along the coast of the Salt Sea to a place called ‘Aynūnā, where there is some cultivation and date

618 The term also designates the northernmost Nubian kingdom, extending south from Aswan to the northern border of al-Muqurra. See the article by S. Munro-Hay in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Marīs.

619 Jisr al-Qulzum (al-Qulzum Bridge) was a bridge over an ancient canal leading from Qulzum (ancient Klysma), a mile from modern Suez on the Red Sea, to the Nile near Fustāt. By al-Ya’qūbī’s time, the canal was no longer navigable, but the bridge remained a landmark. See the article by E. Honigmann and R. Y. Ebied in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Qulzum.

620 That is, from North Africa.

621 Probably to be interpreted, “who claim to be *descendants of* clients (*mawālī*) of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.”

622 Ru’ba b. Yuḥanna was the Ayli notable (possibly a bishop) with whom the Prophet is said to have negotiated the city’s surrender, along with that of Tabūk, in the year 9/630. See al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:70.



groves and where there are mining sites where people prospect for gold. Then one proceeds to al-ʿAwnīd, which is similar, then to al-Ṣalā, then to al-Nabk, then to al-Quṣayba, then to al-Buḥra, then to al-Mughaytha, which is Tubʿal, then to Ḍuba, then to al-Wajh, and then to Munkhūs. In Munkhūs there are divers who harvest pearls. Then one proceeds to al-Ḥawrāʾ, then to al-Jār, then to al-Juhfa, then to Qudayd, then to ʿUṣfān, and then to Baṭn Marr.

Whoever wishes to travel the road that goes to the City of the Messenger<sup>623</sup>—God’s blessing and peace be upon him—proceeds from Madyan to a stop called Aghrāʾ then to Qālas, then to Shaghḥ, then to Baddā, then to al-Suqyā, then to Dhū l-Marwa, then to Dhū Khushub, then to Medina. These are the stages from Egypt to Mecca and Medina.

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### *Al-Maghrib*<sup>624</sup>

Whoever wishes to travel by road from Egypt to Barqa and the furthestmost parts of the Maghrib passes from al-Fuṣṭāṭ onto the west bank of the Nile until he reaches Tarnūṭ.<sup>625</sup> Then he continues to a station known as al-Mīnā, which has been deserted by its people. Then he comes to the large monastery known as Bū Mīnā, in which stands the famous church of wondrous construction abounding in marble decoration.<sup>626</sup> Then he comes to the station known as Dhāt al-Ḥumām, where there is a congregational mosque.<sup>627</sup> It is a dependency (ʿamal) of the rural district (*kūra*) of Alexandria. Then he continues amid stations in the territory of the Banū Mudlij in the steppe, some along the coast, some set back from the coast. Among them are the stations known as al-Ṭāḥūna, al-Kanāʾis, and as Jubb al-ʿAwsaj.

Then the traveler continues into the dependency (ʿamal) of Lūbiya (Libya), which is a rural district (*kūra*) after the fashion of the rural districts of Alexandria. Among its stations are the station known as Manzil Maʿn, then the station known as Qaṣr al-Shammās, then Khirbat al-Qawm, then al-Rammāda, which is

623 That is, Medina.

624 “The West,” that is, North Africa, excluding Egypt. For an overview of geographical and historical details, see the article by G. Yver in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Maghrib.

625 Tarnūṭ (ancient Terenouthis, near modern al-Ṭarrāna) lay about 70 km north of Cairo on the western branch of the Nile. See the article in Yāqūt, *Muṣjam al-buldān*, 1:845, s.v. Tarnūṭ.

626 The monastery, better known as Dayr Abū Mīnā, was dedicated to St. Minas. Its ruins lie about 45 km south of Alexandria.

627 A town Dhāt al-Ḥammām (apparently a variant of Dhāt al-Ḥumām), is mentioned by Yāqūt, *Muṣjam al-buldān*, s.v. (2:330), as lying between Alexandria and Ifrīqiya; that is, to the west of Alexandria.

the first station of the Berbers. It is inhabited by Mazāta<sup>628</sup> tribesmen and other indigenous non-Arabs. There are also Arab tribesmen from the Balī, Juhayna, Banū Mudlij, and others of mixed descent.

Then the traveler continues to al-ʿAqaba (The Pass), which is on the coast of the Salt Sea, difficult to traverse, rough, rugged, and dangerous. Upon reaching the top of the pass, one continues to the station known as al-Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ, then Maghāyir Raqīm, then Quṣūr al-Rūm, then Jubb al-Raml. These are territories of the Berbers from the tribes of Māṣala b. Luwāta and a mixture of peoples. Then the traveler reaches Wādī Makhīl, which is a station like a city. It has a congregational mosque, cisterns, permanent markets, and a redoubtable fortress. It has a mixed population, most of them Berbers from Māṣala, Zanāra, Maṣʿūba, Marāwa, and Faṭīṭa. From Wādī Makhīl to the city of | Barqa is three stages through Berber territory belonging to the Marāwa, Maḥraṭa, Maṣʿūba, Zakūda, and other Lawāta tribes.

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### *Barqa*<sup>629</sup>

The city of Barqa stands in a wide plain on intensely red soil. It is a city surrounded by walls, with iron portals and a moat. Al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh<sup>630</sup> ordered the walls to be built. The people drink rainwater that comes from the mountains in watercourses that lead to great cisterns that the caliphs and governors made to supply drinking water for the people of the city of Barqa. Surrounding the city are suburbs in which the troops and others live. The city's houses and suburbs have a mixed population, with most of the people being veteran soldiers who have children and grandchildren. The city of Barqa is six Arab miles from the coast of the Salt Sea.

On the seacoast is a city called Ajiya, which has markets, guardposts, a congregational mosque, gardens, cultivated fields, and plentiful fruit. Another port city is called Ṭulmaytha,<sup>631</sup> where ships anchor from time to time. Barqa has two mountains: one of them, called al-Sharqī (Eastern), is home to Arab tribesmen from al-Azd, Lakhm, Judhām, Ṣadif, and other Yemenis; the other mountain, called al-Gharbī (Western), is home to tribesmen from Ghassān, and tribesmen from Judhām, al-Azd, Tujīb and other Arab tribes, as well as villages of Luwāta Berber clans from Zakūda, Maḥraṭa, and Zanāra. On these two mountains there are flowing springs, trees, fruit, fortresses and ancient cisterns built by the Romans.

628 On the Mazāta, a powerful Berber grouping, see the article by T. Lewicki, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mazāta.

629 On the town of Barqa in the region known as Cyrenaica, see the article by J. Despois in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Barqa.

630 The ʿAbbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil reigned 232/847–247/861.

631 Ancient Ptolemais; see the article by T. Lewicki in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mazāta.

Barqa has many regions (*aqālīm*) that are inhabited by the aforementioned Berber tribes. One of the cities included among them is Barnīq,<sup>632</sup> a city on the coast of the Salt Sea. It has a harbor, wondrous in convenience and excellence, where ships can take refuge. It is inhabited by people descended from the ancient Romans, who in olden times formed the city's population, and Berber tribesmen from Taḥlāla, Sawa, Masūsa, Maghāgha, Wāhila, and Jadāna. | Barnīq is two stages from the city of Barqa, and it also has regions (*aqālīm*) under its control.

(The other city) is Ajdābiya.<sup>633</sup> It is a city with an overlooking citadel and with a congregational mosque and permanent markets. From Barnīq to it is two stages, and from Barqa to it is four stages. It is inhabited by Berber tribesmen from Zanāra, Wāhila, Masūsa, Suwa, Taḥlāla, and others, as well as by Jadāna, who are predominant there. It has regions (*aqālīm*) and a port on the Salt Sea six Arab miles away where ships can anchor. It is the last of the cities in Luwāta territory.

The Luwāta tribes say that they are descended from Luwāta b. Barr b. Qays 'Aylān. Some of them say that they are a group from Lakhm, the first of whom came from Syria and were transferred to these territories, while still others say that they are descended from the Romans.<sup>634</sup>

#### *Surt*<sup>635</sup>

From the city of Ajdābiya to the city of Surt on the coast of the Salt Sea is five stages. One stage belongs to the territory of the Luwāta, but among them are tribesmen from the Mazāta, and it is they who are dominant in it. Among these stages are al-Fārūj, Qaṣr al-'Aṭīsh, al-Yahūdiya, Qaṣr al-'Ibādī; then the city of Surt. The people of these stations and the people of the city of Surt are from the Mindāsa, Maḥanḥā, Wanṭās, and other tribes.<sup>636</sup> Their last settlement is two

632 Ancient Berenike, now the site of modern Benghazi; see the article by J. Despois in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Benghāzī*.

633 On Ajdābiya, now a small village between Benghazi and Surt, see the article by H. H. Abdul-Wahab in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ajdābiya*.

634 That is, the Berber Luwāta (also vocalized Lawāta) claimed an Arab or Roman (or Greek, as Arabic *al-Rūm* can refer to either) lineage. Al-Ya'qūbī gives a more detailed account of the Berber tribes in *Ta'rikh*, 1:215–216. See also the article by T. Lewicki in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Lawāta*.

635 On the history of the medieval city of Surt, 55 km east of modern Sirt, see the article by A. Hamdani in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Surt*.

636 The rendering of the names is uncertain. For Maḥanḥā, de Goeje notes that Ibn Khaldūn read Majjja, and Wanṭās (or Wūntās) is Goeje's emendation of MS Fintās (or Qintās, the first letter being undotted).

stages from the city of Surt at a place called Tawargha,<sup>637</sup> which is the furthest limit of Barqa. All the Mazāta are Ibādīs,<sup>638</sup> but they neither are versed in sacred law nor do they practice religion.

The land tax of Barqa is (based on) an established financial regulation. (The caliph) al-Rashīd sent out a client of his named Bashshār, who apportioned the land tax (*kharāj*) of 24,000 dinars so that each estate (*ḍayʿa*) would owe a specified amount—this was apart from the tithes (*aʿshār*), alms taxes (*ṣadaqāt*), and poll tax (*jawālī*).<sup>639</sup> The total amount from the tithes, alms-tax and poll tax is 15,000 dinars, sometimes more and sometimes less. The tithes are levied from areas that | have neither olive groves, trees, nor well-watered villages. Barqa has a dependency (*ʿamal*) called Awjala, which is in a desert region lying to the west. Whoever wishes to go out to it turns off to the south, proceeding to two cities, one of which is called Jālaw, the other Waddān. Each has date palms, dried dates and *qasb*, of which there is no better.<sup>640</sup> Of the two, Waddān is the more pleasant.

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### *Waddān*<sup>641</sup>

Waddān, which is a region approached through a desert, was formerly a dependency of Barqa; now it is attached to the district (*ʿamal*) of Surt. Waddān is five stages south of the city of Surt. Some Muslims live there who claim to be Arabs from the tribal faction of Yemen, but most of the people are from (the Berber tribe of) Mazāta, and it is they who dominate the place. Dates, of which there are several varieties, are the main export. It is governed by a local resident, and no land tax is collected from it.

### *Zawīla*

Beyond and to the south lies the land of Zawīla.<sup>642</sup> The people are Muslims all of whom are Ibādīs who perform the pilgrimage to the Sacred House.<sup>643</sup>

637 Tawargha (modern Tawergha) is approximately 172km west of Surt and 38km south of Miṣrāta.

638 That is, members of the Khārījite sect known as Ibādīs. On the origin and history of this sect that persists to this day in Oman, East Africa, Tripolitana, and southern Algeria, see the article by T. Lewicki in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-ʿIbāḍiyya.

639 On *jawālī* as a synonym for *jizya* (poll tax), see the article by Cl. Cahen in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djawālī*.

640 *Qasb* is a particularly tough variety of dried date.

641 Waddān is one of three oases in the al-Jufra depression of the Libyan desert about 238km southwest of Surt. See the article by J. Despois in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djufra.

642 On the geography and history of Zawīla, see the article by K. S. Vikør in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zawīla.

643 This implies that although they belong to the same Khārījite sect as the Mazāta, who have

Most of them are of [...].<sup>644</sup> They bring out black slaves from the Mīriyyūn, the Zaghāwiyyūn, the Marwiyyūn, and other black peoples, as they are near them and take them captive. I have also heard that the kings of the black peoples simply sell blacks for no reason without there being any war.

From Zawīla come Zawīlī hides. It is a land of date palms, sorghum fields, and other things. It has a mixed population of people from Khurāsān, Basra, and Kufa. Fifteen stages beyond Zawīla is a city called Kuwwār, where there are Muslims from a variety of tribes. Most of the people, however, are Berbers, and they import blacks (as slaves). Between Zawīla and the city of Kuwwār and those dependencies of Zawīla on the road to Awjāla and Ajdābiya is a group of people called Lamṭa, who closely resemble the Berbers. They are the source of white Lamṭī shields.<sup>645</sup>

### *Fazzān*

346 The people known as Fazzān are a mixture of peoples who have a chief whom they all obey. | It is a vast region and a large city. There is unending war between these people and the Mazāta.



Barqa is also called Anṭābulus, which is its ancient name.<sup>646</sup> ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ conquered it by treaty in the year 23.<sup>647</sup> From the last dependency (‘amal) of Barqa, the place called Tawargha, to Tripoli<sup>648</sup> is six stages. From Tawargha,

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just been described as not practicing religion, the people of Zawīla perform the pilgrimage to Mecca like other Muslims.

644 The undotted letters are too ambiguous to read.

645 On the Lamṭa tribe see the article by G. S. Colin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Lamṭa. The shields were covered with the skin of the *lamṭ* antelope, a kind of oryx, hardened by soaking in milk. See the article by F. Viré in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Lamṭ.

646 The name Anṭābulus (i.e., Anṭāpolis) probably comes from the Greek for Antaeus' City (Ἀνταίου πόλις), as Libya was the birthplace of this mythical giant and the scene of Heracles' combat with him. One reads in Isaac Newton's work "The Chronology of antient Kingdoms amended" (*Opera*, v, London, 1785), p. 172: "Antæus reigned over all Afric to the Atlantic Ocean, and built Tingis or Tangieres. Pindar tells us, that he reigned at Irasa, a town of Libya, where Cyrene [i.e., Barqa] was afterwards built. He invaded Egypt and Thebais; for he was beaten by Hercules and the Egyptians near Antæa or Antæopolis, a town of Thebais; and Diodorus tells us, that 'this town had its name from Antæus, whom Hercules slew in the days of Osiris.'"

647 23 A.H. = November 19, 643 – November 7, 644.

648 The usual Arabic form is Ṭarābulus; al-Ya'qūbī uses the form Aṭrābulus.

one leaves Mazāta territory and reaches the territory of the Hawwāra,<sup>649</sup> which begins at Wardāsa; then comes Labda, which is a fortress like a city on the seacoast. The Hawwāra claim to be descended from the indigenous Berbers, and that the Mazāta and the Luwāta were part of them, but cut themselves off from them and left their territories and moved to the region of Barqa and other places. The Hawwāra also claim to be a group of people from Yemen who became ignorant of their genealogies. The tribes of Hawwāra keep track of genealogies just as the Arabs do. Among their tribes are the Banū l-Luhān, Malīla, and Warsaṭifa. The subtribes of al-Luhān are the Banū [...],<sup>650</sup> the Banū [...], the Banū Warfala, and the Banū Masrāta. The encampments of the Hawwāra stretch from the last dependency (*ʿamal*) of Surt as far as Tripoli.

### *Tripoli*

Tripoli is a majestic ancient city on the coast, prosperous and populous, with a mixed population. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ conquered it in the year 23<sup>651</sup> in the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; it was the last place in the Maghrib to be conquered in ʿUmar's caliphate.<sup>652</sup>

From Tripoli (the traveler continues) to the land of the Nafūsa.<sup>653</sup> They are a group whose language is not Arabic—Ibādīs all of them. They have a leader called Alyās,<sup>654</sup> from whose command they do not deviate. Their residences in the mountains of Tripoli include estates, villages, fields, and many tracts of cultivated land. They pay no land tax to any government, nor do they give obedience to anyone except a leader of theirs in Tāhart, who is the leader of the Ibādīya, called ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, a Persian.<sup>655</sup> The territory of the Nafūsa stretches from the limits of (the district of) Tripoli south to the vicinity of al-Qayrawān. They have many tribes and various clans.

649 On the Hawwāra, see the article by T. Lewicki and P. M. Holt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hawwāra.

650 The undotted letters of this and the following tribal name are too ambiguous to read.

651 23 A.H. = November 19, 643 – November 7, 644.

652 On the Islamic history of Tripoli (Arabic, Ṭarābulus), see the article by G. Oman, V. Christides, and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭarābulus.

653 See the article by F. Béguinot in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nafūsa.

654 Thus vocalized in ed. Leiden, but almost certainly to be identified as Abū Maṣṣūr Ilyās al-Nafūsī, governor of the Nafūsa mountains and the Tripoli region for its Rustamid ruler during al-Yaʿqūbī's lifetime. See the article by T. Lewicki in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Maṣṣūr Ilyās al-Nafūsī.

655 Founder of the Ibādī Rustamid dynasty, which ruled from Tāhart in what is now Algeria 161/778–296/909. On its history, see the articles by M. Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rustamids or Rustumids, and by Virginie Prevost in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam.

347 From Tripoli (the traveler continues) along the main road to a large city called Qābis<sup>656</sup> on the coast of the Salt Sea, prosperous, with many trees, fruit, and bubbling springs. Its people are a mixture of Arabs, non-Arabs, and Berbers. Residing there is a governor appointed by Ibn al-Aghlab, the ruler of Ifrīqiya.<sup>657</sup> From Tripoli to Qābis is a five-stage journey through prosperous lands inhabited by Berber groups from the Zanāta, the Luwāta and the indigenous Africans. The first of these stages is [...],<sup>658</sup> the first stage from Tripoli; then comes Šabra, a stop where there are ancient stone idols; then Qaṣr Banī [...]; then [...]; then al-Fāṣilāt; and then Qābis.

*Al-Qayrawān*<sup>659</sup>

From Qābis to the city of al-Qayrawān is four stages. The first is ‘Ayn al-Zaytūna, which is not populous, then Lalas,<sup>660</sup> a castle in which there is some habitation, then Ghadīr al-‘Rābī, and then Qalshāna, which is the halting-place for those coming and going from al-Qayrawān. Then one reaches the great city of al-Qayrawān, which was laid out by ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’ al-Fihri in the year 60<sup>661</sup> in the caliphate of Mu‘āwiya. It was ‘Uqba who conquered most of the Maghrib, although the first to enter the territory of Ifrīqiya and conquer it was ‘Abdallāh b. Sa’d b. Abī Sarḥ in the caliphate of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān in the year 36.<sup>662</sup>

Al-Qayrawān is a city that used to have walls of mud and unbaked bricks. But Ziyādat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab pulled them down when ‘Imrān b.

656 Modern Gabès in Tunisia; see the article by M. Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kābis.

657 On the Aghlabid dynasty of rulers of Ifrīqiya, see the article by G. Marçais and J. Schacht in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Aghlabids.

658 The undotted letters of this and the two following toponyms are too ambiguous to read.

659 On the city of al-Qayrawān, located in modern Tunisia, see the article by M. Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Qayrawān.

660 Reading uncertain.

661 60 A.H. = October 13, 679 – September 30, 680. De Goeje adds the following note to the Leiden edition (translated here from Latin): “In fact, it happened in the year 50 [January 29, 670 – January 17, 671]. The fault is the copyist’s, not the author’s, as is evident from comparing *History* [Ta’rikh] 2:272. What soon follows about the first expedition’s having been in the years 36 and 37 (p. 349, l. 20), instead of 26 and 27, must also be attributed to the copyist’s fault, as demonstrated by *History* 2:191. One may therefore conclude that in the autograph the number was written not in words but in figures.”

662 36 A.H. = June 30, 656 – June 18, 657. See, however, the previous note, which concludes that one should read 26 (October 17, 646 – October 6, 647) on the basis of al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rikh* 2:191. The correction to 26 is all the more necessary as ‘Uthmān was assassinated at the end of 35/656.

Mujālid, ‘Abd al-Salām b. al-Mufarraǧ, and Maṣṣūr al-Ṭanbadhī revolted against him.<sup>663</sup> They revolted against him at al-Qayrawān—they were (descendants) of the old soldiers (*jund*) who had arrived with Ibn al-Ash’ath.<sup>664</sup>

Their source of drinking water is rainwater. During the winter, when the rains and | torrents come, the rainwater from the streams goes into great cisterns called *mawāǧil*,<sup>665</sup> from which the water carriers obtain their water. They also have a watercourse called Wādī al-Sarāwīl south of the city; it carries salty water because it lies in swampy ground, but the people use it for their various needs.

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The residences of the Banū l-Aghlab are two Arab miles from the city of al-Qayrawān in palaces around which numerous walls have been built. These remained as their residences until Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad moved out of them; he settled in a place called al-Raqqāda, eight Arab miles from the city of al-Qayrawān, and built a palace there.<sup>666</sup>

The city of al-Qayrawān has a mixed population of people from Quraysh and from all the other Arab lineages: Muḍar, Rabī’a, and Qaḥṭān. There are also groups of non-Arabs from among the Khurāsānī troops and from whatever other troops came with the governors of the Banū Hāshim.<sup>667</sup> There are also non-Arabs from the indigenous non-Arab population: Berbers, Romans, and the like.

663 In his note to the Leiden edition, De Goeje notes that ‘Imrān b. Mujālid was killed in 200 (August 11, 815 – July 29, 816), while the revolt of ‘Abd al-Salām and Maṣṣūr took place in 209 (May 4, 824 – April 23, 825). He therefore suggests reading ‘Amīr b. Nāfī’ instead of ‘Imrān b. Mujālid, referring to the note in his 1860 edition of this section of al-Ya’qūbī under the title *Descriptio al-Maghribi*. For a synopsis of the political turmoil of these years in al-Qayrawān, see the article by G. Marçais and J. Schacht in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Aghlabids or Banu’l-Aghlab*.

664 This refers not to the famous ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath, who led a revolt against the Umayyads the days of al-Ḥajjāj in 80/699, but to Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath al-Khuzā’ī who was sent to Ifriqiyyā for the first time by the caliph al-Saffāḥ in 133 (August 9, 750 – July 29, 751; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:74) and who took Qayrawān from the ‘Ibādīyya in 144/761. In 148/765, he was succeeded as governor by the founder of the Aghlabid dynasty, al-Aghlab b. Salīm, during the reign of whose grandson, Ziyādat Allāh (r. 201/817 to 223/838), these revolts took place.

665 So vocalized by Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:11; De Goeje vocalizes the word in accordance with its etymology as *ma’āǧil*.

666 Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad ruled from 261/875 to 289/902. His new residence at al-Raqqāda was built in 264/878. See the article by G. Marçais and J. Schacht in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Aghlabids or Banu’l-Aghlab*.

667 That is, the ‘Abbāsids.



It is one stage from al-Qayrawān to Sūsa, which is on the coast of the Salt Sea.<sup>668</sup> It has an arsenal in which naval ships are built, and other ships come to it. Sūsa has a mixed population.

From al-Qayrawān it is one stage to a place called al-Jazīra. This is Jazīrat Abī Sharīk, which protrudes into the sea and is surrounded by its waters.<sup>669</sup> It is commercially very busy. In it is a group of kinsmen of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and other Arab and non-Arab lineages. This place has numerous cities of no great size in which the population is dispersed. Its governor resides in a city called al-Nawāṭiya<sup>670</sup> near Iqlībiya, from which one can sail to Sicily.

From al-Qayrawān it is two easy stages to the city of Saṭfūra. This is a large city that has people from Quraysh, Quḍāʿa, and other tribes.

349 From al-Qayrawān (one can also travel) to the city of Tunis, which is on the seacoast and has an arsenal.<sup>671</sup> It is a great city. From it came Ḥammād al-Barbarī, the client of Hārūn al-Rashīd and governor of Yemen. Around the city of Tunis were walls made of mud and unbaked brick; the walls of the areas | adjacent to the sea were of stone. Then the people of Tunis opposed Ziyādat Allāh b. al-Aghlab—among them were Manṣūr al-Ṭanbadhī, Ḥuṣayn al-Tujībī, and al-Qurayʿ al-Balawī—and Ziyādat Allāh therefore fought them. When he defeated them, having killed a great many people, he pulled down the walls of the city. From the coast of Tunis, one can cross to the peninsula of al-Andalus: we have already mentioned the peninsula of al-Andalus and its circumstances when we mentioned Tāhart.<sup>672</sup>

From al-Qayrawān it is three stages to the city of Bāja.<sup>673</sup> Bāja is a large city with ancient stone walls. In contains people descended from the old troops of the Banū Hāshim, as well as non-Arabs. Near the city of Bāja there are Berber tribesmen called Wazdāja. They are recalcitrant and offer no obedience to Ibn al-Aghlab.

From al-Qayrawān it is two stages to the city of al-Urbus,<sup>674</sup> which is a large, prosperous city with a mixed population.

668 On Sūsa (modern Sousse), see the article by Mohamed Jedidi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sūsa.

669 On the peninsula of Jazīrat Sharīk, see the article by Hussain Monés in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djāzīrat Sharīk*.

670 The reading is uncertain.

671 On the city of Tunis (Arabic, Tūnis), see the article by P. Sebag in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tūnis.

672 In fact, the section on al-Andalus occurs below, on pages 353–355 of the Leiden edition, which suggests that al-Yaʿqūbī did not compile the *Buldān* sequentially.

673 On Bāja (modern Béja), about 100 km west of Tunis, see the article by Élise Voguet in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bāja.

674 Modern Laribus or Lorbeus in Kef Province of Tunisia.

From al-Qayrawān it is four stages to a city called Majjāna.<sup>675</sup> At this city there are mines of silver, antimony, iron, litharge, and lead among the mountains and canyons. Its people are tribesmen called al-Sanājira. It is said that the first of them was from Sinjār, in the region of Diyār Rabī'a.<sup>676</sup> They are troops for the government. There are also groups of non-Arabs there: Berbers and others.

South from al-Qayrawān one travels to the land of Qamūda, which is a vast region with cities and fortresses. The city in which the governor resides at this time is Madhkūra.<sup>677</sup> The old chief city is called Subayṭila;<sup>678</sup> it is the city that was conquered in the reign of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and the army commander 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ besieged it in the year 37.<sup>679</sup> From the region of Qamūda (one can travel) to the city of Qafṣa,<sup>680</sup> which is a fortified city with stone walls and springs located inside the city. It is paved with stones. Around the city are many cultivated lands and famous varieties of fruit.

From Qafṣa (one travels) to the cities | of Qasṭīliya: four cities in an extensive 350 region of date palms and olive trees.<sup>681</sup> The chief city is called Tawzar; the local officials reside there. The second is called al-Ḥamma, the third Taqiyūs, and the fourth, Naḥṭa. Around these cities lie four salt flats.<sup>682</sup> The people of these cities are non-Arabs: indigenous Romans, Africans, and Berbers.

From the cities of Qasṭīliya it is three stages to the cities of Nafzāwa. Nafzāwa comprises a number of cities. The chief city, in which the local officials reside, is called Bishshara. Its people are indigenous Africans and Berbers. The cities to the south are surrounded by sand.

675 Modern Medjana in Algeria, about 85 km southwest of Béjaïa in Algeria.

676 Sinjār is a city in northwestern Iraq. It is uncertain that the populace of Majjāna in North Africa hailed from this Iraqi town. More likely, al-Ya'qūbī is relaying a folk etymology for the group's name, which was also a way for them to claim Arab ancestry.

677 De Goeje was unable to identify this town, though it is attested elsewhere. It may be a misreading for Mazūna, modern Mezzouna, a small town not far from Subayṭila (Sbeitla).

678 On Subayṭila (modern Sbeitla) in south-central Tunisia, see the article by Fethi Béjaoui in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Subayṭila.

679 37 A.H. = June 19, 657 – June 8, 658. But see note 661 above. The correction to 27 (October 7, 647 – September 24, 648) is all the more necessary as 'Uthmān was assassinated at the end of 35/656.

680 Modern Gafsa; see the article by M. Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qafsa.

681 On the city and its dependencies, see the article by M. Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qasṭīliya.

682 Arabic *sibākḥ* (pl. of *sabkha*). These are the so-called shotts (French spelling, chotts; from Arabic *shatt*): marshy depressions that are covered by a salt crust in the dry summer season, but fill with water to become shallow, temporary lakes in the winter rainy season. See the articles by Y. Callot in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shatt*, and by G. Yver in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sabkha*.

South of al-Qayrawān is a region called al-Sāḥil (the Coast), but it is not the coast of a sea. It has much arable land for olive trees, fruit trees, and vineyards, and comprises numerous villages, each leading to the next. This region has two cities, one of them called [...],<sup>683</sup> the other, Qabīsha. From the al-Sāḥil region it is two stages from [...] and Qabīsha to the city called Sfax.<sup>684</sup> Sfax is on the seacoast and the Salt Sea breaks against its city walls. It is the furthest limit of al-Sāḥil. From Sfax to a place called Bizerte<sup>685</sup> is an eight days' journey. At every halting-place there are fortresses, each close to the other, in which the pious and the people of the *ribāṭs* live.

From al-Qayrawān it is ten stages to the lands of the Zāb.<sup>686</sup> The chief city of the Zāb is Ṭubna, which is where the governors reside.<sup>687</sup> It has a mixed population of Quraysh, Arabs, the garrison, non-Arabs, Africans, Romans, and Berbers. The Zāb is a large region. Located in it is an ancient city called Bāghāya, where there are Arab tribes from the garrison, non-Arabs from the Khurāsānī troops, and non-Arabs from the local non-Arab population of descendants of the Romans. Around it there are Berber tribesmen from the Hawwāra on a mighty mountain called Aurès,<sup>688</sup> on which snow falls. (Also located in it is) a city called Tījis, | which is a dependency of Bāghāya. Around it there are Berber tribesmen: non-Arabs called Nafza. (Also located in it is) a large and majestic city called Mīla; it is prosperous and fortified, but has never been controlled by a governor. It has a fortress surrounding another fortress in which there is a man from the Banū Sulaym called Mūsā b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad, who represents Ibn al-Aghlab.<sup>689</sup> The seacoast is close to this city. It has a port called Jījal,<sup>690</sup> one called Qal'at Khaṭṭāb, one called Iskīda,<sup>691</sup> one called

683 The unpointed letters here and in the next sentence are too ambiguous to read. De Goeje's conjectural reading is Ṭarnāsa.

684 Al-Ya'qūbī spells it Asfāqus; the more common Arabic spelling (e.g., in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*) is Safāqus. The conventional spelling Sfax reflects the modern pronunciation of the name of this city located about 233 km south of Tunis.

685 Arabic, Banzart; the conventional spelling Bizerte reflects the modern pronunciation of the name of this Tunisian city, located on the coast about 60 km northwest of Tunis and about 290 km overland from Sfax. See the article by G. Marçais in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Banzart.

686 On this region of northern Algeria, centering on the city of Biskra in the southern foothills of the Atlas and Aurès Mountains, see the article by M. Côte in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zāb.

687 On Ṭubna, now a ruined site between Barika and Bitham in Algeria, see the article by M. Côte in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭubna.

688 Arabic, Awrās.

689 That is, it is tributary, but not subject, to the Aghlabids.

690 Modern Jijel.

691 Probably corresponding to modern Skikda.

[...],<sup>692</sup> and one called Marsā Danhāja. The entire region is cultivated, with many trees and fruits amid mountains and springs. (Also located in it is) a city called Saṭīf,<sup>693</sup> where there are tribesmen from the Banū Asad b. Khu-zayma acting as agents on behalf of Ibn al-Aghlab. (Also located in it is) a city called Bilizma, whose people are tribesmen from the Banū Tamīm and clients (*mawālī*) of the Banū Tamīm. They are in revolt against Ibn al-Aghlab at the present time. (Also located in it is) a city called Niqāwus,<sup>694</sup> with many cultivated areas, trees, and fruit and with men from the garrison. Around it there are Berbers from the Miknāna, a clan of the Zanāta, and around them a group called the Awraba. Ṭubna is the chief city of the Zāb; it is located in the middle of the Zāb, and the governors reside there. (Then there is) the city called Maqqara; it has many fortresses, but the chief city is Maqqara. Its people are tribesmen from the Banū Ḍabba, but there is also a group of non-Arabs. Around it there are Berber tribesmen called the Banū Zandāj, along with a group called [...] and a group called [...].<sup>695</sup> From there (one continues) to fortresses called [...], Ṭalma, and [...].<sup>696</sup> In (these places) there are tribesmen from the Banū Sa'd of the Banū Tamīm called the Banū l-Ṣamṣāma. They rose up against Ibn al-Aghlab, but Ibn al-Aghlab defeated some of them and imprisoned them. The city of [...]<sup>697</sup> is in the mountains. Its people rose up against Ibn al-Aghlab—those who did so were tribesmen from the Hawwāra called the Banū Saghmār,<sup>698</sup> the Banū Warjil, and others. The city of Arba is | the last city of the Zāb toward the west, the last dependency (*ʿamal*) of the Banū l-Aghlab. The ʿAbbāsīd revolutionary army (*al-musawwida*) never went beyond it.<sup>699</sup>

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If the traveler travels west from the district of the Zāb, he comes to a group called the Banū Barzāl. They are a division of the Banū Dammar of the Zanāta, and they are all Khārijites (*shurāt*).

We have already mentioned the conquest of Ifrīqiya and the accounts of it in a separate book that we devoted to the subject.

692 The unpointed consonants are too ambiguous to read.

693 Modern Sétif.

694 Niqāwus is modern N'gaus, about 60 km southeast of Sétif.

695 The unpointed letters of both tribal names are too ambiguous to read.

696 The unpointed letters of both toponyms are too ambiguous to read.

697 The unpointed letters of the toponym are too ambiguous to read.

698 Reading as suggested by De Goeje in his note; the MS reads Banū Sim'an.

699 Al-Ya'qūbī uses the term *musawwida* here for the ʿAbbāsīd revolutionary army—the term literally means “those who wear black,” from the black garments and banners that became the symbol of the movement that put the dynasty in power.

From this place onward is the region that was taken over by al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān b. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—God’s blessing and peace be upon him.<sup>700</sup> The first city under his control is a city called Hāz, whose residents are a group of indigenous Berbers called the Banū Yarniyān, who belong to the Zanāta also. Beyond that there are some cities whose residents are Ṣanhāja and Zawāwa, who are known as al-Barānis. They own cultivated lands, fields, and livestock. The whole region is named after Hāz. Between it and the district (*‘amal*) of Adna is a journey of three days. Then (one reaches) a group called the Banū Dammar of Zanāta in a vast region. All of them are Khārījites (*shurāt*). Over them rules a chief from among them, called Muṣādif b. Jārtīl. (They dwell) in a region of fields and livestock, one stage away from Hāz. (One continues) from there to a fortress called Ḥiṣn Ibn Kirām. Its people are not Khārījites (*shurāt*), but mainstream Muslims.<sup>701</sup> Their land is arable. Then one arrives at a region called Mattīja, which was taken over by descendants of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—God’s peace be upon him—called the Banū Muḥammad b. Ja‘far.<sup>702</sup> It is a vast region with a number of cities and fortresses, a land of fields and cultivation. Between this region and the fortress of Muṣādif b. Jārtīl is a three-day journey along the sea-coast. Then comes the city of Madkara, where there are descendants of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—God’s peace be upon him.<sup>703</sup> Then comes the city of al-Khaḍrā’, | to which many cities, fortresses, villages, and arable lands are connected. This region is controlled by the descendants of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—God’s peace be upon him. Every one of these men lives in and fortifies himself in a different city or district. There are so many of them that the region is known by them and named after them. The farthest city under their control is a city near the seacoast called Sūq Ibrāhīm, which is the renowned city where a man named ‘Īsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan lives.

700 This al-Ḥasan was a descendant of the caliph ‘Alī and of the Ḥusaynid line of Shī‘ite Imams.

701 Al-Ya‘qūbī uses the term *jamā‘iyya* to describe these Muslims, which we might translate as “the Consensus-Minded,” a shorthand for the label *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā‘a*, “the people of (the Prophet’s) example and consensus,” adopted by adherents of what is now known as Sunni Islam.

702 That is, like the Banū l-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān above, they are descendants of the caliph ‘Alī. However, the Banū Muḥammad b. Ja‘far are related instead to the Ḥasanid line of Shī‘ite Imams.

703 Another descendant of ‘Alī from the Ḥasanid line.

From these places one continues to Tāhart.<sup>704</sup> The chief city is the city of Tāhart, immense and greatly reputed, nicknamed “the Iraq of the Maghrib.” It has a mixed population. It is controlled by a group of Persians called the Banū Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam al-Fārisi.<sup>705</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam had served as governor of Ifrīqiya, and his descendants moved to Tāhart. They became Ibāḍīs and came to lead the Ibāḍī movement. They are (now) the leaders of the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib. Adjoining the city of Tāhart is a large area ruled from Tāhart under the authority of Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam. The fortress on the seacoast at which the ships of Tāhart anchor is called Marsā Farūkh.

### *The Peninsula of al-Andalus and Its Cities*

Whoever wishes to travel to the peninsula of al-Andalus goes overland from al-Qayrawān to Tunis, as we have mentioned. Tunis is on the coast of the Salt Sea. Then he sails the Salt Sea, hugging the coast for ten days and not going far out to sea, until he is across from the peninsula of al-Andalus at a place called Tanas,<sup>706</sup> which is a four days’ journey from Tāhart. Or he can travel (overland) to (the region of) Tāhart and proceed from there to the peninsula—the peninsula of al-Andalus. The traveler crosses the main channel in a day | and a night and arrives in the region of Tudmīr,<sup>707</sup> a large and prosperous region with two cities, one called al-‘Askar, the other, Lūrqa,<sup>708</sup> each of which possesses a *minbar*.<sup>709</sup> Then he leaves that region for the city where the one holding power from the Umayyad dynasty resides, a city called Córdoba.<sup>710</sup> The journey takes six days from this place, through densely spaced villages, cultivated lands, meadows, valleys, rivers, springs, and cultivated fields. Before reaching the city of Córdoba from Tudmīr, the traveler arrives at a city called Elvira,<sup>711</sup> which was settled by Arabs who had come to the area from the military

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704 On this town in western Algeria (Modern Tagdemt or Tihert), see the article by Mohamed Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tāhart.

705 That is, the Rustamid dynasty. See note 655 above.

706 Modern Ténès, about midway between Algiers and Oran on the Mediterranean coast.

707 Tudmīr, the older name for the region of Murcia, is derived from the name of the last Visigothic governor of the area, Theodemir, who surrendered his territory to the Arabs in 94/713. See the article by L. Molina in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tudmīr.

708 Spanish, Lorca.

709 Literally, “a pulpit,” that is, has a congregational mosque.

710 Arabic, Qurṭuba; see the article by C. F. Seybold and M. Ocaña Jiménez in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qurṭuba.

711 Arabic, Ilbīra; see the article by J. F. P. Hopkins in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ilbīra.

district (*jund*) of Damascus. They are from the tribal faction of Muḍar—the bulk of them from Qays—with small contingents from other Arab tribes. It is a two days' journey from Córdoba. To the west (of Córdoba) is a city called Reyjo,<sup>712</sup> which was settled by (men from) the military district (*jund*) of Jordan, who are all from various clans of (the tribal faction of) Yemen. West of Reyjo is a city called Sidonia,<sup>713</sup> which was settled by (men from) the military district (*jund*) of Ḥimṣ. Most of them belong to (the tribal faction of) Yemen, but there are a few who belong to Nizār. West of Sidonia is a city called Algeciras,<sup>714</sup> which was settled by Berbers, with a few Arabs of mixed origins. West of the city of Algeciras is a city called Seville.<sup>715</sup> It is on a large river which is also the river of Córdoba.<sup>716</sup> In the year 229,<sup>717</sup> the pagans (*majūs*) who are called al-Rūs entered the city, took prisoners, looted, burned, and killed.<sup>718</sup> West of Seville is a city called Niebla,<sup>719</sup> which was settled by the Arabs who first entered the area with Ṭāriq, the client (*mawlā*) of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī.<sup>720</sup> West of it is a city called Beja,<sup>721</sup> which was also settled by the Arabs who accompanied Ṭāriq. West of it, on the Atlantic Ocean,<sup>722</sup> is a city called Lisbon,<sup>723</sup> and also to

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- 712 Arabic, Rayya (probably to be read as Rayyu). See the article by E. Lévi-Provençal and J.-P. Molénat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rayya.
- 713 Arabic, Shadūna; see the article by F. Roldan Castro in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shadūna.
- 714 Arabic, al-Jazīra, short for al-Jazīra al-Khaḍrā' (the Green Island, or Isla Verde); see the article by H. Huici Miranda in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djazīra al-Khaḍrā'.
- 715 Arabic, Ishbīliya; see the article by J. Bosch-Vilá and H. Terrasse in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ishbīliya.
- 716 The river is the Guadalquivir (from Arabic, al-Wādī al-Kabīr, the Great River); see the article by R. Pinilla-Melguizo in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Wādī 'l-Kabīr.
- 717 229 A.H. = September 30, 843 – September 17, 844.
- 718 Majūs in this context refers not to the Zoroastrians of Iran, but to the Vikings, as does the term Rūs. Al-Ya'qūbī is referring to the attack on Seville by Norse Vikings. After appearing in the estuary of the Tagus in August 844, the Viking fleet of 54 longboats sailed south and then up the Guadalquivir, arriving at Seville in October 844 and subjecting the city to seven days of mayhem. It was not until the following month that Abd al-Raḥmān II inflicted a defeat on them, forcing the survivors to flee. See the article by A. Melvinger, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Majūs.
- 719 Arabic, Labla, which is close to the city's ancient name, Ilipla. See the article by J. Bosch-Vilá in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Labla.
- 720 That is, Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, the first Muslim conqueror of Andalusia.
- 721 Arabic, Bāja, the city Beja in southern Portugal, about 127 km northwest of Niebla; see the article by María Luisa Ávila in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Beja.
- 722 Arabic *al-Baḥr al-Mālīḥ al-Muḥīṭ*: literally, "the Surrounding Salt Sea."
- 723 Arabic, al-Ushbūna; lying about 135 km northwest of Beja; see the article by Amin Tibi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ushbūna.

the west on the sea is a city called Ocsonoba.<sup>724</sup> Such is western al-Andalus, the part that abuts the sea, which leads to the Khazar Sea.<sup>725</sup> East of this city<sup>726</sup> is a city called Mérida,<sup>727</sup> situated on a large river, four days west<sup>728</sup> of Córdoba. Mérida lies opposite the land of the infidels.<sup>729</sup> One race of them is called the Galicians (*al-jalāliqa*) and they | (dwell within) the peninsula (itself).

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Leaving Córdoba, one travels east to a city called Jaén.<sup>730</sup> Former members of the *jund* of Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim live there—a mixture of Arabs from Maʿadd and Yemen. From Jaén one goes north to the city of Toledo.<sup>731</sup> Toledo is a majestic and well-protected city—there is no better-protected city in the peninsula. Its people, who are a mixture of Arabs, Berbers, and non-Arab clients, are opposed to the Banū Umayya. It has a great river called the Duero.<sup>732</sup> From Toledo, heading east,<sup>733</sup> one arrives at a city called Guadalajara,<sup>734</sup> which used to be governed by a Berber called [...] b. Faraj al-Ṣanhājī, a supporter of the Banū Umayya. His descendants and offspring live in this region to this day. From there, one travels east to Zaragoza.<sup>736</sup> It is one of the largest of the frontier-towns of al-Andalus, on a river called the Ebro.<sup>737</sup> North of Zaragoza is a city called Tudela,<sup>738</sup> opposite the land of the infidels who are called Basques

724 Arabic, Uḥsūnuba (more commonly Ukshūnuba): the province of Algarve and its main city of Faro on the southern coast of Portugal. See the article by Ch. Picard in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ukshūnuba.

725 Like many other geographers of his time, al-Yaʿqūbī believed that the Ocean (the Atlantic) encircled the Afro-Eurasian land-mass. The Khazar (Caspian) Sea was held to be merely a northern branch of these same waters.

726 More accurately, northeast of Ocsonoba (Faro) and inland.

727 Arabic, Mārida, in Spain, about 265 km northeast of Faro; see the article by E. Lévi-Provençal in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mārida.

728 More accurately, about 180 km northwest.

729 Referring to the persistence of Christian rule in the north and northwestern parts of the peninsula.

730 Arabic, Jayyān; see the article by A. Huici-Miranda in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djayyān.

731 Arabic, Ṭlayṭula; see the article by E. Lévi-Provençal and J. P. Molénat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭlayṭula.

732 Arabic, Duwayr. Al-Yaʿqūbī or his source has confused the Tagus (Arabic, Tājuh), which flows by Toledo, with the Duero of northern Spain.

733 More accurately, about 115 km northeast.

734 Arabic, Wādī l-Ḥijāra (Valley of the Stones); see the article by Cristina de la Puente in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wādī l-Ḥijāra.

735 The unpunctuated letters are too ambiguous to read.

736 Arabic, Saraquṣṭa, about 225 km northeast of Guadalajara; see the article by M. J. Vigueira in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Saraquṣṭa.

737 Arabic, Abruḥ; see the article by J. F. P. Hopkins in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibruḥ.

738 Arabic, Tuṭila; see the article by Maria J. Vígiera in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tuṭila.



(*al-baskuns*). North of this city lies a city called Huesca,<sup>739</sup> which borders on the (land of) a Frankish race of people called Gascons.<sup>740</sup> South of Zaragoza is a city called Tortosa.<sup>741</sup> It is the farthest of the frontier-towns of eastern al-Andalus, and borders on the (land of) the Franks. It lies on the river that flows down from Zaragoza. Traveling west from Tortosa, one reaches a region called Valencia,<sup>742</sup> a vast and majestic region settled by Berber tribes who give no obedience to the Banū Umayya. They have a great river in an area called Alcira.<sup>743</sup> From there, one travels to the region of Tudmīr, the first region (in this account). Such is the peninsula of al-Andalus and its cities.



*We Return to the Account of Tāhart on the Main Road of the Maghrib*

356 From the city of Tāhart and the area subject to Ibn Aflaḥ al-Rustamī (the traveler reaches) the principality of | a man from the Hawwāra called Ibn Masāla al-Ibādī, who, nevertheless, is opposed to Ibn Aflaḥ and makes war on him.<sup>744</sup> The city in which he resides is called al-Jabal. From there, it is a half-day's journey to a city called Yalal, near the Salt Sea. It has farms, villages, cultivated lands, fields, and trees. From the principality of Ibn Masāla al-Hawwārī (one comes) again to a principality belonging to the Banū Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan,<sup>745</sup> other than the principality that we mentioned above, which was the city of Madkara. (These Banū Muḥammad b. Sulaymān) reside in the chief city, which is called Thamṭilās. The populace of this principality consists of tribesmen from clans of all the Berber tribes, most of them being tribesmen called the Banū Maṭmāṭa.<sup>746</sup> They are numerous clans, having in their principality a great city called Ayzraj, in which some of them reside. The

739 Arabic, Washqa; see the article by B. Catlos in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Washqa.

740 Arabic, al-Jāsqaš.

741 Arabic, Ṭurṭūsha. More accurately, southeast of Zaragoza; see the article by Maria J. Viguera in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭurṭūsha.

742 Arabic, Balansiya; see the article by E. Lévi-Provençal in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Balansiya.

743 Arabic, al-Shuqr. The region lies south of the city of Valencia. The modern Catalan name of the river, Xúquer, continues the Arabic. See the article by A. Huici-Miranda in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djazīrat Shuqr.

744 'Nevertheless,' because as an Ibādī, he might be expected to support a fellow member of the same sect.

745 Cf. ed. Leiden, 352, where they are called "the descendants (*wuld*) of Muḥammad b. Sulayman ..." *Wuld* and *Banū* are synonymous.

746 On this large Berber tribe, see the article by T. Lewicki in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maṭmāṭa.

people of this city are Maṭmāṭa. Another city, controlled by a man of theirs named ʿUbaydallāh, is called al-Ḥasana (The Beautiful), if one translates the name from Berber into Arabic. Then (one continues) to the greatest and most renowned city in the Maghrib, which is called Tlemcen.<sup>747</sup> It is surrounded by walls of stone, which in turn have other stone walls behind them. Tlemcen has a large population and lofty palaces and dwellings. It is the residence of a man named Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. In the environs of the city are Berber tribesmen called Miknāsa and [S ...].<sup>748</sup> From there (one continues) to the city named Madīnat al-ʿAlawiyyīn (City of the ʿAlids), which was under the control of ʿAlids descended from Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. Then they abandoned it, and one of the sons of the kings of the Zanāta, called ʿAlī b. Ḥāmid b. Marḥūm al-Zanātī, settled in it. From there one continues to a city called Numālata, where Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān resides. The farthest part of the principality of the Banū Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan is the city of Fālūsan, which is a large city whose people | belong to Berber clans from the Maṭmāṭa, Tarja, Jazzūla, Ṣan-hāja, Injifa and [...].<sup>749</sup> 357

After the principality of the Banū Muḥammad b. Sulaymān comes the principality of a man named Ṣāliḥ b. Saʿīd, who claims to be from (the Yemeni tribe of) Ḥimyar, but the local people say that he is a native from the (Berber tribe of) Nafza. The name of his chief city, in which he resides, is Nakūr, which is on the Salt Sea.<sup>750</sup> From this city, one of the descendants of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, along with his companions from the house of Marwān, crossed over into the peninsula of al-Andalus as they fled from the Banū l-ʿAbbās.<sup>751</sup> The principality of Ṣāliḥ b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī extends for a ten days' journey amid cultivated lands, fortresses, villages, dwellings, fields, livestock, and fertile land. The farthest part of his principality is a city called [M ...],<sup>752</sup> atop a mountain, which has rivers, valleys, and cultivated lands beneath it.

From there one continues to the principality of the Banū Idrīs b. Idrīs b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—may God's peace be upon

747 Arabic, Tilimsān; see the article by A. Bel and M. Yalaoui in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tilimsān.

748 The unpointed letters of the tribal name are too ambiguous to read.

749 The unpointed letters of the tribal name are too ambiguous to read.

750 On the city and its rulers, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nakūr (Nukūr).

751 Al-Yaʿqūbī is referring to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya b. Hishām, who escaped the overthrow of the Marwānīd branch of the Umayyad dynasty during the ʿAbbāsīd Revolution and fled into al-Andalus where he established his own kingdom, ruling from 138/756 to 172/788; see the article by Luis Molina in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya.

752 The unpointed letters are too ambiguous to read.

him.<sup>753</sup> The border of their principality is a place called Ghumayra, which is the residence of a man named ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar b. Idrīs. Then one continues to a place called Malḥāṣ (the Refuge), because of a caravanserai there where the pilgrims coming from al-Sūs al-Aqṣā and Tangier gather. It is controlled by ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Idrīs. Then one continues to Qal’at Ṣadīna, a large place in which Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Idrīs resides. From Qal’at Ṣadīna to the great river called [L ...]<sup>754</sup> there are fortresses, cultivated lands, and a large region controlled by a descendant of Dāwūd b. Idrīs b. Idrīs. (One continues) to a river called the Sabū, controlled by Ḥamza b. Dāwūd b. Idrīs b. Idrīs. Then one enters  
 358 the chief city, called Ifrīqiya City, on the great river called | Fez.<sup>755</sup> Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Idrīs b. Idrīs resides there. It is a majestic city, with many cultivated lands and dwellings. On the west bank of the Fez River, a river said to be larger than all other rivers of the world, there are 3,000 mills that grind.<sup>756</sup> The city known as City of the People of al-Andalus,<sup>757</sup> is where Dāwūd b. Idrīs resides. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and Dāwūd b. Idrīs are each opposed to the other, resisting and making war upon one another. At the extreme limits of (the river) of Fez is a city called [...],<sup>758</sup> which has been settled by the Barqasāna, a group of indigenous Berbers. Along the Fez River there are majestic cultivated lands, villages, estates, and farms on both banks. Its waters come from springs to the south, although they say that the river neither increases nor decreases. It flows into the river called the Sabū, which we have already mentioned, and the Sabū empties into the Salt Sea. The principality of the Banū Idrīs is vast and large.

753 That is, the Idrīsīd dynasty of Morocco, ruled from 172/789 to 314/926. The Idrīsīds were descendants of ‘Alī through the Ḥasanīd line. See the article by D. Eustache in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Idrīsīds (Adārīsa).

754 The unpointed letters are too ambiguous to read.

755 Arabic, Fās; see the article by R. Le Tourneau and H. Terrasse in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fās.

756 The text of this section is only partially legible. The original copyist omitted a large chunk of text and, upon noticing his omission, wrote the text in the margin. Unfortunately, the margin has been torn. De Goeje in his note to this passage suggested reading *lil-madīna* for *al-madīna*. This would give the meaning, “3,000 mills that grind *for* the city known as the City of the People of al-Andalus, which is where ...” A city so populous as to require 3,000 mills to grind the flour for its bread is unlikely. Also, this would place the City of the People of al-Andalus on the west side of the Fez River: it is really on the east side. The translation therefore holds to the text as published, defective as it may be.

757 Arabic *Madīnat Ahl al-Andalus*. This is no doubt a reference to the quarter of Fez known as ‘Adwat al-Andalus.

758 The tear in the ms has obliterated the name.

Abū Maʿbad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn b. ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam al-Tāharti<sup>759</sup> told me: Tāhart is a large, populous city located amid mountains and valleys without any empty areas. Between it and the Salt Sea is a journey of three stages on level terrain. Some of the terrain is occupied by marshy salt flats (*sibākh*) and by a watercourse called Wādī Shalif,<sup>760</sup> along which there are villages and cultivated lands that it inundates just as the Nile of Egypt inundates. Along it people grow safflower, flax, sesame, and other seed-plants. The river continues to a mountain called Anqabaq; then it goes on to the region of Nafza, and then it reaches the Salt Sea.

The people of the city of Tāhart obtain their water from rivers and springs, some of which come from the plain, while others come from a mountain to the south called Jazzūl. The crops of that region never suffer at all, unless afflicted by wind or cold. It is a mountainous region that stretches to Sūs. The people of Sūs call it Daran; in Tāhart, they call it the Jazzūl; | and in the Zāb, they call it Aurès.<sup>761</sup> 359

Whoever leaves Tāhart by the southwest road arrives at a city called Awzkā, three stages away. It is controlled by a lineage of the Zanāta called the Banū Masra. Their chief was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ūdamūt b. Sinān. After him, power passed to his descendants, and a son of his called Zayd moved to a place called [Th ...],<sup>762</sup> and his descendants are (still) there. From the city of Awzkā one travels west by road to territory belonging to the Zanāta. Then one continues to the city of Sijilmāsa after traveling for seven stages or so, depending on how fast or slowly one travels. The route is through sparsely populated villages and partly through desert.

### *Sijilmāsa*

Sijilmāsa is a city on a river called the Zīz.<sup>763</sup> It has neither springs nor wells. Between it and the sea is a journey of many stages. The population of Sijilmāsa is mixed; the Berbers, most of them Ṣanhāja, are in control there. Their crops are millet and sorghum. They farm with the rains because of the scarcity of water among them: if they get no rain, they raise no crops. To the city of Sijilmāsa belong villages known as those of the Banū Darʿa, among which is a city of no great size called Tāmdalt, belonging to Yaḥyā b. Idrīs al-ʿAlawī, which is

759 Al-Yaʿqūbī's informant was a minor Rustamid prince, as indicated by his genealogy.

760 Conventionally, Oued Chélif, Algeria's largest river.

761 Arabic, Aurès.

762 The unpointed letters are too ambiguous to read.

763 On this city, now mostly in ruins, located on the fringes of the desert in southeastern Morocco about 300 km southeast of Fez, see the article by M. Terrasse in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sidjilmāsa*.

overlooked by a fortress. ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs came from Tāmdalt. Around it there are mines of gold and silver, which can be found (on the surface) like plants: it is said that the winds blow it about. A group of Berbers called the Banū Tarjā are in control of the people there.

### *Al-Sūs al-Aqṣā*

360 From the city called Tāmdalt one proceeds to a city called al-Sūs, which is al-Sūs al-Aqṣā (Farthest Sūs).<sup>764</sup> It was settled by the Banū ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs b. Idrīs. It has a mixed Berber population, with the Madāsa in control. From Sūs one proceeds to | a region called Aghmāt, a fertile region with pasturage and fields amid plains and mountains. Its people are Ṣanhāja Berbers. From Aghmāt one continues to Māssa, a village on the sea to which commercial goods are brought. It contains a mosque known as the Mosque of Bahlūl and a *ribāṭ* on the seacoast. The sea near the Mosque of Bahlūl is (an anchorage) for stitched boats (like those) built at Ubulla that one uses to sail to China.<sup>765</sup>

Whoever travels south by road from Sijilmāsa toward the land of the Blacks,<sup>766</sup> (inhabited by) various black tribes, travels through wasteland and desert for a distance of fifty days’ journey. One then encounters a group of Ṣanhāja called the Anbiya in the desert; they have no fixed dwelling. They all wrap their faces with the tails of their turbans, and this is their custom. They do not wear tunics, but only wrap their bodies in their robes. They live off camels, having neither crops nor food derived from grain.<sup>767</sup> Then (one continues) to a region called Ghast, a cultivated valley with dwellings in it, where a king of theirs resides. He has neither religion nor religious law and raids the regions of the Blacks, who have many principalities.

764 On this district of southern Morocco, see the article by E. Lévi-Provençal and Cl. Lefébure in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Sūs al-Aqṣā.

765 For long commercial voyages on rough seas, sailors often employed boats with relatively flexible hulls composed of planks woven together with rope rather than attached with nails or pegs. See Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, 91–97.

766 Arabic *arḍ al-sūdān*: for Arabic geographers the term covers all of sub-Saharan Africa, not merely the modern Sudan.

767 Arabic *ṭa‘ām*, usually means *food* in general, but the dictionaries note that it is often used for wheat and barley (in the Hijāz) or for millet (in Yemen), and that seems to be the meaning here. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 5:1854, s.v.

*Colophon*<sup>768</sup>

Thus is completed *The Book of Regions*.<sup>769</sup> Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds. May God bless Muhammad the Prophet and his Pure Household. ‘Alī b. Abī Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Kindī al-Anmāṭī wrote it out, may God pardon him and whatever he has said. Amen! Praise be to God, who is sufficient in His benediction, and blessings on Muhammad and his Household. Work on this copy was finished the morning of Saturday, 21 Shawwāl of the year 607.<sup>770</sup> The work was composed by Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb b. Wāḍiḥ al-Kātib.

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768 The colophon of the Munich MS is given in a note in the Leiden edition.

769 Arabic *Kitāb al-Buldān*.

770 April 6, 1211.



## Fragments







A Fragments from the Lost Part of the Geography<sup>771</sup>

361

1. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb, the author of *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* (*The Book of Routes and Principalities*), said: There are 7,000 mosques in Basra.<sup>772</sup>

2. Ibn Abī Ya‘qūb mentions that the waters (of the river of Ahwāz) come from two watercourses. One rises from Isfahan and flows past the Shādhurwān of Tustar,<sup>773</sup> ‘Askar Mukram, and Jundishāpūr. It has a bridge across it that is 563 paces long and is called al-Masruqān. The other watercourse rises from Hamadhān and flows on to al-Sūs; it is called al-Hinduwān. Then the two watercourses flow toward Manādhir al-Kubrā, where one flows into the other, forming one river called the Dujayl al-Ahwāz. From there it flows to al-Ahwāz and continues until it empties into the Persian Gulf near Ḥiṣn Mahdī. In the summer it dries up and the riverbed becomes a road that the caravans use. [The people of this region have a special dialect that sounds like gibberish, but the Persian language is the most common among them.]<sup>774</sup>

3. Shiraz | is the chief city of Fārs. It is a great and majestic city in which the governors reside. It is so spacious that there is not a single dwelling in it whose master does not have in it a garden with all kinds of fruits, herbs, vegetables, and everything else that grows in gardens. Its inhabitants obtain their drinking water from springs that flow into rivers that come from mountains on which snow falls.<sup>775</sup> 362

4. Al-Ya‘qūbī said: [Naṣībīn] is a great city with many rivers, gardens, and orchards. It has a large river called al-Hirmās, which has an ancient Roman

771 See notes 501 and 502 above.

772 Source: al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi ikhtirāq al-āfāq* (Leiden, 1970–1984), 383.

773 The Shādhurwān of Tustar (from Persian *shādurwān*, curtain or tapestry; halo) was an architectural marvel commented upon by many visitors to Tustar. From the description in Yāqūt, s.v. Tustar, it appears to be a steep, massive aquaduct or, at least, the above-ground portion of a larger *qanāt* that brought water from the river inside the city walls. This appears to be corroborated by modern archaeological work done in the city (see *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XIII, trans. G. H. A. Juynboll, 227–228). Pace De Goeje, in his *Glossarium* to volumes 7 and 8 of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, xxvii, this has nothing to do with the Shādhurwān in Mecca, which is the low, semi-circular wall that abuts the north face of the Ka‘ba also known as al-Ḥaṭīm.

774 Source: Al-Waṭwāt, *Manāhij al-fikar wa-mabāhij al-‘ibar*, 1:346–347. The phrase in brackets may not belong to al-Ya‘qūbī’s original text.

775 Source: Al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, 3:43.

stone bridge over it. Its people are Arabs from the Banū Taghlib of Rabīʿa. Ghanm b. ʿIyād al-Ghanmī conquered it in the reign of ʿUmar—may God be pleased with him—in the year 18.<sup>776</sup>

5. Ibn Wāḍih said: The Second Qinnasrīn is Ḥiyār Banī l-Qaʿqāʿ.<sup>777</sup>

6. Ibn Wāḍih included Martaḥwān and the district (*kūra*) of Miṣrīn in the district (*kūra*) of Aleppo.<sup>778</sup>

7. Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb said: Al-Manṣūr<sup>779</sup> built the city of al-Maṣṣīša during his reign—before that it had been a garrison—and al-Maʿmūn<sup>780</sup> built Kafarbayyā. The river Jayḥān flows between them. Over the river is a large ancient stone bridge with three arches on an area of high ground.<sup>781</sup>

8. Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb said: In addition to these three cities (Antioch, al-Maṣṣīša, and Tarsus) the Syrian Thughūr<sup>782</sup> also includes the city of ʿAyn Zarba, which is in the environs of al-Maṣṣīša.<sup>783</sup>

9. Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb said: The city of Malatya is ancient, one of the constructions of Alexander. In the lands of the Romans it is famous and borders Syria.<sup>784</sup>

10. Al-Yaʿqūbī said: Malatya is the chief city. It was ancient, but the Romans destroyed it. Al-Manṣūr rebuilt it in the year 139,<sup>785</sup> enclosed it with a single wall, and moved a number of Arab tribes to it. He also said: It is on level ground

776 Source: Ibid., 2:61. Ghanm b. ʿIyād al-Ghanmī is a copyist's error for ʿIyād b. Ghanm al-Fihri, the Muslim conqueror of northern Iraq.

777 Source: Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Taʾriḫ Ḥalab*, 164. Cf. Fragments C5, C10.

778 Source: Ibid., 166. Cf. Fragment C12.

779 ʿAbbāsīd caliph, r. 136–158/754–775; his rebuilding of al-Maṣṣīša has been noted above, ed. Leiden, 238.

780 ʿAbbāsīd caliph, r. 198–218/813–833.

781 Source: Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Taʾriḫ Ḥalab*, 177–178. Cf. Fragments C18 & C19. Cf. Abū l-Fidāʾ, *Taqwīm al-buldān* (Paris, 1840), 251.

782 That is, the frontier with Byzantium; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Thughūr.

783 Source: Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Taʾriḫ Ḥalab*, 182. Cf. Fragment C22.

784 Source: Ibid., 193. Cf. Fragment C26.

785 139 A.H. = June 5, 756 – May 24, 757. On the destruction of the town by Constantine VI in 133/750 and its subsequent rebuilding in the reign of al-Manṣūr, mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 238, see the article by E. Honigsmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Malatya.

surrounded by the mountains of the Romans. Its water comes from springs and watercourses coming from the Euphrates.<sup>786</sup>

11. Ibn Abī Ya‘qūb said: Ra‘bān and Dulūk are two districts close to each other. 363  
Dulūk is a famous ancient city and used to be populous. It has a high citadel of stone built by the Romans. It used to have an aqueduct set on arches upon which the water ascended to the citadel. In its environs there are pleasant houses carved into the stone. In its environs there are many sources of water and orchards with abundant fruit. It is said that the stopping-place of David—upon him be peace—was located here. From there he outfitted the army to attack Qūrus, and Ūrīya b. Ḥannān was killed there.<sup>787</sup> [The city and the citadel were destroyed and it survives today as a village inhabited by peasants.]<sup>788</sup>

12. Ibn Shaddād said: Ibn Abī Ya‘qūb mentioned [Kaysūm] in his *Kitāb al-Buldān* (*Book of Regions*) as one of the (cities of the frontier district of) al-‘Awāšim.<sup>789</sup>

13. Ibn Abī Ya‘qūb said: Manbij is an ancient city that was conquered by treaty granted by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ under the authority of Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. It is on the main part of the Euphrates.<sup>790</sup>

14. Aḥmad al-Kātib said: Adhana was built by al-Rashīd.<sup>791</sup> He is also the one who built Tarsus.<sup>792</sup>

15. Aḥmad al-Kātib said: Alexandretta<sup>793</sup> is a city on the coast of the Roman Sea near Antioch. Aḥmad b. Abī Du‘ād al-Iyādī rebuilt it in the caliphate of al-Wāthiq.<sup>794</sup>

786 Source: Al-Sharīshī 3:62. Cf. Fragment c26.

787 Ra‘bān, Dulūk, and Qūrus are towns in the border area called al-‘Awāšim. Ūrīya is Uriah the Hittite, the husband of Bathsheba, mentioned in 2 Samuel 11.

788 Source: Ibn al-Shiḥna, 219. Cf. Fragment c28. The sentence in brackets is from Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285), Ibn al-Shiḥna’s ultimate source, not al-Ya‘qūbī.

789 Source: Ibid., 221. Cf. Fragment c30.

790 Source: Ibid., 222. Cf. Fragment c8.

791 More precisely, al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809) rebuilt these cities.

792 Source: Abū l-Fidā’, 249. Cf. Fragment c21.

793 Arabic: Bāb Iskandarūna.

794 Source: Abū l-Fidā’, 255. Cf. Fragment c25. Aḥmad b. Abī Du‘ād al-Iyādī was chief judge under the ‘Abbāsids starting with al-Mu‘taṣim (r. 218–227/833–842) until the year 232/847,

16. Tiflis is a city in Armenia 30 farsakhs from Qālīqalā.<sup>795</sup> At Qālīqalā a number of large rivers have their source. The first of them is the Euphrates, which has been mentioned already. It<sup>796</sup> begins two farsakhs from Qālīqalā, then branches off to the west to Dabīl, [continues] to Warthān, and then empties into the Khazar Sea. The second is the Kurr,<sup>797</sup> which flows from the city of Qālīqalā then branches off to the city of Tiflis and flows east | to the city of Bardha'a<sup>798</sup> and its hinterland. Then it approaches the Khazar Sea and joins with the Aras (al-Rass), so that they flow as one river. It is said that beyond the Aras there are 300 ruined cities. These are the cities to which Almighty God referred, along with the people of al-Rass.<sup>799</sup> He sent to them Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān, but they put him to death and so they were destroyed. Other accounts have been given about the people of al-Rass. Armenia is divided into three parts. The first part includes the cities of Dabīl, Qālīqalā, Khilāt, Shimshāt, and al-Sawād. The second part includes the cities of Bardha'a, al-Baylaqān, Qabala, and Bāb al-Abwāb.<sup>800</sup> The third part includes the city of Jurzān, the city of Tiflis, and the city known as Masjid Dhī l-Qarnayn (The Mosque of Alexander the Great). Armenia was conquered in the caliphate of 'Uthmān by Salmān b. Rabi'a al-Bāhili in the year 24.<sup>801</sup>

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in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. He died in 240/854. Al-Wāthiq reigned from 227–232/842–847.

795 On Tiflis (Arabic, Tiflīs), see the article V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tiflis; on Qālīqalā or Qālī (modern Erzurum); see the article by Halil İnalçik in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Erzurum.

796 As De Goeje noted, the sentence cannot refer to the Euphrates, which does not flow into the Khazar/Caspian Sea. Since Warthān was located on the Aras/al-Rass, which leads to the Kurr river before emptying into the Caspian Sea, it is probably that river, or a portion of it, that al-Ya'qūbī is discussing here.

797 Modern Kura.

798 Throughout, De Goeje reads this as Barda'a.

799 Arabic *Aṣḥāb al-Rass* (Qur'ān, 25:38). Commentators expanded the enigmatic reference by supplying a pre-Islamic prophet, Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān, who warned his people (the *Aṣḥāb al-Rass*) not to worship an idol, but was killed, after which God destroyed their city. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Aṣḥāb al-Rass*.

800 Bāb al-Abwāb (the Gate of Gates), or simply al-Bāb, was located near modern Derbend on the western shore of the Caspian Sea. It was a massive fortification believed to have been built by Alexander the Great, but was in fact a Sasanian foundation designed to keep their Khazar enemies penned in to the north. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bāb al-Abwāb.

801 Source: Al-Sharīshī, 3:6. De Goeje adds: "Al-Ya'qūbī is not mentioned, but the account is at least partly taken from his book." 24 A.H. = November 7, 644 – October 27, 645.

17. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb said: Armenia is in three parts. The first part includes Qālīqalā, Khilāṭ, Shimshāṭ, and everything in between. The second part includes Jurzān, Tiflis, the city of Bāb al-Lān, and everything in between. The third part includes Bardha‘a, which is the chief-city of Arrān, al-Baylaqān, and Bāb al-Abwāb.<sup>802</sup>

18. Aḥmad b. Wāḍiḥ al-Iṣbahānī mentioned that he resided for a long time in the land of Armenia,<sup>803</sup> | worked as a secretary for a number of its kings and 290  
governors, and had never seen a land more abounding in amenities or | richer in 291  
wildlife. He mentioned that the number of its principalities is 113, among them the principality of the Master of al-Sarīr<sup>804</sup> between al-Lān and Bāb al-Abwāb. Leading to it there are only two roads: a road leading to the land of the Khazars, and a road leading to the lands of Armenia, comprising 18,000 villages. Arrān is the first principality of Armenia, comprising 4,000 villages, most of them villages of the Master of al-Sarīr.

He mentioned that Bāb al-Abwāb is a wall that Anūshirwān<sup>805</sup> built and that one end of it lies in the sea. Its base extends from the sea to a point at which crossing is impossible. It extends seven farsakhs to an area of rough and rocky terrain where passage through is impossible. It is built of square carved blocks, each one no less than 50 feet [in length], and these blocks still remain.<sup>806</sup> The blocks were interlocked with the other blocks using pegs. In these seven farsakhs (of wall) were built seven roads, each road with a compound on it in which was garrisoned a group of Persian soldiers called the Siyāsikīn.

He mentioned that a levy of men was imposed upon the people of Armenia to guard the wall and its gates. Each of the seven roads has a gate. The width of the wall at the top is such that twenty horsemen can pass along it without crowding one another. At the city of al-Bāb, at the Gate of Jihād, atop the wall there are two stone columns. Atop each column is the image of a lion made of

802 Source: Abū l-Fidā’, 387.

803 De Goeje stops here and does not provide the complete text of this lengthy fragment, found in Ibn al-Faqīh, 290–292. What follows has been supplied from Ibn al-Faqīh (as did Wiet, 232–233); page references in this excerpt (in *italics* in the margin) refer to the Leiden edition of Ibn al-Faqīh.

804 A local ruler renowned for the golden throne (*sarīr*) that the Sasanian Shah Khusraw I Anūshirwān (r. 531–579 C.E.) bestowed on his ancestor. See al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:382.

805 Khusraw I Anūshirwān (r. 531–579 C.E.).

806 The measurement used by al-Ya‘qūbī (Ar. *rīl*) here is not very common or exact. As in English, the measurement also literally means “foot,” as in the appendage, so we can take it to mean something less than 12 inches.

white stone. At the foot of the two columns are two stones with images of lions on them. Near the gate is a stone image of a man with, between his legs, an image of a fox with a cluster of grapes in his mouth. Next to the city is a cistern  
 292 known as the Cistern of Ma'rūf. It has stairs, | by which one can descend into the cistern when water is scarce. On both sides of the stairway are lions of stone; on one of them is a stone image of a man. At the Gate of Governance is an image of two lions, also of stone, standing outside the wall. The people of al-Bāb say that they are the talismans of the city wall.<sup>807</sup>

## B Fragments from Other Works<sup>808</sup>

- 364 1. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl b. Sa'īd al-Tamīmī al-Maqdisī said in his book entitled *Perfume for the Bride and Basil for the Souls*:<sup>809</sup> Musk is of many kinds and varieties. The finest and most expensive is from Tibet. It is obtained from a place called Dhū Samt, two months' journey from Tibet, transported from there to Tibet, and then carried to Khurāsān ... He also said: Aḥmad b.  
 365 Abī Ya'qūb, a client of the Banū l-'Abbās, said: A group of men knowledgeable | about sources of musk mentioned to me that its sources in the land of Tibet and elsewhere are well-known. The importers build there constructions resembling a lighthouse<sup>810</sup> a cubit in height. The animal, in whose navel the musk forms, comes and rubs its navel against this "lighthouse" until the navel falls off right there. The importers then come at a time of year known to them and gather (the musk) as they like. When they bring it into Tibet, they must pay a tithe from it ... He also said: The finest musk comes from gazelles that feed on a grass called *al-kadahmas*, which grows in Tibet and Kashmir, or one of the two. Ibn Abī Ya'qūb mentioned that the name of this grass is *al-kandahasah*.<sup>811</sup>

807 It was common in the medieval Near East to attribute talismanic properties (against sickness, snake-bite, infertility, etc.) to certain distinctively carved stones or ancient spolia purposely or accidentally imbedded in the fabric of city walls. Such stones were said to protect the inhabitants from all such maladies or pests.

808 The translation here returns to the Leiden edition of the *Buldān*.

809 The reading of the title as *Ṭib al-'arūs wa-rayḥān al-nufūs*, for De Goeje's *Jayb al-'arūs* ..., is confirmed in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī šinā'at al-inshā'*, 2:126.

810 Arabic *manār*. The word (literally, a place for light) could denote a lighthouse, a minaret, or an obelisk, among other things, as documented by Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:744.

811 Fragments B1–B12 are from al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, 12:1–8, the most detailed Arabic account of musk. See the article by A. Dietrich in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Musk.

2. Aḥmad b. Abi Ya'qūb said: The finest musk is the Tibetan; after it, Sogdian musk; after Sogdian, Chinese musk. The finest Chinese musk is that which comes from Canton.<sup>812</sup> This is the great city that is the port of China where the ships of Muslim merchants anchor. The musk is then transported by sea to al-Zuqāq.<sup>813</sup> By the time it approaches the region of al-Ubulla, its scent is so strong that the merchants cannot hide it from the tithe agents. Once it is removed from the ships, its scent becomes good and the scent of the sea dissipates from it.

Next comes Indian musk, which is what is imported from Tibet to India, then carried to al-Daybul and shipped across the sea. It is inferior to the first sort.

After Indian musk comes the musk of Qinqār. This is a good musk, although it is inferior to the Tibetan in value, essence (*al-jawhar*), color, and scent. It is obtained from a land called Qinqār, between China and Tibet. Sometimes they cheat and pass it off as Tibetan.

He said: Following this in quality is the musk of the Ṭughuz-Ughuz. It is a heavy musk, tending toward black. It is obtained from the land of the Ṭughuz-Ughuz Turks. The merchants import it and try to cheat with it, but it has neither essence nor color. It is slow to grind and is not devoid of roughness.

Following this in quality is the musk of Qīṣār. It is obtained from a little region called Qīṣār, between India and China. He said: It can approach the Chinese musk, but is inferior to it in value, essence, and scent.

He said: Then there is the musk of Khirjiz.<sup>814</sup> It is a musk that looks like the Tibetan and otherwise resembles it. It is yellow | with a faint scent.

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After it comes the musk of 'Ismār, the weakest of all the varieties of musk and the lowest in value: the gland in which one ounce ripens produces a dirham's worth of musk.<sup>815</sup>

Then comes Jabalī musk, which is obtained from a region of the land of Sind in the area of al-Mūltān. It comes from large glands, is of fine color, but is weak in scent.

812 Arabic *Khānqū* (modern Chinese *Guangzhou*).

813 That is "the Strait"—presumably the Strait of Malacca, the only passage west from Canton in China to the Persian Gulf town of al-Ubulla.

814 The reading of this name is based on the 1964 edition of al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyāt al-arab*. De Goeje, in his edition of the *Buldān*, printed it as "*al-Ḥarjūrī* (sic)."

815 The dirham is a silver coin of varying weight and value, and of less value than the gold dinar. Since even only a very little of the best musk could be worth many dinars, al-Ya'qūbī is here showing just how poor in quality this variety of musk is.



He said: [The musk called] Sogdian is what is purchased by the merchants of Khurāsān from Tibet. They transport it loaded on animals to Khurāsān, then it is transported from Khurāsān to all points.<sup>816</sup>

3. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī said: My father related to me from his father that Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb said: Ambergris is of many kinds and varieties. Its sources are widely scattered and it varies in quality depending on its source and essence. The most excellent kind, the most profitable, best in quality, finest in color, purest in essence, and dearest in value is the ambergris of al-Shiḥr. It is what the Indian Ocean casts up on the shores of al-Shiḥr in the land of Yemen. They claim that it is cast up from the sea in lumps the size of a camel or a large boulder.

Al-Tamīmī ... said: My father also related to me from his father from Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb, who said: The wind and the force of the waves break it up and cast it onto the shore. It is boiling, so that nothing can approach it due to the intensity of its heat and boiling. After it sits for a few days and the breeze blows over it, it congeals, and the people from the coastal areas neighboring its source collect it.

He said: Sometimes the great fish called *al-bāl* (that is, the whale) comes and swallows some of the floating ambergris as it boils. Before it can settle in its stomach, the great fish dies and floats to the surface, and the sea casts it up on the shore. They cut open its stomach and the ambergris inside it is removed: this is “fish-amber” (*al-‘anbar al-samakī*), also called “swallowed amber” (*al-mablū‘*).

He said: Sometimes the sea casts up a piece of ambergris and a black bird like a tern<sup>817</sup> sees it and makes for it, hovering with its wings. When it approaches and descends on it, it becomes stuck in it with its claws and beak and it dies and decomposes, but its beak and claws remain in the ambergris. This is “beak-amber” (*al-‘anbar al-manāqīrī*).

816 De Goeje adds: “It is not certain that all of this account comes from Ya‘qūbī.”

817 Arabic *khuttāf*. The dictionaries (Lane and Dozy) give ‘swallow’ as the translation, but the context implies a seabird. For *khuttāf* as “tern,” see al-Nijūmī, *Al-Ṭuyūr al-Miṣrīyya*, 168, which gives *khuttāf* as the Arabic for the genus *Sterna*. The color black suggests some sort of petrel, but the true explanation probably has nothing to do with bird beaks, but with the fact that “ambergris frequently contains the hard mandibles (beaks) of a cuttle-fish which serves as food to the spermwhale” (J. Ruska and M. Plessner in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Anbar).

4. He said: After the ambergris of al-Shiḥr (in quality) comes the ambergris of Zanj, which is brought | from the land of the Zanj to Aden.<sup>818</sup> It is white 367  
ambergris.

After it comes the ambergris of al-Salāhiṭ, which is varies in quality. The best kind of Salāhiṭ ambergris is grayish-blue and very greasy. This is the kind used in perfumes called *ghāliya*.<sup>819</sup>

After Salāhiṭ ambergris comes the ambergris of Qāqula, which is bright gray, of excellent aroma, fine-looking, light, and slightly dry. It is inferior to the Salāhiṭ and is adequate neither for *ghāliya* perfumes nor for purification, except out of necessity. However, it is adequate for powders and plasters. This ambergris comes from the sea of Qāqula to Aden.<sup>820</sup>

After Qāqulī ambergris comes Indian ambergris, which comes from the inner coasts of India and is transported to Basra and other places.

After it comes the Zanjī ambergris, which comes from the coasts of the Zanj and resembles Indian ambergris and is similar to it.

This is what al-Tamīmī mentions in *Perfume for the Bride*. He ranks Zanjī ambergris after Shiḥrī ambergris, and even puts Zanjī ambergris after Indian ambergris. (Al-Tamīmī) said: From India comes a kind of ambergris called *al-kark bālūs*, named after a group of Indians known as al-Kark Bālūs who import it and take it to a place near Oman, where sea-merchants buy it from them. (Al-Tamīmī) said: As for Maghribī ambergris, it is inferior to all these kinds. It comes from the sea of al-Andalus, and merchants carry it to Egypt. It is similar in color to Shiḥrī ambergris, and so they sometimes cheat with it ...

Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb said: A group of people knowledgeable about ambergris told me that it occurs in hills of various colors that grow on the bottom of the sea. The winds and the force of the sea during heavy winter rains cause it to rise up. For that reason, it is scarcely possible to get any during the summer.

5. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb said: When the aloe wood of Khmer is ripe, it contains much water.<sup>821</sup>

Ibn Abī Ya'qūb said: After the aloe wood of Qāqula (in quality) comes the aloe wood of Champa.<sup>822</sup> It is imported from a land called Champa in the

818 That is, from East Africa.

819 A fancy style of perfume, usually a heady mixture of musk and ambergris.

820 Qāqula is an unidentified port on the Malay Peninsula.

821 Following the translation suggested by Wiet, 238, n. 3. On the many varieties of aromatic aloe wood (Arabic *ʿūd*) used in medicine, perfume, and incense, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *ʿūd*.

822 Arabic *ṣanf*, the southeast Asian region of Champa, now in central and southern Vietnam.

vicinity of China. Between it and China stands an impassable mountain. It is the very best variety of aloe wood, and it provides the longest-lasting (scent) for clothing. There are some who prefer it over the Qāqulī aloe wood, and who consider it to be nicer, with a longer-lasting and more durable aroma. There are also some who place it higher than the aloe wood of Khmer.<sup>823</sup>

368 Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb said: There is also a type of aloe wood called *al-qashūr*, which is soft and blue. It has a sweeter aroma than the *qaṭa‘ī* (variety of aloe wood),<sup>824</sup> but is less valuable. (The finest kind of Chinese [aloe wood] is a kind of it called *al-qaṭa‘ī*). He said: There are also other types of Chinese (aloe wood) inferior to these types, including *al-maṭṭāwī* or *al-māṭṭā‘ī*, which comes in large pieces, smooth, black, and without knots in it. Its scent is not highly regarded, but it is suitable for medicines, powders, and digestive remedies (*al-jawārshanāt*).<sup>825</sup> There is a kind known as *al-jallā‘ī* and a kind known as *al-lawāqī* or *al-lūqīnī*: they are comparable in value.

Al-Tamīmī said: Some people rank Chinese aloe wood differently than does Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb ...

6. As for Indian spikenard (*sunbul*), Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb said: Spikenard comes in varieties, the best of which is the variety in which the rhizomes are red and “stripped” (*musallal*).<sup>826</sup> “Stripped” means that it has had its bark peeled and rubbed off so that the rhizomes are exposed. If one holds it in one’s hand for a while and then smells it, its scent is like the scent of apples or something similar. The next variety is a type with red rhizomes tending toward white or variegated. It has a lovely scent, close to that of the first kind. The poorest variety is powdered spikenard (from) the main part (of the stem); it does not count as good perfume. As for the origin of spikenard, it is an herb that grows in India and also in Tibet. It is said that in India it grows in valleys as crops do; then it dries up and people come, harvest it, and collect it. The valleys in which this spikenard grows are said to have many snakes, so that no one can go to them

823 De Goeje here notes: “The passages that precede this one, on the varieties called *al-mandalī* [from al-Mandal, in India], *al-qāmūrūnī* [from Kamrup, in Bengal], *al-saman-dūrī*, *al-ṣandaḡūrī* and the Chinese, are perhaps also to be attributed in part to Ya‘qūbī.”

824 The vowelizing and meaning of this variety of aloe wood is uncertain. If it refers to a place-name, al-Qaṭa‘ or the like, it remains unidentified.

825 For Persian *al-jawārīshāt*.

826 Al-Ya‘qūbī uses the word ‘*uṣṣūra*, “peg” to describe the rhizomes or underground rootstalk of the spikenard plant, which were crushed and distilled into a deep amber aromatic oil. On this term, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. ‘-S-F-R.

without | tall, thick boots shod with wood or iron on his feet. They say that these 369  
snakes have horns containing a lethal poison called *bīsh*. Some say that *bīsh* is  
derived from the horns of the snake, but a group of experts say that it is a plant  
that grows in those valleys.<sup>827</sup> It is of two sorts: a pinkish sort,<sup>828</sup> tending toward  
yellow in color, which is the better sort, and a sort tending toward black. (The  
local growers) know it and guard against it, although sometimes some of them  
do not recognize it and, touching it, die, especially if their hand is sweaty or  
damp. One of the caliphs used to appoint someone over the ships coming from  
the land of India to al-Ubulla and other ports to inspect and test the spikenard  
and remove any *bīsh*. It would be removed using iron tongs: no one could touch  
it without dying on the spot. It would be collected in a container and tossed into  
the sea.

7. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb said: All cloves are of one species. The best and finest  
are the flowers that are strong, hard, dry, fragrant, spicy-flavored, and sweet-  
smelling. From it come flowers and fruits. Its flowers are small, resembling the  
wood of the branches of hellebore, black in appearance. Its fruits are larger,  
resembling a date pit or olive stone. It is said that it is the fruit of a giant tree  
resembling the lote tree. Others say ...

He said: It is imported from the leeward coast and most distant regions of  
India. At its places of origin there is an odor so fragrant and penetrating that  
they call the clove regions "The Breeze of Paradise" because of the fragrance of  
its odor ...

8. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī mentioned in his book entitled *Perfume  
for the Bride*, in the chapter on *ghālīya* perfume, a great many varieties of it.  
We will relate from it what sorts of *ghālīya* used to be prepared for caliphs,  
kings, and great men. According to Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb, to prepare one of  
the *ghālīya* perfumes of the caliphs 100 mithqāls of rare Tibetan musk were  
taken and ground ... This *ghālīya*, containing equal quantities of ambergris and  
musk, used to be prepared for Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī and pleased al-Ma'mūn greatly.  
This *ghālīya* also used to be prepared for Umm Ja'far ...<sup>829</sup> They also used to

827 Al-Ya'qūbī's experts are right: *al-bīsh* is the poisonous plant aconite, better known in  
varieties such as wolfsbane and monkshood.

828 Arabic *khalanjī*, the color of *khalanj*, a kind of tree with aromatic wood. The translation  
"pinkish" is based on De Goeje's glossary in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, 8:xix  
(of a color between red and yellow).

829 Umm Ja'far is Zubayda, a wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a key figure of his court.

manufacture this *ghāliya* for Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ...<sup>830</sup> They also used to manufacture for Umm Ja'far a variety called ambergris *ghāliya* (*ghāliyat al-'anbar*) ...<sup>831</sup>

370 9. A description of *rāmik* perfume and of another compound perfumes, about which al-Tamīmī related from Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb that he had prepared some and that it was the most excellent of the compound perfumes. Ibn Abī Ya'qūb said: The recipe for preparing *rāmik* is: Take a nice ripe gallnut ...

10. As for the method (of mixing) *bān* oil<sup>832</sup> with aromatics to obtain a refined *bān*, there are is the Kufan way, and the Medinan way. As for the Kufan, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb, the *mawlā* of the 'Abbāsids, said about it: Take oil ... As for Medinan *bān*, the people of Medina cook it with perfumed aromatics ... But this oil is not fit for use in *ghāliya* perfumes because the odors of ambergris and musk are overpowered by the fragrance and sharpness of the aromatics. Kings do not use it except to anoint their hands in the winter. Women use it in their perfumes and veils.

11. As for apple water and the perfume made from it, al-Tamīmī said, from Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb, about the manufacture of perfumed apple water: Take Syrian apples ...

12. A description of another royal pill to combat bad breath. Al-Tamīmī mentions it in his book, and says that he took [the account] from Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb, namely ...<sup>833</sup>

830 This is probably the 'Abbāsīd princeling of this name resident in al-Baṣra, a contemporary of al-Rashīd's, and renowned for his wealth.

831 This fragment is abridged.

832 This is the oil obtained from the seeds of the ben tree (*Moringa oleifera*, also called *Moringa aptera*); see the article by L. Kopf in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bān.

833 On al-Tamīmī, see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (Beirut, 1965), 546–548. De Goeje adds: "[Al-Tamīmī's] work, *Jayb al-'arūs wa-rayḥān al-nufūs*, on which see among others Yāqūt, 4:828, line 9ff. ... does not appear to have survived. In the library of Paris is a part (Chapters 11–14) of his work *Murshid*, which H. D. van Gelder examined for me, and in which he found no mention of our author. Al-Tamīmī was living until at least 370/980 (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 548). Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (547) affirms in clear words that his grandfather, Sa'īd, was al-Ya'qūbī's companion on a journey: 'His grandfather Sa'īd was a physician and he accompanied Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb, *mawlā* of the 'Abbāsids.'

13. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb said: The Christians of al-Ḥīra are called *al-ʿIbād* 371 because when five of them went as a delegation to Kisrā, he said to one of them, “What is your name?” “‘Abd al-Masiḥ,” the man replied. He said to the second, “What is your name?” “‘Abd Yālīl,” he replied. He said to the third, “What is your name?” “‘Abd Yāsū,” he replied. He said to the fourth, “What is your name?” “‘Abd Allāh,” he replied. He said to the fifth, “What is your name?” “‘Abd ‘Amr,” he replied. So Chosroës said, “You are all ‘Abds (*ʿIbād*),” and so they are called ʿIbād.<sup>834</sup>

14. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb, one of the children of Jaʿfar b. Wahb, said: During his reign, al-Wāthiq distributed 5,000,000 dinars in alms, gifts, and pious donations in Baghdad, Samarra, Kufa, Basra, Medina, and Mecca. At his behest, after the fire that struck the markets of Baghdad, al-Walīd b. Aḥmad b. Abī Duʿād went to Baghdad with 500,000 dinars and distributed them to the merchants who had lost their property in the fire. Their conditions improved as a result: they rebuilt their markets in plaster and baked brick and made iron doors for their stalls.<sup>835</sup>

15. Aḥmad the secretary said: Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn spent 120,000 dinars on his mosque.<sup>836</sup> The builders said to him, “According to what model shall we construct the minaret?” Aḥmad, who never used to fool around during his meetings, took a roll of paper and began playing with it, so that part of it came out from his hand and part of it remained in his hand. The people present were astonished. He said, “Construct the minaret according to this model.” So they built it.<sup>837</sup> When the construction of the mosque was finished, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn had a dream in which Almighty God seemed to manifest Himself to the enclo-

834 Source: Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb Muʿjam mā istaʿjam*, 18. *ʿIbād* is the plural of *ʿabd* (slave of, servant of), a frequent component of names. De Goeje notes: “Perhaps this account (about the ʿIbād) is from a fuller recension of the *History* than that which Houtsma edited. For a passage praised by the Caliph al-Wāthiq in the work *Rayḥān al-albāb* (Leiden MS, f. 179 verso) is also fuller than the account cited in the text (of the *History*) edited by Houtsma (*Taʾrīkh*, 2:590).” De Goeje then provides this longer account about al-Wāthiq, which is the next account translated here (no. 14). The translator has not been able to consult the manuscript of the *Rayḥān al-albāb*.

835 That is, as a measure to prevent fires, reeds, straw, or wood were not used in the new shops. As noted above, this account, from *Rayḥān al-albāb* (Leiden MS, f. 179 verso), appears to be a longer version of the account in the surviving recension of the *History* (*Taʾrīkh*, 2:590).

836 Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (d. 270/884) was governor of Egypt and founder of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty of Egypt and Syria.

837 The account shows how Ibn Ṭūlūn used a roll of paper (*darj*, for the meaning see Dozy,

372 sure that surrounded the mosque, but did not manifest Himself to the mosque itself. Aḥmad asked the dream interpreters about it, and they said, “That which surrounds it will fall into ruin, | and it will remain standing alone.” He said, “Whence do you infer this?” They said, “From the words of Almighty God, *And when his Lord revealed Himself to the mountain, He made it crumble to dust*,<sup>838</sup> and from the words of the Prophet—God’s blessings and peace be upon him—‘When God manifests Himself to something, it is abased before Him.’” And it happened as they said.<sup>839</sup>

16. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb the secretary reported, saying: When it was the eve of the Feast of the Fast-breaking of the year 292,<sup>840</sup> I recalled what this feast was like under Ibn Ṭūlūn, with its fancy dress and arms, the colorful flags and banners, the glamorous clothes, the many mounts, and the sound of horns and drums. Tears and sorrow overwhelmed me, and as I slept that night I heard a voice calling:

Kingship, glory, and glamor  
vanished with the Ṭūlūnids’ departure.<sup>841</sup>

17. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb said:

If you would know the grandeur of their kingdom,  
turn aside and enjoy the Great Square’s green expanse.<sup>842</sup>  
Behold those palaces, what they contained;  
delight your eyes with the beauty of that garden.  
But ponder well: a lesson lies there, too,  
that tells you of the fickle ways of Time.

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*Supplément*, 1:431) to form a cone illustrating the spiral shape of the minaret, still visible today.

838 Qur’ān 7:143.

839 Source: Ibn Taghribirdī, 3:8. De Goeje notes: “Ibn Taghribirdī gives this account ... from a lost part of the *History*.”

840 That is, the holiday (‘Īd al-Fiṭr) that follows the fast of Ramaḍān: 6 August 905.

841 De Goeje notes: “The text in al-Maqrīzī, 1:326, is probably from the same part of the *History*. See my *Descriptio al-Maghribi*, 20.” See the modern edition: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-l-i’tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 2:141, citing Muḥammad b. Abī Ya‘qūb.

842 The Great Square (al-Maydān) is probably to be located in al-Qaṭā’i’, the new city north of Fuṣṭāṭ founded by Ibn Ṭūlūn to be the seat of government. The great mosque built by Ibn Ṭūlūn was also located in it.

The murder of Hārūn pulled up their roots,  
 and grizzled Shaybān's head, who was their chief.  
 The strength of Qays availed them naught at dawn  
 amid a clamorous host, nor Ghassān's might.  
 Neither 'Adīya, who was brave, nor Khazraj bold  
 were helped to victory by their brother 'Adnān.  
 Egypt, like a bride, was escorted to the house of Prophethood and  
 Guidance  
 and torn away from Satan's partisans.<sup>843</sup>

18. Similar to this is what al-Ya'qūbī recounted, saying: | [Someone once said:] 373  
 I went to the door of Ḥamdūna, the daughter of (the caliph) al-Rashīd, and  
 Duqāq, her female client, came out. In her hand was a fan, which had written  
 on one side: "A cunt needs two cocks more than a cock needs two cunts." And  
 on the other side: "Just as a millstone needs two mules more than a mule needs  
 two millstones."<sup>844</sup>

843 De Goeje found this poem cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, 2:136, but it appears first in al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt*, 250. The poem alludes to the events that precipitated the fall of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty in 292/905. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, after ruling for ten years, was succeeded upon his death in 270/884 by his son Khumārawayh, who was assassinated in 282/896. Khumārawayh's son, Jaysh, was deposed by the army in 283/896, leaving his brother Hārūn, to whose assassination in 292/905 the poem alludes, apostrophizing it as having "pulled up their roots and grizzled the head of Shaybān, who was their chief" (a pun on the meaning of *shaybān*, 'gray hair')—i.e., Shaybān b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, the last of the Ṭūlūnids—as well as the murder of his nephew Hārūn—whose quasi-independent rule in Egypt was ended by invading 'Abbāsīd forces, which restored Egypt to direct 'Abbāsīd rule, an event to which the poem perhaps alludes, although this remains unclear. The poem also may be alluding satirically to the fact that Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, though of Turkish descent, named several of his sons after famous Arab tribes—Qays, Ghassān, 'Adīya, Khazraj, and 'Adnān, whose "valor availed them naught." For further details and bibliography, see the article by M. S. Gordon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭūlūnids; to which one should add Thierry Bianquis, "Autonomous Egypt from Ibn Ṭūlūn to Kāfūr, 868–969," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt, Volume One: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, 86–119; Michael Bonner, "Ibn Ṭūlūn's Jihād: The Damascus Assembly of 269/883"; and Mathieu Tillier, "L'étoile, la chaîne et le Jugement."

844 De Goeje adds: "This account, which [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad] al-Tijānī (d. after 709/1309) praises in his work *Tuhfat al-'arūs* [*wa-rawḍat al-nufūs*], might come from the same part of the text (Leiden MS 330, f. 122 verso)." The translator has not been able to consult the manuscript of al-Tijānī's work, but, significantly, this passage does not appear in the published edition of the *Tuhfa* (ed. Jalīl al-'Aṭīya, London, 1992).



## 19. Describing Samarqand, Ibn Wāḍiḥ said:

Samarqand is so exalted that she is called  
 “the Ornament of Khurāsān” and “the Paradise of Provinces.”  
 Are her towers not suspended  
 from a height that the eye cannot reach?  
 And below her towers are her trenches:  
 pits so deep that nothing can leave them.  
 It is as if she, encircled by her walls  
 and surrounded by shady trees,  
 Were a full moon, her rivers the Milky Way, and  
 her fortresses like the brightest stars.<sup>845</sup>

C      New Fragments<sup>846</sup>

1. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb recounts in the *Book of Routes* that he composed that there is a deserted house at Nahr Tīrā, and whoever (tries) to settle in it cannot stay more than a day, nor will he be able to pass the night (there).<sup>847</sup>

2. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb said: The best musk in odor and appearance is that which has the color of an apple. Its odor is like that of the apples of Lebanon. Its color tends toward yellow; it is medium-sized, neither large nor overly fine. (The second best) is blacker, but similar in odor and appearance. (In the last place) is the kind that is even blacker. It is the lowest in quality and value.<sup>848</sup>

3. [Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb] also said:

A sudden blow was struck from the East, hurtling down  
 to beset the Banū Ṭūlūn.

845 De Goeje notes: “I do not know whence the following verses, accepted by Yāqūt, 3:136, were taken.”

846 The following fragments were not included by De Goeje in his edition.

847 Idrīsī, 399. Cited by Wiet, 228, who notes that he did not verify the passage in question, having seen it at the last moment in Jaubert’s translation of Idrīsī. The present translation differs slightly from Wiet’s.

848 Al-Qalqashandī, 2:128. Cited by Wiet, 234. The present translation, like Wiet’s, differs slightly from the reading in the Beirut edition. Also, in his translation of this fragment, Wiet included a few lines not given here that are from al-Qalqashandī, not al-Ya‘qūbī.

How can the prosperity of these poor creatures be hoped for  
 while Ibn Abbā oversees the secular and the sacred?  
 By a man of deceit and by perverse reasoning  
 were the precepts of justice imposed upon us.  
 We have seen (no one) of the family of Ṭūlūn  
 whom he has not ill-treated, (making him) hostage to idleness.<sup>849</sup>

4. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb said:

The abode, after the dispersal of the camel-litters,  
 rejoices at the dispersal of its residents.  
 It shows no regret for its masters,  
 for in their departure is rest for their neighbors.  
 They have left, and may they not stop in some flowered garden!  
 and may the rain of an approaching cloud bypass them.  
 May they be deprived of the gush of the rain-cloud wherever they go,  
 and may the assault of the All-Merciful scatter them.  
 How heavily they weighed on the shoulders of grandeur,  
 and how far their hands withdrew from beneficence!  
 How detestable was the reign by which they thrived,  
 and how much it deserved the collapse of its foundations!  
 They did not accompany God's favors with thanks for them,  
 so He compensated them with the compensation due ingratitude.  
 Egypt is delivered of them, but O what  
 calumny awaits the land of Iraq!<sup>850</sup>

5. Ibn Wāḍiḥ said: ... and the Second Qinnasrīn is Ḥiyār Banī al-Qa'qā'.<sup>851</sup>

6. Ibn Wāḍiḥ said: ... and the subdistrict of First Qinnasrīn, which is a city on the main part of the Great Road. In it there are tribesmen from Tanūkh.<sup>852</sup>

7. I copied the following from the *Book of Regions* composed by Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary: The subdistricts belonging to the military

849 Kindī, 251. Cited by Wiet, 245. The verse refers to the death of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and the rise of the regent Ibn Abbā in 270/883.

850 Kindī, 252. Cited by Wiet, 245–246.

851 From Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab min ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, 1:74.

852 Ibid.

district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim: the subdistrict of Antioch. It is an ancient city, of which it is said that there is no equal to it with regard to the sturdiness and impressiveness of its city walls in either the land of Islam or the land of the Romans. It has a stone city wall, inside of which are chambers (so large) that horsemen can ride into them. I have been told that the circumference of the city wall, which surrounds the city and the mountain at whose foot the city lies, is 12 Arab miles. The city of Antioch was conquered by treaty—Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ arranged the treaty with them and they possess the treaty document to this day. Located there in a church called the Qusyān Church is the hand which is said to be the hand of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyāʾ—peace be upon him.<sup>853</sup> The city has a river called the Orontes, along which lie cultivated fields and gardens. The city also has many springs that come from the mountain and flow among the dwellings of the city, so that the people make use of the water in them as they like. The majority of its people are non-Arabs, but there are also some descendants of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī and some Arabs belonging to the tribal faction of Yemen.<sup>854</sup>

8. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary mentioned in the *Book of Regions* while enumerating the subdistricts of the military district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim: ... and the subdistrict of Manbij, which is an ancient city, conquered by treaty. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ arranged its treaty under the authority of Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. The city is on the main part of the Euphrates. In it is a mixture of peoples, Arab and non-Arab. There are also dwellings and palaces belonging to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī.<sup>855</sup>

9. I copied the following from the *Book of Regions* composed by Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary, who, in mentioning Bālis, says: It is an ancient city on the banks of the Euphrates at the foot of a mountain. From it trading goods that arrive from Egypt and the rest of the land of Syria are loaded onto ships bound for Baghdad. The land tax of Bālis is administered by the tax agent

853 That is, John the Baptist.

854 Ibn al-ʿAdīm, 1:88. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī was a prominent early ʿAbbāsīd kinsman and governor of Syria.

855 Ibid., 1:107–108. Ibn al-ʿAdīm adds that al-Yaʿqūbī is wrong to place Manbij on the Euphrates: he is rather thinking of Jisr Manbij. Moreover, he adds, some accounts credit ʿIyād b. Ghanm with the conquest of Manbij. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ was a powerful ʿAbbāsīd kinsman and governor of Syria. His estate at Manbij is said to have attracted the envy of the caliph al-Rashīd.

of Diyār Muḍar, while its military and religious affairs are administered by the tax agent of the military district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim. Its people are a mixture of Arabs and non-Arabs.<sup>856</sup>

10. I read in the *Book of Regions* by Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary in his enumeration of the subdistricts of the military district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim: ... and the subdistrict of First Qinnasrīn, which is a city on the main part of the Great Road. In it there are tribesmen from Tanūkh; and the district of Second Qinnasrīn, which is Ḥiyār Banī al-Qaʿqāʿ. Its people are from ʿAbs, Fazāra, and other Qaysī tribes.<sup>857</sup>

11. Ibn Wāḍiḥ the secretary said: Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān is an ancient, ruined city. It is populated by the Tanūkh.<sup>858</sup>

12. Ibn Wāḍiḥ the secretary enumerated the subdistricts belonging to the military district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim, saying: ... and the subdistrict of Martaḥwān and the subdistrict of Maʿarrat Miṣrīn.<sup>859</sup>

13. Ibn Wāḍiḥ the secretary said: Opposite the city of Qinnasrīn is a city called Ḥāḍir Ṭayyiʿ. In it are dwellings of the Ṭayyiʿ.<sup>860</sup>

14. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary mentioned it in the *Book of Regions* in his listing of the subdistricts of the military district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim, saying: The subdistrict of Sarmīn. Its people are from the (tribal faction of) Qays.<sup>861</sup>

15. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary mentioned it in the *Book of Regions*, saying: The city of Kafarṭāb and al-Aṭmīm. Its people are from various tribes of the Yemen, mostly from the Kinda.<sup>862</sup>

856 Ibid., 1:123.

857 Ibid., 1:125, repeating parts of fragments c5 and c6 above.

858 Ibid., 1:129.

859 Ibid., 1:134. Ibn al-ʿAdīm adds that “these two place are subordinated to the subdistrict of al-Jazr. Martaḥwān is near Maʿarrat Miṣrīn.”

860 Ibid., 1:138.

861 Ibid., 1:139.

862 Ibid., 1:141.

16. Ibn Wāḍiḥ the secretary said in the *Book of Regions*: The city of Apamea. It is an ancient Roman city, in ruins, on a large lake. Its people are from the tribes of ‘Udhra and Bahrā’.<sup>863</sup>

17. In mentioning Hama, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary said: It is an ancient city on a river called the Orontes. The people of this city are from the tribal faction of Yemen, mostly from the Bahrā’ and the Tanūkh.<sup>864</sup>

18. I read in the *Book of Regions* composed by Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary: The city of al-Maṣṣīṣa. The Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr built the city during his reign—before that it had been a garrison. The first to cross the Jabal al-Lukkām range and reach al-Maṣṣīṣa was Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar al-Nakha‘ī,<sup>865</sup> under the authority of Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarraḥ. There used to be a small fort there that ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik built when he went to fight on the summer campaign.<sup>866</sup>

19. We return to the words of Ibn Wāḍiḥ: Al-Manṣūr departed for the Thughūr and he built there the great city of al-Maṣṣīṣa on a river called the Jayḥān. He transferred prisoners from all quarters and other people to the city of al-Maṣṣīṣa. The Commander of the Faithful al-Ma’mūn built a city called Kafarbayyā alongside it, so that the river known as the Jayḥān flowed between the two cities. Across the river is a great, ancient, stone-vaulted bridge. The city of al-Maṣṣīṣa is on the west bank of the Jayḥān, and the city of Kafarbayyā is on the east bank. Its populace is a mixture of peoples.<sup>867</sup>

20. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary said: The Commander of the Faithful al-Mahdī the son of al-Manṣūr built ‘Ayn Zarba and completed it.<sup>868</sup>

21. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary said in his book: The city of Adhana was built by the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd, and completed by the Commander of the Faithful Muḥammad (al-Amīn) the son of

863 Ibid., 1:143.

864 Ibid., 1:150. Ibn al-‘Adīm adds that al-Ya‘qūbī lists Hama under the subdistricts of Ḥimṣ.

865 Mālik al-Ashtar (d. 37/657) was a prominent commander involved in the conquests of Syria and Iraq. He later emerged as a supporter of the caliph ‘Alī.

866 Ibn al-‘Adīm, 1:156. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik (d. 132/750) was a son of the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik and a prominent commander in Umayyad times.

867 Ibid.

868 Ibid., 1:167. Al-Mahdī was ‘Abbāsīd caliph from 158 to 169/775 to 785.

al-Rashīd.<sup>869</sup> Located there at this time because of its spaciousness are the residences of the governors of the Thughūr. It is on the river that is called Sayḥān. Its people are a mixture of clients of the caliphs and others.<sup>870</sup>

22. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary said in his book after mentioning al-Maṣṣīṣa, Adhana, and Tarsus: In addition to these three cities that we have mentioned, the Syrian Thughūr also include the cities of ʿAyn Zarba, al-Hārūniyya, and al-Kanīsa al-Muḥṭaraqa (the Burned Church). The Commander of the Faithful (al-Mahdī) the son of al-Manṣūr built ʿAyn Zarba and completed it. Al-Rashīd built al-Hārūniyya during the reign of al-Mahdī, while he was an heir. Al-Rashīd also built al-Kanīsa al-Muḥṭaraqa.<sup>871</sup>

23. Ibn Wāḍiḥ the secretary said in the *Book of Regions*: Tarsus is a city that the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd built in a plain at the foot of a mountain through which one crosses into Roman territory. The building of it took place in the year 170/786 at the beginning of his reign, at the hands of Abū Sulaym Faraj al-Turkī al-Khādīm. Located there is a flowing river that comes from the mountains of the Romans until it splits up in the middle (of the city). It has a mixed population of people from every quarter of the world.<sup>872</sup>

24. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary mentioned in the *Book of Regions*: The Syrian Thughūr include the cities of ʿAyn Zarba, al-Hārūniyya, and al-Kanīsa al-Muḥṭaraqa ... Al-Rashīd built al-Hārūniyya in the days of al-Mahdī, while he was an heir.<sup>873</sup>

25. Ibn Wāḍiḥ the secretary said: You descend from the Jabal al-Lukkām to a city on the coast of the Green Sea called Alexandretta (al-Iskandarūna). Ibn Abī Daʿūd al-Iyādī built it in the reign of al-Wāthiq.<sup>874</sup>

26. I copied the following from the *Book of Regions* composed by Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary: The cities belonging to the Jazīran Thughūr: Marʿash, al-Ḥadath, Zabaṭra, Sumaysāt, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, Ḥiṣn Ziyād, and Malatya, which is the chief city. It is an ancient city, which the Romans destroyed. Abū

869 Al-Amīn succeeded his father as caliph in 193/809 and reigned until 198/813.

870 Ibn al-ʿAdīm, 1:171.

871 Ibid., 1:173, partly repeating fragment C20.

872 Ibid., 1:177–178.

873 Ibid., 1:219, duplicating material from fragment C22.

874 Ibid., 1:220.

Ja'far al-Manṣūr [re]built it in the year 139/756, and he set around it one set of city walls, without an external enclosure wall. He transferred a number of Arab tribes there, and so it is divided into "sevenths": a seventh for Sulaym and the rest of Qays, a seventh for the Hawāsiyya, a seventh for al-Rā'iya and the descendants of Ja'wana, a seventh for Taym, a seventh for Rabī'a, a seventh for the (tribal faction of) Yemen, and a seventh for Hawāzin. Malaṭya is on level ground, surrounded by the mountains of the Romans. Its water comes from springs, watercourses, and the Euphrates.<sup>875</sup>

27. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary mentioned in the *Book of Regions*: The subdistrict of Sumaysāṭ. It is a city on the Euphrates. A mixture of peoples lives there.<sup>876</sup>

28. Ibn Wāḍiḥ mentioned in his book in the account of the subdistricts of Qinnasrīn and al-'Awāṣim: The two districts of Dulūk and Ra'bān are contiguous.<sup>877</sup>

29. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Wāḍiḥ mentioned, among the subdistricts of the military district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn and al-'Awāṣim, the subdistrict of Qūrus, which is an ancient city populated by tribesmen from the tribal faction of Qays. The majority of them are of the family of al-'Abbās b. Zufar al-Hilālī.<sup>878</sup>

30. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary mentioned (Kaysūm) in his book: It is a magnificent, impregnable city. Naṣr b. Shabath fortified himself there when he rebelled, and al-Ma'mūn marched there.<sup>879</sup>

31. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Wāḍiḥ the secretary mentioned the following in the *Book of Regions*, while enumerating the subdistricts of Qinnasrīn and al-'Awāṣim: The subdistrict of al-Jūma. Located there are the sulphur springs that flow into thermal baths. The baths are at a village called Jindāris. They have a marvelous stone-vaulted building. People come there from every quarter to

875 Ibid., 1:252.

876 Ibid., 1:257.

877 Ibid., 1:259.

878 Ibid., 1:263. Al-'Abbās b. Zufar was a prominent tribal leader and governor under al-Rashīd.

879 Ibid., 1:265. During the Civil War (193–198/809–813) between the caliph al-Amin and his brother al-Ma'mūn, a bandit chieftain named Naṣr b. Shabath al-'Uqaylī at the head of some disaffected Syrian and Iraqi troops rebelled against the central government at Raqqa, before fortifying himself at Kaysūm.

bathe on account of the illnesses affecting them. It is not known whence that sulphur water comes or where it flows.<sup>880</sup>

32. As for what Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb the secretary said in his book on *Routes and Kingdoms* in reproof of Egypt, namely: "It stands between a dank, putrid river abounding in malign effluvia that generate illnesses and spoil food and mountains and desiccated, barren desert in which no green thing grows because of the intensity of the dryness, and in which no water source flows ..." These are the words of a bigot that violate consensus and through the stupidity of their utterance arrive at that which hearts shun and the ears reject. Their defectiveness is sufficiently clear from the fact that he brings reproof against the Nile, for which reason and lore provide proof of excellence, and he looks with scorn at the Muqaṭṭam (mountain), which tradition cites for its noble qualities.<sup>881</sup>

#### D Passages Attributed to al-Ya'qūbī in Ibn al-Dāya, *Kitāb al-Mukāfa'a wa-Ḥusn al-'Uqbā*

The following six passages are different in kind from the previous fragments included at the end of the translation of the *Geography*. The latter fragments probably derive from parts of the *Geography* now lost, or from a lost treatise on scents and perfumes, and therefore can be said to come ultimately from the pen of al-Ya'qūbī, though they may have undergone some alteration when other authors cited them in their works. The following passages, however, come from a single literary work, the *Kitāb al-Mukāfa'a wa-ḥusn al-'uqbā* (The Book of Recompense and Good Requit) by Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, known

880 Ibid., 1:478.

881 Al-Qalqashandī, 3:310. Here *baḥr* has been translated as "river" rather than "sea," as al-Qalqashandī clearly understood it as referring to the Nile. However, the text is ambiguous: al-Ya'qūbī (or whoever the author is) may in fact be referring to the Red Sea. The passage is problematic, and the editor of al-Qalqashandī identifies the source as the now-lost *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* [*Book of Routes and Kingdoms*] of Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb al-Hamdānī, a famous geographer of the Arabian peninsula. But elsewhere when al-Qalqashandī cites "Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb the secretary," he is clearly citing extant passages of al-Ya'qūbī's *Buldān* (cf. al-Qalqashandī, 4:368, 369, 388, 390), which other authors also sometimes call the *Book of Routes and Kingdoms* (cf. Fragment A1). This being so, this harsh passage nevertheless does not reflect the content of al-Ya'qūbī's section on Egypt in the *Buldān* (ed. Leiden, 330 ff.) as we have it. Perhaps, if it is indeed al-Ya'qūbī's, then, like his poetry on Egyptian matters, it comes from a different work or a different version of the *Buldān*.



as Ibn al-Dāya, a younger contemporary who may have had contact with al-Yaʿqūbī in Ṭūlūnid Egypt—at least that is the implication of the formula by which Ibn al-Dāya introduces each anecdote: Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb (al-Yaʿqūbī) recounted to me (*ḥaddathanī Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb*). In collections of *ḥadīth* or legal texts, this formula normally implies direct oral transmission, with preservation of the exact words of the source. In historical texts the evidence of such direct transmission and verbatim citation is not always clear, and it is even less clear in a work such as that of Ibn al-Dāya, which is not a work of Islamic jurisprudence, history, or geography. Instead, Ibn al-Dāya's book is a literary collection of historical anecdotes, arranged topically, not chronologically. It “consists of three sections containing, respectively, stories about rewards for good deeds, punishments for evil deeds, and timely escapes from difficult situations” (F. Rosenthal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Dāya). Although Ibn al-Dāya implies that he heard six of these stories from al-Yaʿqūbī, who in turn had them from his father or grandfather, the literary style of these stories must be ascribed almost entirely to Ibn al-Dāya. On the other hand, the stories, if they are authentic, do show us something about al-Yaʿqūbī's interest in the ethical implications of the behavior of historical figures, an interest that manifested itself in a somewhat different way in his short work entitled *Mushākalat al-nās li-azmānihim* (The Adaptation of Men to Their Times), which focuses on how the virtues and vices of leaders, especially the caliphs, influence, for better or worse, the virtues and vices of the society as a whole. The six stories that Ibn al-Dāya attributes to al-Yaʿqūbī show how an act of benevolence can be repaid, often years later and in unexpected ways, and, conversely, how a malicious act can be punished. This mining of history for ethical content is not alien to al-Yaʿqūbī's interest in the *History* or *Adaptation*, although there is no evidence that these passages ever formed part of either work. Nevertheless, they merit presentation here as casting light on al-Yaʿqūbī's interests and those of his contemporary writers.



1. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb recounted to me on the authority of his father:<sup>882</sup> Yaḥyā b. Khālīd b. Barmak adopted al-Faḍl b. Sahl and treated him as a son, and Yaḥyā's sons treated al-Faḍl as their brother. Yaḥyā then attached al-Faḍl to al-

882 Ed. Shākir, pp. 45–48 (No. 21). Background: The anecdote is set during the caliphate of al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809), when Yaḥyā b. Khālīd b. Barmak was serving as vizier.

Ma'mūn.<sup>883</sup> Yaḥyā b. Khālīd had a good knowledge of astronomy, and al-Faḍl was also proficient in the subject. The two men agreed about what the stars foretold of the fortunes of the Barmakids, and both foresaw the happy fate that would befall al-Faḍl. It was as if each could discern his ultimate fate.

When al-Rashīd turned against the Barmakids, al-Faḍl himself was protected because of his place in al-Ma'mūn's service, but he had too little influence on al-Rashīd to help Yaḥyā and his sons. Al-Faḍl therefore wrote to Yaḥyā: "My lord, your situation grieves me, but there is little I can do to defend you so as to release him from his vow in this your crisis."<sup>884</sup> But I hope to do more on your behalf once I come into my good fortune."

Ibn Abī Ya'qūb continued, saying that Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd al-Aḥwal<sup>885</sup> related to him: "What I learned about Yaḥyā's desperate state filled me with anguish. When I recalled how well he had treated me and how generous he had been to me, I became utterly despondent. As I was in possession of 4,000 dinars, I divided it into two. Taking one half, I managed to gain entry to where they were imprisoned, and I presented it to Yaḥyā b. Khālīd. He said: 'It would be wrong for us to allow you to take such a risk on our behalf or for us to promise you something from us whose fulfillment fortune will not allow. Our time is over. But if you think that our situation will improve, keep possession of your money.' I replied: 'I meant only to repay some of what I owe.'

"So he took a clean sheet of paper and wrote on it: 'Abū l-'Abbās,<sup>886</sup> may God keep you! This man has been steadfast throughout this trial of ours and has shown us kindness despite his despair over our fate. I would remind you of our time together, and ask that you pay him his due in my stead,<sup>887</sup> and lighten the debt that he has placed upon me. May God assist you and provide for you.' Then he folded the sheet, cut it in half crosswise, and said to me: 'Keep this half with you. Don't misplace it; for, if you do, much good fortune will escape you.' He then distributed the money to those persons who had suffered need because of what had befallen him. I departed from his company. He had left me with no

883 In other words, Yaḥyā b. Khālīd used his influence to place his adopted son, al-Faḍl b. Sahl, in the entourage and service of al-Rashīd's son, the future caliph al-Ma'mūn.

884 This refers to al-Rashīd's vow to act against the Barmakids.

885 Another figure from al-Ma'mūn's entourage, in the service of al-Faḍl b. Sahl and later secretary to al-Ma'mūn. Note that the chronology (Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd died in 211/826–827) makes direct communication between him and al-Ya'qūbī unlikely. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd al-Aḥwal.

886 Addressing al-Ma'mūn by his familiar name (*kunya*).

887 That is, the debt for his kindness.

hope that he would ever regain his standing, and I had no idea of what the half sheet he had given me would mean for me.

“The authority of the Barmakids ended. Al-Rashīd died in Ṭūs, and al-Faḍl b. Sahl gained influence over al-Ma’mūn in Khurāsān and served as his deputy in all his affairs. A power struggle broke out between al-Amīn and al-Ma’mūn, and when al-Ma’mūn triumphed over his brother, al-Faḍl b. Sahl was confirmed as al-Ma’mūn’s vizier. Al-Ma’mūn’s heralds announced the news across all the provinces. I, meanwhile, remained unemployed and in ever greater need, for I lacked anyone to support me or take an interest in me. Then one day, while I was at home, with scarcely a scrap to eat, and wearing a shabby garment—I possessed only one dress robe that I wore when I rode out—my servant entered suddenly to announce that a group of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn’s men were at the door. I put on my riding gown and let them in. Leading them was a man who, it was clear to me, held me in great esteem.

“He said: ‘The commander Ṭāhir requests your presence.’ I set off immediately. When I entered, he had me brought forward and showed me every honor. Ṭāhir then said: ‘I received a message from the vizier,<sup>888</sup> may God keep him, asking that I spare no effort in preparing you for an audience with him. You have in your possession half of the note that Yaḥyā b. Khālīd gave you. The vizier indicated that I was to provide you with 2,000 dinars with which to outfit yourself and your entourage properly.’

“My spirit soared and my hope returned. I took the money and set out with Ṭāhir’s man. When I entered al-Faḍl b. Sahl’s presence, he welcomed me graciously and asked me about the half of the note, which I produced. He whispered something to one of his servants who stepped out and then returned with a piece of paper. He joined one piece to the other and they formed a whole. When he finished reading it, he wept and said: ‘May God have mercy on Abū l-‘Abbās.<sup>889</sup> How well acquainted he was with the vicissitudes of fate, how to elicit thankfulness in their midst, and how to avoid censure!’

“Then he presented me to al-Ma’mūn. My standing rose under him until I became one of his closest officials, someone he trusted with his most important affairs.”




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888 That is, al-Faḍl b. Sahl.

889 Referring to Yaḥyā b. Khālīd b. Barmak by his familiar name (*kunya*).

2. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb recounted to me:<sup>890</sup> Al-Mahdī disapproved of Harthama b. A‘yan’s malicious treatment of Ma‘n b. Zā‘ida<sup>891</sup> and ordered that Harthama be exiled to North Africa.<sup>892</sup> But al-Rashīd spoke to al-Mahdī on behalf of Harthama and gradually allayed his anger. Afterward, Ma‘n died; Harthama’s situation improved, and he felt grateful to al-Rashīd for what he had done. The caliphate then devolved on Mūsā al-Hādī,<sup>893</sup> over whom Harthama gained considerable influence. At a certain point, al-Hādī decided to remove al-Rashīd as heir and assembled the notables for the appointment of his son as heir apparent. Harthama learned of this, and, recalling al-Rashīd’s generous deed, he feigned illness. Al-Hādī assembled the notables and called on them to remove al-Rashīd in favor of his own son. They agreed and pledged their support.

He then summoned Harthama and asked him: “Harthama, will you swear allegiance?” Harthama responded: “Commander of the Faithful, my right hand is already taken up with my oath of allegiance to you, my left hand with the oath of allegiance to your brother.<sup>894</sup> So with what hand shall I swear allegiance? By God, Commander of the Faithful, do not impose on people, by exacting the oath of loyalty to your son, more than what your father imposed on behalf of your brother in exacting the oath of allegiance to him! Whoever violates the first oath will violate the second! Were it not that this assembly considers itself to be swearing under duress and secretly thinks about you the opposite of what they openly profess, they would have abstained.”

Al-Hādī said to the assembly: “Shame on the lot of you! This man, my client, has told me the truth when all of you have lied to me. He has been honest with me, when all of you have deceived me!” So al-Rashīd got what al-Hādī intended for him.<sup>895</sup>

890 Ed. Shākir, pp. 61–62 (No. 29).

891 A military commander who served both the late Umayyads and the early ‘Abbāsids; see the article by H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ma‘n b. Zā‘ida.

892 Arabic *al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā* (the Farthest West).

893 Mūsā al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd were brothers, sons of al-Mahdī, who had designated al-Hādī as heir apparent, with al-Rashīd second in the line of succession. However, al-Mahdī had second thoughts late in his life and was about to remove al-Hādī in favor of al-Rashīd, but died before taking action. Al-Hādī succeeded to the caliphate and proceeded vigorously to suppress any possible claim to the caliphate by al-Rashīd. See the article by D. Sourdél in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Hādī IIā ‘L-ḥaḳḳ.

894 That is, al-Rashīd, as second in the line of succession.

895 Namely, the caliphate.



3. I was informed by Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb,<sup>896</sup> who said that his father told him the following anecdote on the authority of his grandfather Wāḍiḥ, the client of al-Manṣūr.<sup>897</sup> Wāḍiḥ said: “I was in the presence of al-Manṣūr. He had summoned a man who had once served Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik and was questioning him about Hishām’s conduct, a subject that fascinated al-Manṣūr. But whenever the man mentioned Hishām’s name, he added ‘May God have mercy on him,’ which annoyed all of us. Finally, al-Rabī<sup>898</sup> asked the man, ‘How often are you going to invoke God’s mercy upon the enemy of the Commander of the Faithful?’ The man replied to al-Rabī: ‘The court of the Commander of the Faithful is the most appropriate place for showing gratitude to a benefactor and rewarding someone for his benevolence. Hishām adorned my neck with a necklace that only the man who washes my corpse can undo.’<sup>899</sup> ‘And what,’ asked al-Manṣūr, ‘is this necklace?’ The man replied, ‘He adorned

896 Ed. Shākir, p. 66 (No. 32). Background: The anecdote is set during the reign of the second ‘Abbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr (r. 136–158/754–75), who is portrayed as fascinated with stories about the Umayyad dynasty, which his family had overthrown. His historical interest in the previous dynasty is shown as strained when he interviews a former member of the entourage of the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 105–125/724–43) who not only provides information, but expresses sympathy for his former master, angering officials at al-Manṣūr’s court. Unexpectedly, al-Manṣūr rewards the man for his loyalty to his former master and his honesty.

897 The *Geography* and the *History* provide information about al-Ya‘qūbī’s grandfather Wāḍiḥ. The section of the *Geography* on Baghdad (ed. Leiden, 234) states: “In fact, my ancestors were residents there, and one of them was its governor (*tawallā amrahā*).” The *Geography* (ed. Leiden, 242 and 248) states that Wāḍiḥ, along with two other dignitaries, is said to have been put in charge, governed, or administered (the language is vague) the quarter extending from the Kufa Gate (Bāb al-Kūfa) to the Syrian Gate (Bāb al-Shām). The *Geography* (ed. Leiden, 246 and 247) gives the location of Wāḍiḥ’s estate. The *History* (ed. Leiden, 2:447) notes that Wāḍiḥ served as governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan under al-Manṣūr. The listing (ed. Leiden 2:462) of Wāḍiḥ as one of al-Manṣūr’s officials who was a client (*mawlā*), as opposed to those who were “of the Arabs” (*min al-‘Arab*), confirms his non-Arab origins. Finally, ed. Leiden 2:477, notes that al-Manṣūr’s successor, al-Mahdī, in connection with his rebuilding of the Ka’ba in 160/777, wrote to Wāḍiḥ, now serving as governor of Egypt, to “send money to Mecca and to provide tools and whatever was required in the way of gold, mosaics, and chains for the lanterns.”

898 Al-Rabī’ b. Yūnus, the chamberlain and vizier of al-Manṣūr and his two successors.

899 The collar, or necklace, represents the favor that Hishām, during his lifetime, bestowed on the speaker. Cf. the proverb cited in Lane, *Lexicon*, 7:2616, s.v. *qilāda*: “Thy beneficence is a permanent badge (*qilāda*) on my neck which day and night will not loose.”

me with favor in his lifetime and relieved me of need for anyone else after his death.' Al-Manṣūr said to him: 'You have spoken well, may God bless you. By properly recompensing favors,<sup>900</sup> one incites to good deeds and multiplies acts of benevolence.' He then brought the man into his inner circle."



4. I was informed by Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb,<sup>901</sup> who said that his father told him the following anecdote on the authority of his grandfather Wāḍiḥ, who said: "I heard Khālīd b. Sahm, who had been a member of Marwān b. Muḥammad al-Ja'dī's<sup>902</sup> inner circle, recount to al-Manṣūr how Marwān once asked him for a slave girl of his whom he loved. Marwān then falsely accused him of misdeeds, imprisoned him for a time, and took the slave girl from him. Khālīd was an intelligent and courageous man, and so, when Abū Muslim gained the upper hand and routed Marwān's forces,<sup>903</sup> he released him from prison and promised to treat him well.

"Khālīd said: 'Marwān used to laugh at the clothes of the men in black.'<sup>904</sup> He would say, 'If we were to take them prisoner, we couldn't make them look any uglier and shameful than they have rendered themselves!' But when he was forced to confront them in battle and attack them, I saw that he was frightened to engage them in combat. He said to me: 'Abū Yazīd'—he had never addressed me so familiarly before<sup>905</sup>—"I am really frightened. Does it show on me?" I replied: "Not at all, Commander of the Faithful!" I was only trying to flatter him—in fact I was pleased by the change in his fortunes. He said, "I find that

900 Arabic *bi-ḥusn al-mukāfa'a*, echoing the title of Ibn al-Dāya's work, *Kitāb al-Mukāfa'a wa-ḥusn al-'uqbā* [The Book of Recompense and Fair Requit].

901 Ed. Shākir, pp. 83–84 (No. 43). Background: The anecdote, again told on the authority of al-Ya'qūbī's grandfather Wāḍiḥ, illustrates how an evil action, in this case the last Umayyad caliph's wresting away a courtier's beloved slave girl, bears fruit later when the same courtier begrudges the caliph his true opinion and deliberately leads him to choose the worse of two alternatives, thereby leading to the caliph's death. The courtier, Khālīd b. Sahm, survived his master's death and eventually was freed. Now, years later, at the court of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr, he recounts his experience.

902 Marwān II, the last Umayyad caliph (r. 127–132/744–750).

903 This refers to the 'Abbāsīd victory over the Umayyads in 132/750.

904 That is, the 'Abbāsīds, who fought under black banners and wore black to distinguish themselves.

905 The Arabic literally says: "He had never addressed me by my *kunya* before that day." The combination of "Abū" with a name or term, typically used as an honorific, nickname, or nom de guerre, is the *kunya*.

I don't have courage to attack them." So I replied: "If that is the case, protect yourself from them by fleeing. Your horses are swifter than theirs."

'He fled, and Abū Muslim's men stopped pursuing him. When he reached his baggage train, he said to me: "I have decided to make for Byzantine territory." This, in fact, was his best option, but I begrudged him my advice and deliberately misled him. I said: "Would you have these young sons of yours and your entourage take refuge with an unbeliever who would only take heart and whose situation would be much improved? And perhaps your sons will be so taken with what they see in his realm that they turn Christian! No, you should continue on until you reach Egypt, where you will find men and horses and be able to choose what to do."

'He accepted my advice, and we set out. When we reached Egypt, he proceeded to the countryside, while I sought protection in a settled area because of a falling-out between us. He was killed at Būṣīr al-Ushmūnayn.'"<sup>906</sup>



5. I was informed by Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb,<sup>907</sup> who said that his father told him the following anecdote on the authority of his grandfather Wāḍiḥ, who said: "During the reign of al-Manṣūr, hostility developed between (the future caliph) al-Mahdī and his brother, Ja'far b. Abī Ja'far. Maṣqala b. Ḥabīb used to report to Ja'far displeasing things that al-Mahdī had said. Al-Mahdī could not retaliate against Maṣqala or punish him in any way, but when he became caliph, he vowed to take his life, so Maṣqala went into hiding.

"Maṣqala told me that his hiding place did not suit him, so he ventured out furtively seeking another. One of his enemies chanced upon him and shouted to the night watch,<sup>908</sup> "This man is wanted by the Commander of the Faithful!" [Maṣqala said:] "The watchmen rushed for me. I was certain that death was at hand. But just at that moment, as they held me, Ma'n b. Zā'ida passed by, so I called to him: "Master! Abū l-Mundhir! Rescue me, may God protect you." So he

<sup>906</sup> Because *Būṣīr* was an element in several Egyptian toponyms, it was usual to distinguish them from each other, as al-Ya'qūbī has done here: *Būṣīr al-Ushmūnayn* means 'the Būṣīr that is near al-Ushmūnayn,' which places the site in Middle Egypt, near modern El Ashmunain in Minya Governorate. There are two traditions about Marwān's death; both locate it at a place called Būṣīr, but differ as to which Būṣīr; see the article by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Būṣīr or Abūṣīr.

<sup>907</sup> Ed. Shākir, pp. 119–120 (No. 60).

<sup>908</sup> Arabic *aṣḥāb al-arbā'*, the individuals charged with monitoring entry to and thus the security of urban neighborhoods.

said to the watchmen and to the man who was holding me, "Release him!" The man replied, "And what shall I say to the Commander of the Faithful?" Ma'n replied, "You will tell him that he is with me." He mounted me upon one of his pack camels and took me to his home. When his dinner was served, I ate with him and his sons. As soon as we finished, he was told that a messenger had arrived from the Commander of the Faithful. He turned to his sons and said, "Swear to me that you will not hand over Maşqala, for he has sought my protection." They promised him as much, and he rode off. As soon as al-Mahdī saw him, he asked, "Ma'n, are you granting someone protection from me?" Ma'n answered, "Yes, Commander of the Faithful." Al-Mahdī said, "And you admit as much?" Ma'n replied: "Commander of the Faithful, I have killed for your dynasty some 30,000 enemies. Am I not entitled to extend protection under it to one enemy?" The caliph replied, "Yes, you may claim that right, and we hereby grant you his life." Ma'n said: "Commander of the Faithful, this is not how someone like you grants life! When you grant a person his life, make it, by your generosity, a life of comfort." The caliph replied, "Let him be given 1,000 dinars." Ma'n replied, "Commander of the Faithful, your gift should not be the same as the gift of your servant Ma'n, for that is the amount that I have given him." So the caliph said, "Give the man under Ma'n's protection 2,000 dinars." So I went home, 3,000 dinars in hand and free from fear."



6. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb told me the following anecdote on the authority of his father:<sup>909</sup> Jibrīl b. Bukhtīshū' used to assist the physicians at the court of al-Rashīd.<sup>910</sup> He was a man of integrity but very poor. His salary at that time was only three hundred dirhams a month. On a certain occasion al-Rashīd fainted with no previous sign of illness. The consensus of the doctors was that he would perish. When Ibn Bukhtīshū' was informed, he said, "There is only one treatment: they must cup him." Muḥammad al-Amīn<sup>911</sup> said at first, "I fear

<sup>909</sup> Ed. Shākir, pp. 144–145 (No. 72).

<sup>910</sup> Jibrīl b. Bukhtīshū' belonged to a distinguished Christian family of physicians. His father, Bukhtīshū' b. Jurjīs, was al-Rashīd's physician-in-chief until his death in 185/801. Jibrīl, the son, did not immediately succeed to his father's position, as indicated by the detail that he "was an assistant." (Arabic *kāna yakhluḍu l-aṭibbā'* means literally, "used to come behind the physicians.") Al-Rashīd will refer to him as a young man (*ghulām*). On his career, see the article by D. Sourdél in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bukhtīshū'.

<sup>911</sup> Al-Rashīd's son and a future caliph.



that we might endanger his life.” But then he said: “Now that we are in despair about his condition, the right thing to do is to try it.”

They summoned the cupper. He gathered the blood into his two neck veins, while al-Rashīd lay prostrate, then extracted two cupping glasses of his blood. Al-Rashīd opened his eyes, called for food, ate, and fell asleep. When he woke up, al-Ma’mūn<sup>912</sup> told him how the operation had gone, and well-wishers were allowed to enter. When they finished, he addressed them: “You commanders and doctors, I appointed you to protect my life, but when a crisis befell me, only this young man, apart from God Almighty, was of any use to me. He earns little from me, while all of you earn much. So right the imbalance: let each of you give him a share of what I so graciously bestow on you, so that he receives from you proper compensation for the protection he has afforded me.” The notables hastened to give Jibrīl estates, homes, and money, until he became the wealthiest man in the realm. His wealth and that of his sons increased until it came to equal that of the caliphs themselves.

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912 Al-Rashīd's other son and a future caliph.

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## In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

... against Adam. Nothing of what God created complied with him<sup>1</sup> except the snake.<sup>2</sup> When Adam saw the delight to be found in the Garden<sup>3</sup> he said, “Would that there were a way to dwell here forever!” When Iblis heard this from him, he set his hopes on him and began to weep. Adam and Eve looked at him weeping, and said to him, “What is making you weep?” He said: “Because the two of you will be leaving all of this. *Your Lord has only prohibited you from this tree lest you become angels, or lest you become immortals.*” And he swore to them, “*Truly, I am for you a sincere adviser.*”<sup>4</sup>

The clothing of Adam and Eve was garments of light. When they tasted of the tree, their private parts became apparent to them. The People of the Book<sup>5</sup> maintain that Adam’s stay on the earth, before entering the garden, was for three hours, and for three hours he and Eve lived in happiness and dignity, before they ate of the tree and their private parts became apparent to them.<sup>6</sup> When his private parts became apparent to Adam, he took a leaf from the tree and put it on himself. Then he cried out, “Here I am, O Lord, naked, having eaten from the tree which You forbade me.” God said: “Return to the earth from which you were created. I will subject to you and to your offspring the birds of the heavens and the fish of the seas.”

God expelled Adam and Eve from where they had been, according to the People | of the Book, at the ninth hour on Friday. They fell down to the earth, sad and weeping. Their fall was onto the nearest of the earth’s mountains to the Garden. It was in the land of India. Some people, however, say it was onto Abū 1:3

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1 That is, complied with Iblīs, the devil, in his scheme to cause Adam to disobey God.

2 Reading ‘snake’ with M. The refusal of the animals, except the snake, to cooperate with the devil is a detail that can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:105.

3 Arabic, *mā fī l-jannati min al-na’im*, echoes an expression that occurs eleven times in the Qur’ān—eight times in the plural as *jannāt al-na’im* (“gardens of delight” in Rodwell’s translation, “Gardens of Bliss” in Arberry’s) and three times in the singular.

4 Qur’ān 7:20–21 (trans. Arberry). Unless otherwise indicated, Qur’ānic verses will be given in the 1955 translation by A. J. Arberry.

5 Arabic, *Ahl al-Kitāb*; that is, the Jews and Christians.

6 These details in al-Ya’qūbī, like many details of antediluvian history, echo those in a Christian source that has come down to us in a Syriac version entitled *M’arrat Gazzē* (The Cave of Treasures) and in an early Arabic translation. Attributed in the manuscripts to St. Efreem the Syrian (c. 306–373 CE), the authorship of the work is now thought to be by a later member of his school. The work can be consulted in the edition by Carl Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, which contains the Syriac and Arabic texts, as well as a German translation. There is an English translation by E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*.

Qubays, a mountain in Mecca. Adam settled in a cave in that mountain, which he named the Cave of the Treasure,<sup>7</sup> and he prayed to God to sanctify it.

Some report that when Adam fell, his weeping became great and his sadness over leaving the Garden persisted. Thereupon, God inspired him to say: "There is no God except You. Glory and praise to You! I have done evil and have wronged myself. Forgive me, for You are the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate."<sup>8</sup> *Then Adam received words from his Lord, and He turned toward him<sup>9</sup> and chose him.*<sup>10</sup> He sent down to him the Black Stone from the Garden in which it was, and He commanded him to convey it to Mecca and build a house for it.<sup>11</sup> So he went to Mecca and built the house, and he circumambulated it. Next, God ordered him to sacrifice to Him, then to pray to Him and glorify Him. Gabriel went out with him, until he stood at 'Arafāt.<sup>12</sup> Gabriel said to him, "At this place your Lord has commanded you to stand for Him." Then he went on with him to Mecca. When Iblīs blocked his way, Gabriel said, "Pelt him." So Adam pelted him with stones.<sup>13</sup> Then he reached the valley of Mecca, and the angels received him and said to him: "O Adam, your pilgrimage went well! We have made the pilgrimage to this house before you for two thousand years."

Then God sent down wheat to Adam and commanded him to eat of his toil. So he plowed and planted. Then he harvested, threshed, ground, kneaded, and baked. When he finished, his brow was bathed in sweat. Then he ate. When he was full, what was in his belly weighed heavily. So Gabriel came down to him and spread his legs. When what was in his belly came out, Adam sensed an odor that was disgusting. "What is this?" he asked. Gabriel said to him, "The odor of the wheat."

1:4 Adam had intercourse with Eve; she conceived and gave birth to | a boy and a girl. He named the boy Cain and the girl Lūbidhā. Then she conceived again and gave birth to a boy and a girl. He named the boy Abel and the girl Iqlīmā.<sup>14</sup> When

7 Cf. *Schatzhöhle*, ed. Bezold, 7–8, 32–33; trans. Budge, 69.

8 The language echoes Qur'ān 28:16, though in the Qur'ān the speaker is Moses.

9 Qur'ān 2:37.

10 Qur'ān 20:22.

11 Another possible translation, "... and build a house for Him." The Ka'ba is often called "God's House," *Bayt Allāh*. The Black Stone is the stone that is built into its eastern corner.

12 'Arafāt (or in the singular form, 'Arafa) is a plain about 21 km (13 miles) east of Mecca. It is the site of the central ceremonies of the pilgrimage. The assembly of pilgrims there is called "a standing" (*wuqūf*), and al-Ya'qūbī alludes to this terminology here.

13 This throwing of stones became part of the Islamic pilgrimage. It is done by the pilgrims returning from 'Arafāt to Mecca, at Minā, where there is a construction called al-Jamra, which symbolizes the devil.

14 These names occur in *Schatzhöhle*, 8, 34–35 (trans. Budge, 69) as Labūdā (Syriac and Ara-

his children grew up and reached marriage age, Adam said to Eve, “Command Cain to marry Iqlīmā, who was born with Abel, and command Abel to marry Lūbidhā, who was born with Cain.” Then Cain became envious of him (that is, Abel), because he was marrying his sister, who had been born with him.<sup>15</sup>

Some have reported that God sent down a Houri<sup>16</sup> from Paradise to Abel and married him to her, and He brought out a female Jinn to Cain and married him to her. So Cain was jealous of his brother on account of the Houri. Adam then told both of them to make an offering. Abel offered some figs from his crop; Cain offered God the best ram among his sheep. God accepted Abel’s offering, but He did not accept Cain’s offering, and so he grew more ill-willed and jealous. Satan made the murder of his brother appear attractive to him, so he crushed him to death with stones. God therefore became angry with Cain and cursed him. He sent him down off the Holy Mountain to a land called Nod.<sup>17</sup>

Adam and Eve remained in mourning for Abel for a very long time, until it was said that a veritable river emerged from their tears. After he had become one hundred and thirty years old, Adam had intercourse with Eve and she conceived and gave birth to a boy. He named him Seth, and of Adam’s sons he was the one who most closely resembled Adam. Then Adam married Seth off, and a boy was born to him when he was a hundred and sixty-five years old; he named him Enosh. Then a boy was born to Enosh, and he named him Kenan. Then a boy was born to Kenan and he named him Mahalalel. These were born during Adam’s life and in his time.

When it came time for Adam’s demise, his son Seth, together with his son | and his son’s son, came to him, and he prayed over them and asked a blessing for them. He entrusted his last will and testament to Seth, and he commanded him to preserve his body and put it, when he died, in the Cave of the Treasure. Furthermore, he (that is, Seth) should give charge to his sons and sons’ sons, and each one should pass it on at his own demise: that when they came down from their mountain, they should take his body and put it in the middle of

1:5

bic) and as Qlīmat (Syriac), Iqlīmā (Arabic)—the vocalization in each case is uncertain. The same names in variant form can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:144, 146.

15 *Schatzhöhle*, *ibid.*, adds that Labūdā, Cain’s twin sister, was beautiful, presumably more beautiful than Abel’s twin, so that Cain wanted to marry his own twin sister, which scandalized Adam. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:138.

16 Arabic, *ḥawrā’* “a woman fair of complexion, with intense whiteness of the ‘white’ of the eye,” more commonly used in its plural form *ḥūr* to designate the women promised by the Qur’ān to believers in Paradise. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥūr.

17 As corrected by the Leiden editor from MSS Anūr.

the earth.<sup>18</sup> He commanded his son Seth to take charge after him among their progeny, command them to fear God and worship Him aright, and forbid them to mingle with the accursed Cain and his offspring. Then he prayed over those sons of his and their wives and children. He died on the sixth of Nīsān, a Friday, at the very hour when he was created. He was, as it is agreed, nine hundred and thirty years old.

### Seth, the Son of Adam

After the death of Adam, his son Seth arose. He used to bid his people to fear God and to do good works. They, along with their wives and children, used to praise God and to hallow Him. There was no enmity among them, nor any envy, hatred, recrimination, lying, or breaking of promises. When one of them wanted to swear, he said, “No, by the blood of Abel.”<sup>19</sup>

When Seth’s death was imminent, his sons and the sons of his sons came to him. They were at that time: Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, and Enoch, with their wives and their sons. He prayed over them and invoked a blessing upon them. He ordered them and made them swear by the blood of Abel that none of them would go down from the holy mountain, that they would not allow any of their children to go down from it, and that they would not mingle with the children of the accursed Cain. He gave his testament to his son Enosh and commanded him to take custody of the body of Adam, fear God, and command his people to fear God and to worship aright. Then he died on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of Āb, at the third hour of the day. He was nine hundred and twelve years old.

1:6

### Enosh, the Son of Seth

After the death of his father, Enosh, the son of Seth, undertook to keep the testament of his father and grandfather. He worshipped God aright, and commanded his people to worship aright. In his days the accursed Cain was killed.

18 In the *Schatzhöhle*, this is given a Christian interpretation. The middle or center of the world is identified as Jerusalem, and Adam asks that his body be buried there, “for in that place shall redemption be effected for me and for all my children.” (*Schatzhöhle*, 9, 40–41; trans. Budge, 72). Although these specifically Christian details may have been known to al-Ya’qūbī, he omits them from his account.

19 A similar formula is found in *Schatzhöhle*, 10, 44–45; trans. Budge, 75.

The blind Lamech threw a stone at him and crushed his head, and so he died. After Enosh was ninety years old, Kenan was born to him. When the death of Enosh was imminent, his sons and his sons' sons gathered around him: Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, and Methuselah, along with their wives and their sons. He prayed over them and invoked a blessing upon them. He forbade them to go down from their holy mountain, or to let any of their sons mingle with the offspring of the accursed Cain. He put Kenan in charge of the body of Adam. He ordered them to pray in his presence and to hallow God frequently. He died on the third of Tishrīn I, at sunset. He was nine hundred and sixty-five years old.

### **Kenan, the Son of Enosh**

Kenan, the son of Enosh, arose. He was a gentle, god-fearing, and holy man. He undertook among his people to obey God, worship aright, and follow the testament of Adam and Seth. Mahalalel had been born to him after he was seventy years old. When his death drew near, his sons and the sons of his sons, Mahalalel, Jared, Methuselah, Lamech, and their wives and children, assembled around him. He prayed over them and invoked a blessing upon them. He made them swear by the blood of Abel that none of them would go down from their holy mountain to the offspring of the accursed Cain. He made his testament to Mahalalel and commanded him to take charge of the body of Adam. Kenan died; he was nine hundred and twenty years old.

### **Mahalalel, the Son of Kenan**

1:7

After the death of Kenan, Mahalalel, the son of Kenan, arose. He undertook among his people to obey God and follow the testament of his father. Jared was born to him when he was sixty-five years old. When Mahalalel's death drew near, he made his testament to his son Jared and gave him charge of the body of Adam. Mahalalel died on Sunday, the second of Nīsān, at the third hour of the day. He was eight hundred and ninety-five years old.

### **Jared, the Son of Mahalalel**

After the death of Mahalalel, Jared arose. He was a believing man, perfect in his works and worship of God, praying frequently by night and by day, and

therefore God increased his lifespan. Enoch was born to him when he was sixty-two years old. In Jared's fortieth year, the first millennium was completed.<sup>20</sup>

When five hundred years of Jared's life had passed, the sons of Seth broke the covenant and pacts that had existed among them, and they started going down to the land where the sons of Cain were.<sup>21</sup> Their going down began when Satan took to himself two devils from among mankind—one was named Jubal, the other Tubal-cain—and taught them the arts of singing and playing instruments. Jubal fashioned flutes, lutes, guitars, and horns; Tubal-cain fashioned drums, tambourines, and cymbals. The sons of Cain had no work to occupy them, and they made no remembrance except before Satan. They used to do forbidden and sinful things and would come together for depravity. Their old  
1:8 men and women were even keener for it than the youths. They would | gather to play flutes, drums, tambourines, guitars, and cymbals, shouting and laughing, until the people of the mountain, the sons of Seth, heard their voices. A hundred of their men decided to go down to the sons of Cain, to see what these sounds were. When Jared received word of this, he went to them and implored them by God. He reminded them of the testament of their fathers, and swore against them by the blood of Abel. Enoch, the son of Jared, rose up among them and said, "Know that if any of you disobeys our father Jared, breaks the covenants of our fathers, and goes down from our mountain, we will never let him come up again." But they insisted on going down; and when they went down, they commingled with the daughters of Cain, having first engaged in depravities.

When the death of Jared drew near, his sons and the sons of his sons, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah, gathered around him. He prayed over them and invoked a blessing upon them. He forbade them to go down from the holy mountain, and he said: "Inevitably you will go down to the lowland. Whoever of you is the last to go down, let him take with him the body of our father Adam and let him put it in the midst of the earth as he ordered us." He commanded his son Enoch not to cease praying in the Cave of Treasure. Then he died on Friday, the first of Adhār, at sunset. He was nine hundred and sixty-two years old.

20 In the biblical section of his history, al-Ya'qūbī follows a chronology of millennia similar to that in the *Schatzhöhle*. In the latter work the schema is more functional, as the coming of Christ occurs precisely at the middle of the fifth millennium, as prophesied. Al-Ya'qūbī drops the schema after mentioning the end of the fourth millennium.

21 Parallel: *Schatzhöhle*, 14–16, 58–69; trans. Budge, 84–90. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:168–170.

### Enoch, the Son of Jared

Then Enoch, the son of Jared, arose after Jared and carried on the worship of God. When he was sixty-five years old, Methuselah was born to him. The sons of Seth, their wives, and their children, started to go down. In dismay, Enoch summoned his progeny—Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah—and said to them, “I know that God will punish this community with a heavy punishment in which there is no mercy.” Enoch was the first to write | with the pen. He was 1:9 the prophet Idrīs.<sup>22</sup> He commanded his offspring to worship God with sincerity and to apply themselves to truth and certainty. Then God lifted him up when he was three hundred years old.

### Methuselah, the Son of Enoch

Then Methuselah, the son of Enoch, carried on the worship of God and obedience to Him. When he was one hundred and eighty-seven years old, Lamech was born to him. It was in this era that God sent a revelation to Noah and informed him that He would send the deluge upon the people, and He ordered him to build a wooden ship. When Noah completed three hundred and forty-four years, the second millennium was completed. Methuselah died on the twenty-first of Aylül, a Thursday. He was nine hundred and sixty years old.

### Lamech, the Son of Methusaleh

After his father, Lamech carried on the worship of God and obedience to Him. A son had been born to him when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old. In his era the giants became numerous—that was because when the sons of Seth had intercourse with the daughters of Cain, the latter bore them the giants.

When Lamech's death approached, he summoned Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and their wives. None of the sons of Seth were left on the mountain

<sup>22</sup> Idrīs is a prophet mentioned twice in the Qur'ān (19:56–57, 21:85–86). On the basis of Qur'ān 19:57 (“We raised him up to a high place”), he was identified with the biblical Enoch, who, in Rabbinical and later legend, on the basis of the enigmatic language in Genesis 5:24 (“Enoch walked with God; then he was no more because God took him”), was said to have been raised to heaven (hence his relatively short lifespan—only 300 years in al-Ya'qūbī, 365 years in Genesis 5:23). See the article by G. Vajda in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Idrīs.

1:10 who had not gone down to the sons of Cain except them—eight persons, and before the deluge they had no children. Lamech prayed over them and invoked a blessing upon them. Then he wept and said to them: “No one remains of our race except these eight persons. I ask God, who created Adam and Eve alone and multiplied their offspring, to save you from this wrath that He has prepared for the evil community, multiply your offspring until | they fill the earth, grant you the blessing of our father Adam, and give rule to your offspring. I am going to die, and none of the people of wrath will escape, except you, Noah. When I die, take me and put me in the Cave of Treasure. When God wills for you to board the boat, take the body of our father Adam, bring it down with you, and put it in the middle of the upper deck of the boat. You and your sons stay on the east side of the boat; let your wife and your daughters-in-law stay on the west side of it, and let the body of Adam be between you. Do not cross over to your wives, and let not your wives cross over to you. Do not eat or drink with them or approach them until you disembark from the boat. When the deluge goes away and you disembark from the boat, pray<sup>23</sup> by the body of Adam. Then command your eldest son Shem to take the body of Adam and put it in the middle of the earth, and let him set one of his children with it to take charge of it. Let the man be a person dedicated during his lifetime to God’s service.<sup>24</sup> Let him not marry a woman, or build a house, or shed blood, or offer an animal or bird offering. God will send one of the angels with him to guide him to the middle of the earth and to keep him company.”

Lamech died on Sunday, the seventeenth of Adhār, at the ninth hour of the day. He was seven hundred and seventy-seven years old.

## Noah

God, may He be glorified and exalted, sent a revelation to Noah in the days of his grandfather Enoch, who was the prophet Idrīs, before God lifted up Idrīs; He commanded Noah to warn his people, forbid them from the sins they had been committing, and caution them about the punishment. He continued to worship God and to pray for his people. He devoted himself entirely to the

23 The imperative is in the masculine singular, indicating that it is addressed to Noah alone. This is emphasized by the inclusion of the masculine singular pronoun *anta* after the imperative.

24 The Arabic uses the word *ḥabr*, which usually refers to Jewish scholars. The Syriac text of *Schatzhöhle*, 84–85, has *nzīrā*, a Nazarite, a loanword from Hebrew *nāzīr*, translated in the Arabic by *nāsik taqī*, “a pious ascetic.”



worship of God | and to prayer for his people, not marrying women for five hundred years. Then God sent him a revelation to marry Haykal, the daughter of Nāmūsā, the son of Enoch.<sup>25</sup> He informed him that He was going to send the deluge over the earth. He commanded him to make the boat in which God saved him and his family, and to make it with three decks, a lower, a middle, and an upper one. He commanded him to make its length three hundred cubits by the cubit of Noah, its width fifty cubits, and its depth thirty cubits, and to make its compartments out of wooden planks. The bottom deck would be for the animals—tame, wild, and predators—the middle one for the birds, and the upper one for Noah and the people of his household. Containers of water and a place for food were to be put on the upper one. Children were born to Noah after he was five hundred years old. 1:11

When Noah finished working on the boat—when the offspring of Cain and those of the offspring of Seth who had commingled with them saw him working on the ark, they ridiculed him—when he finished, he invited them to board it. He informed them that God was going to send the deluge over the whole earth, to cleanse it of disobedient people, but not one of them responded to him. So he and his offspring went up to the Cave of Treasure. They carried down the body of Adam and put it in the middle of the upper deck of the boat on Friday, the seventeenth of Ādhār. He brought the birds into the middle deck, and he brought the domestic and wild animals into the lower deck. He closed it up when the sun went down.

God sent water from the heavens and broke open the springs of the earth, and the waters met for a matter decreed.<sup>26</sup> The whole earth, including the mountains, was covered, and the world was darkened. The light of the sun and the moon went out, so that night and day were the same. According to what the astrologers say, Cancer was in the ascendant at the time God sent the water. The sun, the moon, Saturn, Mercury, | and the ascending node<sup>27</sup> were all together in 1:12

25 The form of this name is evidence that al-Ya'qūbī worked from the Arabic translation of the *Schatzhöhle*, not from the Syriac. The Syriac (*Schatzhöhle*, 82–85) gives the name of Noah's wife as Haykal, the daughter of Nāmūs (Nāmūsā in some manuscripts), the *daughter* of Enoch. In the Arabic translation this becomes Haykal, the daughter of Nāmūsā, the *son* of Enoch, as in al-Ya'qūbī.

26 Cf. Qur'ān 54:11–12: "Then We opened the gates of heaven unto water torrential, and made the earth to gush with fountains, and the waters met for a matter decreed."

27 In astronomy and astrology, a node is a point where the plane of the orbit of some celestial body (here the moon) crosses the plane of the ecliptic (the path traced by the sun in its apparent annual circuit against the background of the fixed stars). At the ascending node, the body's path (here the moon) crosses the ecliptic from south to north; at the descending

the last minute of Pisces. The water continued from heaven and earth for forty days, until it rose fifteen cubits above every mountain. Then it stopped, after no spot of the earth remained without water covering it and overwhelming it. The boat circled the whole earth until it came to Mecca, and it went around the House for a week.<sup>28</sup> Then the water receded after five months, beginning on the seventeenth of Ayyār, until the thirteenth of Tishrīn I.

Some have reported that Noah boarded the boat on the first day of Rajab and that *it came to rest on al-Jūdī*<sup>29</sup> in Muḥarram, which came to be numbered as the first of the months—but the People of the Book disagree on this point.

When *it came to rest on al-Jūdī*, which is a mountain in the vicinity of Mosul, God, exalted be He, commanded the water of the heavens to return whence it had come, and commanded the earth to it swallow up its water. Noah waited for four months after the boat halted. Then he sent out the raven,<sup>30</sup> to find out how things stood with the water. It found corpses floating on the water, settled upon them, and did not return. Then he sent out the dove. It brought back an olive leaf, so he knew that the water had gone. He came out on the twenty-seventh of Ayyār. A full year and ten days elapsed between his embarking on the boat and his emergence from it. When he and his family came back to the earth, they built a city and named it Thamānīn.<sup>31</sup> When Noah emerged from the boat and saw people's bones glimmering, it grieved him and saddened him. God revealed to him, "I will not send the deluge onto the earth ever again after this."

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node, it crosses from north to south. The location of the moon's ascending and descending nodes is of interest to astronomers and astrologers because a lunar or solar eclipse can occur only when the moon is at or near a node.

28 The detail of the boat's circling the Ka'ba also appears in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫh*, 1:193, 197.

29 Qur'ān 11:44.

30 Arabic *ghurāb* (cognate to Hebrew *ʿōrēb*, the word used in Genesis 8:7) designates both the crow and the raven; however, given the raven's ability to soar, its intelligence, and its fondness for carrion, given also the Jewish and Christian exegetical tradition, it is best translated as raven.

31 The name means Eighty in Arabic. Indeed, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫh*, 1:194–197, says "he called it Thamānīn because he had built a house there for each of the men who were with him; they were eighty." However, he also reports other traditions that place the number of individuals on the boat with Noah as eight (al-Ya'qūbī's tradition), seven, or ten. The form Thamānīn (the oblique case of Thamānūn) may be a folk etymology for a name not originally Arabic. *Schatzhöhle*, 102–103, has Tmānōn (Syriac) and Thamānūn (Arabic), but with the note in both the Syriac and Arabic, "named because of the *eight* souls who had come out with him." In Syriac, Tmānōn would not mean eighty (*tmānīn* in Syriac), but would be a form from the base of *tmānē* (eight) + the diminutive suffix *-ōn*.

When Noah emerged from the boat, he locked it with a lock and handed the key to his son Shem. Then Noah tilled and planted a vineyard, and he cultivated the earth. One day while Noah was sleeping, his garment became uncovered, and his son Ham saw his private parts and laughed. His brothers Shem and Japheth were told, and the two of them took a garment, | brought it to him with their faces turned away from him, and put the garment over him. When Noah awoke from his sleep and learned of the affair, he cursed Canaan, the son of Ham, but he did not curse Ham—the Copts, the Ethiopians, and the Indians are the offspring of the latter. 1:13

Canaan was the first of the offspring of Noah to return to the works of the sons of Cain. He devoted himself to musical instruments, singing, flutes, drums, guitars, and cymbals. He obeyed Satan in amusement and idleness.

Noah divided the earth among his offspring.<sup>32</sup> To Shem he allotted the middle of the earth: the sacred area and its surroundings,<sup>33</sup> Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt, extending to Oman, to al-Baḥrayn, to ‘Ālij and Yabrīn, and Wabār, al-Daww and al-Dahnā’. To Ham he allotted the land of the west and the coastal areas.<sup>34</sup> He begot Cush son of Ham, Canaan son of Ham, the Nubians, the Zanj, and the Ethiopians. Noah’s son Japheth settled in the region between the east and the west. Born to him were Gomer, Tubal,<sup>35</sup> Māsh,<sup>36</sup> Meshech, and Magog. Gomer begot the Slavs; Tubal begot Burjān;<sup>37</sup> Māsh begot the Turks and the Khazars;<sup>38</sup> Meshech begot al-Ashbān;<sup>39</sup> Magog begot Yagog and Magog. These were in the eastern part of the earth, by the Turks. The homes of the Slavs and the Burjān were in the land of the Romans, before the Romans existed. These were the offspring of Japheth.

After disembarking from the boat, Noah lived three hundred and sixty years. When the death of Noah was imminent, his three sons, Shem, Ham, and

32 Parallel traditions about the descendents of Noah may be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:21 ff.

33 Arabic, *al-Ḥaram*, referring to Mecca.

34 To an Arabic reader, *arḍ al-maghrib wa-l-sawāḥil*, would suggest North Africa (the Maghreb) along with the east coast of Africa. *Sawāḥil* (coasts) is the source of the name of the language Swahili (Arabic *sawāḥilī*) spoken along the coast of East Africa familiar to Arab traders.

35 Ed. Leiden, M: Shūbal (twice).

36 Sic Ed. Leiden, M; perhaps to be identified with Madai of Genesis 10:2.

37 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:218. The translator, William M. Brinner (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 11, 17n) sees a possible reference to the Bulgars.

38 Sic ed. Leiden (*al-Khazar*); M *al-juzur* (the islands).

39 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:218. The translator, William M. Brinner (*ibid.*, 16n) notes that the name (possibly to be read Ishbān) may conceal a reference to the city of Iṣbahān or to Spain.

Japheth, and their sons, gathered around him. He gave them his testament and commanded them to worship God. He commanded that when he died, 1:14 Shem should enter the boat unbeknownst to anyone and remove Adam's body; | Melchizedek, the son of Lamech son of Shem, was to go with him, for God had chosen him to be with Adam's body in the middle of the earth in the holy place. He said to him: "Shem, when you and Melchizedek set out, God will send an angel with you to guide you on the way and to show you the middle of the earth. Tell no one what you are doing. This command is Adam's testament, with which he charged his sons, and they passed on the charge one to another, until it has come to you. When you arrive at the place which the angel will show you, put Adam's body in it. Then command Melchizedek not to depart from it and to have no work except the worship of God. Command him not to marry any woman, or build any building, or shed any blood, or dress in any garment except the skins of wild animals, or cut his hair or nails. Let him sit alone and constantly praise God." Then Noah died in Ayyār, on a Wednesday. He lived for nine hundred and fifty years, just as God, exalted be He, has related: *a thousand years, less fifty*.<sup>40</sup>

### Shem, the Son of Noah

After his father, Shem, the son of Noah, carried on the worship of God and obedience to Him. Arpachshad had been born to him when he was one hundred and two years old. Seth then set out; he opened the boat, took Adam's body, and brought it down, keeping it a secret from his brothers and his family. Summoning his brothers Japheth and Ham, he said to them: "My father gave me a charge and commanded me to go to the sea, examine the earth, and then return. Do not move on until I come back to you, and take good care of my wife and son." 1:15 His brothers said to him, "Go in God's keeping; for you know that the earth is devastated, and we fear that predatory animals may harm you." Shem said, | "God will send an angel, and so, God willing, I will fear nothing." Shem summoned his son Lamech and said to him and to his wife Yozedek,<sup>41</sup> "Send your son Melchizedek with me, to keep me company on the way." The two of them said to him, "Go, rightly guided." To his two brothers, his wife, and his son, Shem said: "You know that our father Noah charged me and commanded me to seal

<sup>40</sup> Qur'ān 29:14.

<sup>41</sup> The text in the MSS (*yā wazdaq*) is meaningless. The easiest solution is to change one letter (omit the *alif*), which yields the name of Lamech's wife Yōzadaq (= Yozedek) given in *Schatzhöhle*, 116–117.

the boat, and that neither I nor any other person should enter it. Therefore, let none of you come near the boat.”

Then Shem set out, and his son with him. The angel appeared to them and was with them continually, until he brought them to the place where they were commanded to put the body of Adam. It is said to be in the mosque of Minā, by the minaret; however, the People of the Book say it is in Syria, in the Holy Land. The ground opened up and they put the body in it; then it closed over it. Shem said to Melchizedek, the son of Lamech son of Shem: “Remain here and worship God aright. God will send you an angel every day to keep you company.” Then he said goodbye to him and left. When he came to his family, and his son Lamech asked him about Melchizedek, he said, “He died on the way and I buried him.” So his father and his mother grieved for him.

When death drew near for Shem, he gave his testament to his son Arpachshad. Shem died on Thursday, the seventh of Aylūl. He was six hundred years old.

### **Arpachshad, the Son of Shem**

Then Arpachshad, the son of Shem, carried on the worship of God and obedience to Him. After he was one hundred and eighty-five years old, Shelah had been born to him. The offspring of Noah had scattered throughout the lands, and the giants and the violent among them had grown numerous. | Canaan, the son of Ham, corrupted the offspring of Noah, and they committed sins openly.

1:16

When death was imminent for Arpachshad, he gathered his offspring and family to him and gave them his testament, that they should worship God and avoid sins. He said to his son Shelah, “Accept my testament, and carry on in your family after me, acting in obedience to God.” He died on Sunday, the twenty-third of Nīsān. He was four hundred and sixty-five years old.

### **Shelah, the Son of Arpachshad**

Then Shelah, the son of Arpachshad, arose among his people, commanding them to obey God, forbidding them to sin against Him, and warning them of the wrath and punishment that had befallen the sinful people. Eber had been born to him when he was one hundred and thirty years old. When his death was imminent, he gave his testament to his son Eber son of Shelah. He commanded him to avoid the deeds of the sons of Cain, the accursed. He died on Monday, the thirteenth of Ādhār. He was four hundred and thirty years old.

### Eber, the Son of Shelah

Then Eber, the son of Shelah, arose, summoning his people to obey God and warning the sons of Shem son of Noah against commingling with the progeny of Canaan son of Ham, who had altered the religion of his fathers and had committed sins. When Eber was one hundred and thirty-four years old, Peleg had been born to him. When Eber's death was imminent, he gave his testament to his son Peleg. He said to him: "My son, when the offspring of the accursed Cain committed many sins against God and the offspring of Seth joined with them, God sent wrath upon them. Therefore, do not enter, you or your family, into the community<sup>42</sup> of the sons of Canaan."

1:17 Eber died on Thursday the twenty-third of Tishrīn 1. | He was three hundred and forty years old; others say one hundred and sixty-four.

### Peleg, the Son of Eber

After Eber, his son Peleg arose, calling people to obey God. In his time, Noah's progeny gathered in Babylon. This was because Māsh, the son of Aram son of Shem son of Noah, came to the land of Babylon. He begot Nimrod the Mighty<sup>43</sup> and Nabīṭ,<sup>44</sup> who was the father of the Nabataeans<sup>45</sup> and the first who dug canals, planted trees, and cultivated the land. The language of all of

42 Arabic, *milla*. The word primarily means a religion or sect and occurs in the Qur'ān referring both to heathen religions (as here) and to the "religion of Abraham (*millat Ibrāhīm*)," that is, true monotheism. See the article by F. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Milla*.

43 Arabic: *Namrūd al-jabbār*. The primary meaning in Arabic of *jabbār* (a loan from Hebrew or Aramaic) is "one who magnifies himself, or behaves proudly or haughtily or insolently ...: imperious, or domineering, by absolute force and power; overbearing; tyrannical; a tyrant" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). The word also became a synonym for "giant." In Genesis 10:8–9, Nimrod is called first *gibbōr* (RSV "a mighty warrior") and then *gibbōr ṣayid* (RSV "a mighty hunter"). Although Nimrod is not mentioned by name in the Qur'ān, he is alluded to. On the development of the story in Islamic sources, see the article by B. Heller in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Namrūd*.

44 M: *Yanbiṭ*.

45 Arabic, *al-nabaṭ*. The Arabic term designated two distinct groups: the Nabataeans of Syria (*nabaṭ al-shām*), a people probably of Arab origin who controlled a kingdom centered on the city of Petra in late Hellenistic and Roman times, and the Nabataeans of Iraq (*nabaṭ al-ʿirāq*), a term that eventually extended to include all of the Aramaic-speaking population of Mesopotamia. See the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Nabaṭ*.

them was Syriac,<sup>46</sup> which had been the language of Adam. When they were gathered in Babylon, they said to each other, “Let us build a building whose foundation is the earth and whose summit the sky.” When they started building, they said, “We will use it as a stronghold to preserve us from the deluge.” But God destroyed their stronghold and divided their languages into seventy-two languages, and they divided into seventy-two groups from that place of theirs. There were nineteen languages among the progeny of Shem, sixteen among the progeny of Ham, and thirty-seven among the progeny of Japheth. When they saw the state they were in, they came together to Peleg son of Eber. He said to them, “No single land can hold you, given the division of your languages.” They said, “Divide the land among us.” So he divided it for them. The progeny of Japheth son of Noah received China, India, Sind, the lands of the Turks, those of the Khazars, Tibet, the lands of the Bulgars, Daylam, and the territory adjoining Khurāsān. The king of the sons of Japheth at that time was Jamshādh.<sup>47</sup> The progeny of Ham received the land of the west and the territory beyond the Euphrates to the setting of the sun. The progeny of Shem received the Hijāz, Yemen, and the rest of the earth.

When Peleg was thirty years old, Reu had been born to him. When the death of Peleg was imminent, he gave his testament to his son Reu. Peleg died on Friday, the twelfth | of Aylūl. He was two hundred and thirty-nine years old.

1:18

### Reu, the Son of Peleg

Reu, the son of Peleg, arose after his father, after the languages had divided into seventy-two divisions. Nineteen of them belonged to the sons of Shem, sixteen to the offspring of Ham, and thirty-seven to the offspring of Japheth. Nimrod the Mighty lived in his time. His home was in Babylon, and he was the one who began to build the citadel and the first to make a crown. He reigned for sixty-

46 Arabic uses *suryānī* (Syriac) to designate the Aramaic language generally, not only its later Christian literary form known as Syriac. Since Qurʾān 2:31 states that God “taught Adam the names, all of them,” the language used by Adam became a subject of interest to Islamic writers. One tradition, followed here by al-Yaʿqūbī, identified the language as Syriac, that is, Aramaic. Other traditions identified it as Arabic. See the article by R. Tottoli in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Adam.

47 Jam Shād (written as two words in ed. Leiden and M) is the Iranian hero better known by the form of his name in Ferdousi’s *Shahnameh*: Jamshīd. The name derives ultimately from Avestan *Yima Khshaeta* (Yima the Brilliant). See the article by Cl. Huart and H. Massé in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djamshīd.

seven years. When Reu was thirty-two years old, Serug had been born to him. When Reu was seventy-four years old, the third millennium was completed. When Reu's death was imminent, he gave his testament to his son Serug. Reu died on Wednesday, the fourteenth of Nisān. He was two hundred years old.

### Serug, the Son of Reu

Serug, the son of Reu, arose among the offspring of Shem after the death of his father. The giants<sup>48</sup> had grown numerous and had done violence in the land. Idols were worshipped for the first time in the time of Serug. The beginning of idolatry was that when a person dear to someone died, such as a father, a brother, or a child, he would make an idol in the likeness of the dead person and call it by the person's name. When the next generation came along after them, they thought—Satan proposed it to them—that these had been made to be worshipped, and therefore they worshipped them. Then God divided their religion. Some of them worshipped idols; some of them worshipped the sun; some of them worshipped the moon; some of them worshipped birds; some of them worshipped stones; some of them worshipped trees; some of them  
 1:19 worshipped water; some of them worshipped the wind. | Satan seduced them, led them astray, and made them rebellious.

When Serug was one hundred and thirty years old, Nahor had been born to him. When Serug's death was imminent, he gave his testament to his son Nahor, commanding him to worship God. Serug died on Sunday, the twenty-seventh of Āb. He was two hundred and thirty years old.

### Nahor, the Son of Serug

Nahor succeeded his father. In his time the worship of idols increased. God commanded the earth and it shook mankind with a strong earthquake, so that those idols fell; but they paid no attention to this and put other idols in their place. Also in his time, sorcery, divination, and augury appeared, and people sacrificed their children to the satans. Weights and measures were established. Nahor lived for one hundred and forty-eight years.

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48 Arabic, *jabābira*, pl. of *jabbār*, used previously as the epithet of Nimrod; perhaps simply "mighty men."



The giants of that age were [the offspring of] ʿĀd, son of Uz,<sup>49</sup> son of Aram, son of Shem, son of Noah. They spread through the land, and their habitations were from the highlands of Ḥaḍramawt as far as the valleys of Najrān. When they wrought havoc and did violence, God sent Hūd, son of [ʿAbdallāh, son of Ribāḥ, son of] al-Khalūd,<sup>50</sup> son of ʿĀd, son of Uz, son of Aram, son of Shem, son of Noah. He called them to worship God, obey Him and avoid forbidden things, but they called him a liar. God therefore cut off the rain from them for three years. So they sent a delegation to the Holy House to pray for rain. They kept circumambulating the house and praying energetically<sup>51</sup> for forty mornings. Then they caught sight of two clouds: one was white and contained rain and mercy, the other [was black] and contained punishment and retribution. They heard a voice calling to them, “Choose which of them you want.” They said, “We choose the black one.” It passed over their heads; and when it approached their country, Hūd said to them, | “In this cloud there is a punishment that has over-shadowed you.” “No,” they said, “it is a cloud that will bring us rain.” But it brought a black wind that burnt up everything over which it passed, and none of them escaped except Hūd. It is said that Luqmān, son of ʿĀd, escaped, too, and lived as long as the lifetime granted to seven vultures.<sup>52</sup>

1:20

When ʿĀd passed away, the sons of Thamūd, son of Jāzar, son of Thamūd,<sup>53</sup> son of Aram, son of Shem, son of Noah, moved into their territories; their kings used to live in al-Ḥijr.<sup>54</sup> When they did violence, God sent Ṣāliḥ, son of Tāliḥ, son of Ṣādūq, son of Hūd,<sup>55</sup> to them as a prophet. They asked him to give them a sign. So God brought out of the earth for them a she-camel along with its foal. Ṣāliḥ said to them: “One day is for this camel to come to the water; one day is for you to do so. Take care not to turn her away from the water.” But they called him

49 Arabic *ʿUṣ* (as in Hebrew, RSV Uz).

50 M: *al-Jalūd*: corrected in ed. Leiden on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, 1:231. For a summary of the Arabic traditions about this prophet mentioned in the Qurʾān, but not in the Bible, see the article by A. J. Wensinck and Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hūd.

51 Arabic, *yasʿawna*, which has a number of senses: exert oneself energetically, go at a fast pace. In the latter sense it became a technical term for the running between the hills of Ṣafā and Marwa that forms part of the Islamic pilgrimage. The text may imply that this rite existed even in the time of the prophet Hūd.

52 For the legend of Luqmān, who became proverbial for his wisdom and longevity, see the article by B. Heller and N. A. Stillman in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Luqmān.

53 For “Thamūd, son of Jāzar, son of Thamūd, son of Aram” al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, 1:244, has only “Thamūd, son of Jāthir, son of Aram.” (Jāthir is apparently Gether of Genesis 10:23).

54 Al-Ḥijr is the site known now as Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ in northwestern Saudi Arabia. See the article by F. S. Vidal in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥidjr.

55 mss Thamūd; corrected by Houtsma on the basis of cod. Schefer.

a liar, and one of their men, someone called Qudār, arose and hamstrung her—he struck her hamstring with a sword. Her foal went up to high place; there it brayed, and God sent a punishment upon them. None of them escaped except a woman called al-Dharī'a. The Arabs made Qudār proverbial.<sup>56</sup>

### Terah, the Son of Nahor

Nahor's son Terah, the father of 'God's friend' Abraham,<sup>57</sup> lived in the age of Nimrod the Mighty. Nimrod was the first to worship fire and bow down to it. That was because a fire once emerged from the earth; he approached it and bowed down to it, and a satan addressed him from within it, so he built a building over it and appointed attendants for it.

1:21 In that age, people applied themselves to the science of astronomy. They calculated the eclipses of the sun and moon, and the movements of the planets and the fixed stars. They discoursed | about the celestial sphere and the signs of the zodiac. The one who taught this to Nimrod was a man called Yonṭon.<sup>58</sup> Terah—he is Āzar,<sup>59</sup> the father of Abraham—was a contemporary of Nimrod the Mighty. The astronomers made calculations for Nimrod. They told him that someone would be born in his kingdom who would find fault with his religion, rebuke him, destroy his idols, and disunite his community. Nimrod therefore decreed that the belly of anyone born in his kingdom should be rent open; and this was done, until Abraham was born and his parents concealed him. They kept him secret and put him in a cave where no one could know of him. His birthplace was at Kūthā Rabbā.<sup>60</sup> Abraham was born when Terah was one hundred and seventy years old. Terah, his father, lived for two hundred and five years.

56 That is, proverbial for ill fortune and bad luck; see al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, 30.

57 Arabic, *khalīl Allāh*, based on Qur'ān 4:125.

58 Correcting the apparent reading of M (Yanṭiq) on the basis of *Schatzhöhle*, 138 (trans. Budge, 143), where this Yonṭon is identified as a son of Noah with whom Nimrod studied for three years. Cf. Sidney H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, 190.

59 Qur'ān 6:74.

60 A city in Mesopotamia, biblical Cuthah (2 Kings 17:24), known in Islamic tradition as the place where Abraham was thrown into the fire by Nimrod. Cf. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, 191; Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 68.

## Abraham

Abraham grew up in the time of Nimrod the Mighty. When he left the cave where he had been, he turned his gaze to the heavens, looked at Venus, saw a shining star, and said, “This is my Lord; He has height and elevation.”<sup>61</sup> Then the star disappeared. He said, “My Lord would not disappear.” Then he saw the moon when it rose. He said, “This is my Lord.” But it was not long before the moon disappeared. *He said, “If my Lord does not guide me I shall surely be of the people gone astray.”*<sup>62</sup> When daytime came, the sun rose. He said, “This is my Lord; this one is the most luminous, the brightest.” When the sun disappeared he said, “It disappeared; my Lord would not disappear.” Thus has God related his story and his affair.

When Abraham became older, he marveled when he saw his people worshipping idols. He would say, “*Do you worship what you carve?*”<sup>63</sup> And they would say, “Your father has taught you this.”<sup>64</sup> | He would say, “My father is certainly among those going astray.” What he said became known among his people and the people talked about it.

1:22

God sent him as a prophet. He dispatched Gabriel to him, and he taught him his religion. He began to say to his people, “*I am quit of what you associate (with God).*”<sup>65</sup> A report about him reached Nimrod, and he sent a messenger to him forbidding him from this. Then Abraham began to smash their idols.<sup>66</sup> He would say to one, “Defend yourself!” Nimrod kindled a fire and put him into a catapult and shot him into it. So God sent an inspiration to the fire, “*Be coolness and safety for Abraham.*”<sup>67</sup> He sat in the midst of the fire, unharmed by it. Nimrod said, “Whoever adopts a god, let him adopt one like the god of Abraham!” Lot believed along with him. Lot was the son of his brother, Haran son of Terah.

God commanded Abraham to leave the country of Nimrod for Syria,<sup>68</sup> the Holy Land. Abraham, his wife Sarah—she was the daughter of Haran, the son

61 The narrative is based on Qurʾān 6:74–79. Two versions of it appear in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:255, 258.

62 Qurʾān 6:77.

63 Qurʾān 37:95.

64 Sic MSS, including M. Houtsma unnecessarily corrects this in ed. Leiden to “has taught us.”

65 Qurʾān 6:78.

66 The story of Abraham’s smashing the idols is based on Qurʾān 21:51–70. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:259–260.

67 Qurʾān 21:69.

68 Arabic, *al-Shaʾm* (or *al-Shām*), designates the countries of the Levant northwest of the

of his paternal uncle Nahor—and Lot the son of Haran<sup>69</sup> left to emigrate to where God commanded them. They settled in the land of Palestine. His wealth and the wealth of Lot increased. Abraham said to Lot: “God has increased our wealth and livestock for us. Therefore, go apart from us, and settle in the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah”—near the place where Abraham was. When Lot came to the city<sup>70</sup> of Sodom and Gomorrah and settled there, the king of that region came upon him, fought with him, and took his wealth. Abraham went and rescued his wealth.<sup>71</sup>

God enriched Abraham with much wealth. He said, “Lord, what am I to do with wealth, when I have no offspring?” God sent a revelation, “I will multiply your offspring until they become as numerous as the stars.”

1:23 Sarah had a slave-girl named Hagar, and she gave her to Abraham. He had intercourse with Hagar, and she conceived and bore Ishmael. Abraham was then eighty-six years old. God said, “I will multiply your offspring | and set lasting dominion among them forever, so that no one shall know their number.”

When Hagar bore a child, Sarah became jealous. She said, “Take her and her child away from me.” He took her away, along with Ishmael, and brought them to Mecca. He settled them at the Sacred House and left them. Hagar said to him, “In whose care are you leaving us?” He said, “In the care of the Lord of this building.” And he said, “O God, *I have made my son to dwell in a valley where is no sown land by Thy Holy House.*”<sup>72</sup>

The water that Hagar had with her ran out, and Ishmael became very thirsty. Hagar set out to search for water. She climbed onto al-Şafā and saw a bird standing near it.<sup>73</sup> She came back, and the bird had scratched the earth with its feet, and water came out. She collected it so that it would not run off. This is the well of Zamzam.<sup>74</sup>

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Arabian peninsula generally, and is not restricted to modern Syria. On its designation as “the Holy Land,” see Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, 192, note 74.

69 Confusingly, both Abraham’s brother and his cousin are named Haran. The Arabic distinguishes them: Abraham’s brother is called *Hārān* b. Tārakh; his cousin is called *Khārān* b. Nāhūr. However, the scribe himself seems to have become confused and wrote *Khārān* b. Tārakh once, correcting it to *Hārān*. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:266.

70 Sic.

71 Cf. Genesis 14, especially v. 12–16.

72 Cf. Qur’ān 14:37.

73 Possibly, “near him,” i.e., near Ishmael. The masculine pronoun is ambiguous, as the name of the hill al-Şafā can be either masculine or feminine.

74 The stories about the origins of this well located beside the sacred mosque in Mecca are summarized in the article by Jacqueline Chabbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zamzam.

Lot's people committed sins. They used to approach male beings<sup>75</sup>—that was because Iblīs once appeared to them in the form of a beardless youth and commanded them to have intercourse with him. They came to have such an appetite for it that they abandoned having intercourse with women and took to having intercourse with males. Lot forbade them to do it, but they did not stop. They committed such outrages in their judgments that they became proverbial for outrage and people said, “More unjust than a judgment of Sodom!” If a man among them did something loathsome to someone, and the latter hit him or flogged him, he would say to him, “Give me a wage for what I did to you.” They had two judges, named Shaqrī and Shaqrūnī, who judged unjustly, wrongfully, and outrageously.<sup>76</sup>

When the actions and injustice of Lot's people increased, God sent angels to destroy them. They stayed with Abraham, who used to receive visitors and extend hospitality. When they stopped with him, he offered them a roasted calf. When he saw them not eating, he became suspicious, and so they made themselves known to him.<sup>77</sup> They said, “We are messengers of your Lord, come for the destruction of this town.” They meant the town of Sodom, where the people of Lot were. *Abraham said to them, | “Lot is there.” They said, “We know well who is there; we will certainly save him and his family, except for his wife.”*<sup>78</sup> Sarah, Abraham's wife, was standing there, and she marveled at what they said; and so they gave her the good news of Isaac. She said, “*Shall I give birth, being an old woman, and this my husband is an old man?*”<sup>79</sup> Abraham was a hundred years old, and she was ninety.

When the angels came to Lot and his wife saw them, she sent out smoke to her people.<sup>80</sup> So they approached Lot and said, “Hand us your guests.” He said, “Do not dishonor me regarding my guests.”<sup>81</sup> When they persisted, Gabriel turned them away and blinded them. Then (the angels) said to Lot, “We will kill

75 The language echoes Qurʾān 26:165 and 54:33–39.

76 The names reflect Jewish tradition (from Hebrew *sheqer*, falsehood). See Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 1:246–247; discussed by Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, 193, note 80.

77 The language echoes Qurʾān 11:70.

78 Qurʾān 29:32.

79 Qurʾān 11:72.

80 Arabic, *dakhkhanat li-qawmihā*, is ambiguous. One tradition sees her as being an unbeliever who intentionally signaled the Sodomites about the arrival of the guests; another sees her as unintentionally alerting them to the arrival of guests because of the smoke of her cooking fire.

81 Echoing Qurʾān 15:68.

them.” “When?” he asked. “In the morning,” they said. He said, “Will you give them time until morning?” Gabriel said to him, “*Is not the morning near?*”<sup>82</sup> When it was dawn, Gabriel said to him, “Leave!” and then he overturned the city on them. It is also said that a fire descended upon them. None of them was saved. Lot’s wife was among them, and she was turned to salt. None of them remained to tell of it.

God gave Abraham Isaac the son of Sarah, and people marveled at it. They said, “An old man of a hundred years and an old woman of ninety years!” Isaac turned out to resemble Abraham very closely.

Abraham used to visit Ishmael and his mother all the time.<sup>83</sup> When Ishmael grew up and became a man, he married a woman from the tribe of Jurhum.<sup>84</sup> Once Abraham came to visit him and did not find him. Ishmael’s mother had died, so Abraham spoke with his wife, but her attitude did not please him. He asked her about Ishmael, and she said that he was out in the pasture. He said, “When he comes back, tell him: Change the threshold of your door.”<sup>85</sup> When Ishmael came back from his pasture, his wife said to him, “An old man came here asking for you.” Ishmael said, “What did he say to you?” She said, “He said to me, ‘Tell him: Change the threshold of your door.’” “You are loosed,” he said; and he divorced her and married al-Ḥayfā’, the daughter of Muḍāḍ, of the tribe of Jurhum. Abraham came back to them a year later. He stopped at the house of Ishmael and did not find him, but he found his wife. “How are you?” he asked. 1:25 “Well,” she said. “May it be so!” he said; | “Where is your husband?” She said, “He is not here. Stay a while.” He said, “I cannot.” She said, “Give me your head, that I may kiss it.” He did so, and said, “When your husband comes back, greet him, and say to him: Hold fast to the threshold of your door.” When Ishmael came back, his wife gave him the report about Abraham. He bent down to the imprint of his foot, to kiss it.

Then God ordered Abraham to build the Ka’ba, raise its foundations, issue the call to the pilgrimage among the people, and show them its rituals.<sup>86</sup> Abraham and Ishmael built up the foundations, until they reached the place of the stone. At that point Mount Abū Qubays called out to Abraham, “I have something in trust for you”—and it gave him the stone, and he put it in its place.

82 Qur’ān 11:81.

83 Two versions of the following story can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:281–285.

84 An ancient Arab tribe said to have controlled the Ka’ba before the advent of the Quraysh. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djurhum*.

85 The term *‘ataba* (threshold) is used metonymically of a wife. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

86 Parallel, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:274–277.

Abraham issued the call to the pilgrimage among the people.<sup>87</sup> When the Day of Tarwiya<sup>88</sup> came, Gabriel said to him, “Provide yourself with water!”—and so it was named *Tarwiya*. Then he came to Minā, and Gabriel said to him, “Spend the night here!” Then he came to ‘Arafāt, and there he built a mosque of white stones, where he prayed the noon and afternoon prayers. Then Gabriel directed him to ‘Arafāt and said to him, “This is ‘Arafāt; recognize it!”<sup>89</sup>—and so it was given the name ‘Arafāt. Then he rushed him away<sup>90</sup> from ‘Arafāt, and when he came opposite the two narrow places, he said to him, “Advance!”—and so it was named al-Muzdalifa.<sup>91</sup> He said to him, “Join together the two prayers!”—and so it was named Jam‘.<sup>92</sup> When he reached the Waymark,<sup>93</sup> he slept there, and God commanded him to sacrifice his son.<sup>94</sup> Accounts differ about whether it was Ishmael or Isaac. Some say it was Ishmael, because it was he who had established his house and home there, whereas Isaac was in Syria. Others say it was Isaac, because Abraham had sent Ishmael away and had sent his mother away with him; also, Isaac at that time was a boy, while Ishmael was a man who

87 Other accounts of Abraham’s institution of the rites of the pilgrimage may be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:286–289.

88 Arabic, *Yawm al-Tarwiya*, the eighth day of Dhū l-Ḥijja, the day when the pilgrims provided themselves with water for the journey to ‘Arafāt, here explained as derived from the phrase, *Tarawwi min al-mā*’ (Provide yourself with water). Other explanations were also given. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

89 The Arabic, *hādhihi ‘Arafāt fa-riḥā*, explains the name as derived from the verb *‘arafa* (know, recognize).

90 Arabic, *afāda bihi*, which gives the technical term (*ifāda*) for the return of the pilgrims from ‘Arafāt.

91 Another etymologizing explanation: He said to him *izdalif*, and so it was named *al-Muzdalifa*.

92 Another etymologizing explanation: He said to him *ijma’* the two prayers, and so it was named *Jam’*.

93 Arabic, *al-Mash’ar*, which occurs in Qur’ān 2:198, “But when you press on from Arafat, then remember God at the Holy Waymark.” The word can mean, “guidepost,” or “place of religious rites.” The commentators disagree about whether it means Muzdalifa, Jam’, or Mecca itself. See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān* (ed. Boulaq) 2:167–169.

94 Ed. Leiden puts a section mark between, “... he slept there” and “God commanded him to sacrifice his son.” M has no such indication, and it is more natural to read the two statements, connected as they are by the conjunction *fa-* (“and so,” or “and therefore”) as linked, since some traditions imply that the command was imparted to Abraham in a dream. In fact, the narrative in al-Ya’qūbī continues “in the morning,” suggesting that the command indeed was given while Abraham slept. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:295. The placing of Abraham’s sacrifice of his son in the context of the pilgrimage has been identified as a specifically Shi’ite element; cf. Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 120–121.

had already fathered a child. The accounts have multiplied concerning this one or that one, and people differ about them.<sup>95</sup>

In the morning, Abraham came to Minā and said to the boy, "Take me to visit the House." Then he said to his son, "God has commanded me to sacrifice you." He said, "*My father, do as you are commanded.*"<sup>96</sup> So he took a knife, made him lie down at Jamrat al-ʿAqaba,<sup>97</sup> and threw | a donkey's saddle-cloth under him. He put the blade to his throat, and he turned his face away from him. Gabriel turned the blade away. Abraham looked, and behold the blade had been turned away. He did that three times. Then a cry was heard: "*O Abraham, you have confirmed the vision.*"<sup>98</sup> Gabriel took the boy, and, when a ram came down from the summit of Mount Thabīr, he put it in his place and sacrificed it. The People of the Book say that it was Isaac and that he did this to him in the desert of the Amorites in Syria.<sup>99</sup>

When Abraham finished his pilgrimage and was about to depart, he gave his testament to his son Ishmael, to stay by the Holy House and conduct the pilgrimage and its rites for the people. He told him that God would multiply his numbers, make his progeny fruitful, and establish blessings and prosperity among his children.

Sarah died when they reached Syria, and Abraham married Keturah, who bore him many children. They were Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah.<sup>100</sup> Abraham died; the day of his death was Tuesday, the tenth of Āb. He was one hundred and ninety-five years old.

### Isaac, the Son of Abraham

When Abraham died in Syria, Isaac arose after him. He married Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel. She became pregnant, and her pregnancy became heavy. God revealed to Isaac, "I will bring from her womb two peoples and two nations, and will make the younger greater than the elder." Rebekah bore the twins Esau and Jacob. Esau emerged first, and Jacob emerged after him, his heel with Esau's

95 See, for example, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:290–301.

96 Qurʾān 37:102.

97 On the pilgrimage route between Mecca and ʿArafāt, there are three halting places in the Valley of Minā where pilgrims throw stones at a pillar said to represent Satan. Each is called a *jamra* (pebble). Jamrat al-ʿAqaba is the *jamra* closest to Mecca.

98 Qurʾān 37:104–105.

99 For this location, cf. *Schatzhöhle*, 146 (trans. Budge, 149).

100 Cf. Genesis 25:1–2, and al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:345.



heel; so he was named Jacob.<sup>101</sup> On the day that a son was born to him, Isaac was | sixty years old.

1:27

Isaac loved Esau, and Rebekah loved Jacob. Isaac dwelt in the valley of Gerar. He had lost his eyesight, so he said to his son Esau, "Take your sword and your bow and go out and hunt some game for me, that I may eat and bless you before I die." Rebekah his mother heard this and said to Jacob, "Make food for your father: Go to the flock, take two kids, make food, and bring it to your father, so that the blessing may settle on you." He said, "I am afraid that he will curse me." She said, "If he curses you, may your curse be upon me." So Jacob went and took two kids. He slaughtered them, cooked them, and brought them to Isaac.

Esau had hairy arms. Jacob therefore took the skins of the two kids and put them on his forearms. When he set the food before his father, the latter said, "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the touch is Esau's touch." Then he blessed him, prayed for him, and said to him, "Be head over your brothers."

When Esau came with his game, Isaac said to him, "Who set the food before me, and I blessed him?—and blessed he shall be!" Esau said, "My brother Jacob has cheated me." Isaac said to him, "I have made him head over you and over his brothers." Then he prayed for him and said, "You shall settle on the heights of the land."<sup>102</sup>

Isaac commanded Jacob to travel to Ḥarrān, to be with Laban,<sup>103</sup> the son of [Bethuel, the son of Nahor,] the brother of Abraham. Isaac feared for him from Esau. He ordered him not to marry any of the women of the Canaanites. So Jacob went to Ḥarrān, to his maternal uncle Laban. Isaac's lifespan was one hundred and eighty-five years.

101 The derivation of Jacob's name (Arabic *Ya'qūb*, Hebrew *Ya'aqōb*) from the word for heel (Arabic *'aqib*, Hebrew *'āqēb*) works equally well in both languages. Cf. Genesis 25:26.

102 The text of al-Ya'qūbī, which is meant to reflect Genesis 27:39, is problematic. The MSS, including M, read, *'alā sumrati l-arḍi tanzilu*, which means, "On the duskiness of the land you shall settle." Houtsma emended this to, *'alā samīyyati l-arḍi tanzilu*, which is what I have translated. I suspect that the original reading was *'alā samīnati l-arḍi tanzilu*, "On the fattest of the land you shall settle." (The phrase is attested in Arabic; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *samīn*.) This would exactly render the Hebrew, *mishmannē hā-āreṣ yihyeh mōshābekā*, "The fatnesses of the land shall be your dwelling," as well as the Syriac (Peshitta) understanding of it, *b-shumānah d-ar'ā nehwe mawtbāk*. The translation, "Away from the fatness of the earth ..." (RSV) is based on an exegetical tradition (as old as the Septuagint) that sees the initial *mīm* of *mishmannē* as a shortening of the preposition *mīn*, from. Neither the Syriac nor al-Ya'qūbī follows this tradition.

103 Reading as emended by Houtsma. The text of the MSS is corrupt at this point. It reads, "to Ḥarrān, to be with his child Laban, the son of Abraham, the brother of Isaac."

### Jacob, the Son of Isaac

1:28 Then Isaac said to Jacob: “God has made you a prophet and has made your offspring prophets. He has conferred wealth and blessing on you.” He ordered him to travel to Paddān, which is in a place in Syria. So he traveled to Paddān; and when he entered it, he saw a woman with a flock of sheep at a well, wanting to water her sheep, but on the wellhead there was a stone which could be lifted only by several men. He asked her who she was, and she said, “I am the daughter of Laban.” Now Laban was Jacob’s maternal uncle. So he removed the stone and drew water for her. He went to his uncle, and the latter gave her<sup>104</sup> to him in marriage. Jacob said, “Rachel, her sister, is the one who was designated for me.” He said: “This one is the elder. I will give you Rachel to marry, too.” So he married both of them together.<sup>105</sup>

He went in to Leah first, and with her he fathered Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, as well as a girl named Dinah. Then his uncle gave him his other daughter, Rachel, in marriage. Children were slow in coming for her, so that she was distressed. Then God granted her Joseph and Benjamin. Jacob had intercourse with Zilpah, a servant girl of Leah, and by him she bore Gad, Asher, and Naphtali. Then he had intercourse with Rachel’s slave, and she bore Dan.

Some say that Jacob married Rachel before Leah. The People of the Book say that he married both of them at the same time. Rachel died, but Leah survived.

Joseph was the most beloved of Jacob’s children to Jacob, because he was the most beautiful of them in countenance, and his mother was the most beloved of his wives to him. His brothers envied him for this. They took him out with them, and the events that God has recounted in His mighty book took place, until Joseph was sold and enslaved.<sup>106</sup> He was away from his father for forty years. Then God returned him to him. Joseph brought them all together in Egypt, according to what God recounted in His book.

1:29 A number of children were born to Joseph in Egypt. | Jacob stayed in Egypt seventeen years. When it was time for him to die, he charged his son Joseph that

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104 Sic MSS. One is tempted to correct *īyyāhā*, “her,” to *Liyā*, “Leah,” which would make better sense: “He went to his uncle, but the latter gave Leah to him in marriage.” This would refer to Laban’s trick of substituting Leah for Rachel on the wedding night (Genesis 29:23). However, al-Ya’qūbī’s method of condensation and summarization leaves the matter unclear.

105 This is forbidden by Qur’ān 4:23, which, however, seems to make an exception for this case: “Forbidden to you are ... and that you should take to you two sisters together, unless it be a thing of the past.”

106 The greater part of Sura 12 of the Qur’ān is devoted to the story of Joseph.

his offspring should not bury him in Egypt. He died when he was one hundred and forty years old.

### The Offspring of Jacob

Jacob had twelve sons:<sup>107</sup> Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, Benjamin, Gad, Asher, Dan, and Naphtali. These are the sons of Jacob; they are the sons of Israel,<sup>108</sup> and they are the tribes.<sup>109</sup> Reuben's sons were Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi. Simeon's sons were Jemuel, Jamin, and Shaul. Levi's sons were Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. Judah's sons were Er, Onan, Shelah, Perez, and Zerah. Issachar's sons were Tola, Puvah, Iob, and Shimron. Asher's sons were Imnah, Ishvah, Ishvi, Beriah, and Serah.<sup>110</sup> The sons of Zebulun were Sered, Elon, and Jahleel. The sons of Joseph in the land of Egypt were Ephraim and Manasseh. Benjamin's sons were Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Naaman, Ehi, Muppim, Huppim, and Ard. Gad's sons were Ziphion, Shuni, Ezbon, Eri, Arodi, and Areli. Naphtali's sons were Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, and Shillem. These were the children of Jacob, and his childrens' children, who were assembled with Joseph in Egypt, along with the offspring of Joseph who were born in Egypt. | He gave them land and said, "Plant, and a fifth of what comes 1:30 up belongs to Pharaoh."

When Jacob's time to die came, he gathered his children and his children's children. He blessed them, prayed for them, and made a pronouncement to each of them.<sup>111</sup> He gave Joseph his sword and his bow. Joseph brought his sons Manasseh and Ephraim to him, putting Manasseh on his right and Ephraim on his left, because Manasseh was the eldest; but Jacob put his right hand over

107 Cf. Genesis 46:8–27, which al-Ya'qūbī follows exactly, making allowance for copyists' errors in the spelling of these non-Arabic names.

108 The mss have *Isrā'īl Allāh*. This puzzling expression may be (1) a copyist's error (as the Leiden editor implies), (2) a longer version of Israel-Jacob's name (*Isrā'īl-Allāh*, on the pattern of 'Abd-Allāh), or (3) a qualification, "God's Israel," in the sense that God favored Israel with a series of prophets in his progeny.

109 Arabic, *asbāt*, a word that occurs five times in the Qur'ān, always referring to the tribes of Israel. Arabic exegetes gave various explanations of it, but it is probably borrowed from Hebrew *shēbet* (tribe). See the article by Ella Landau-Tasseron in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, s.v. Tribes and Clans.

110 Genesis 46:17 identifies Serah as a daughter of Asher. She will appear below in al-Ya'qūbī's narrative as the woman who showed Moses where the coffin of Joseph was hidden.

111 Cf. Genesis 49, the testament of Jacob addressed to each of his sons in turn.

onto Ephraim. He charged Joseph to carry him away and to bury him beside the tomb of Abraham and Isaac.

When Jacob died they continued to weep for him for seventy days. Then Joseph carried him away, taking with him some young servants of the people of Egypt. He brought him to the land of Palestine and buried him beside the grave of Abraham and Isaac. When they had finished burying Jacob, Joseph said to his brothers, "Return with me to the land of Egypt." But they, fearing him, said to him, "Your father Jacob charged you to forgive us our sin." He said, "Do not fear me, for I fear God." So their hearts were soothed, and they returned to the land of Egypt and stayed there.

Joseph lived a long time in Egypt. When it came time for him to die, he gathered the children of Israel and said: "After a time you will leave the land of Egypt, when God sends a man called Moses son of Amram, of the offspring of Levi son of Jacob. God will remember you and raise you up. Take my body out of this land, and bury me by the graves of my fathers." Joseph died at the age of one hundred and ten. He was put into a coffin of stone, and was put into the Nile.<sup>112</sup>

The prophet Job lived in that era. He was the son of Amos, son of Zerah, son of Reuel, son of Esau, son of Isaac, son of Abraham. He was very wealthy. God put him to the test because of a sin that he had committed, but he gave thanks to God and endured patiently. Then God lifted the trial from him and returned his wealth to him and doubled it.

### Moses, the Son of Amram

- 1:31 Moses, the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, the son of Jacob, was born in Egypt in the time of Pharaoh the Mighty, who was al-Walīd ibn Muṣ'ab—some say that his name was Zalmī.<sup>113</sup> The children of Israel were in Egypt at that time, having lived since the time of Joseph in slavery and servitude.

112 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:413. For a summary of the Jewish sources for this story, including the story of how Moses miraculously was able to find the coffin and thus fulfill the promise to bury Joseph by his fathers, narrated by al-Ya'qūbī below, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 2:181–184; 3:122. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:482–483, 486.

113 The assigning of an Arabic name to the Pharaoh of the time of Moses occurs in many Arabic historians. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:378, 412, and 444, where this al-Walīd b. Muṣ'ab, an infidel, is said to have succeeded his brother Qābūs b. Muṣ'ab, who had believed in the religion of Joseph.

Pharaoh's sorcerers and priests had said to him: "At this time a child will be born of the children of Israel who will despoil you of your rule, and your destruction will be because of him." Pharaoh had ruled Egypt for a long time, enjoying such security that he said, "*I am your Lord, the Most High!*"<sup>114</sup> He gave orders for a guard to be set over every pregnant woman of the children of Israel, so that whenever one of their woman gave birth to a boy, her child was killed. When Moses' mother went into labor, the midwife said to her, "I will conceal it for you." So when she gave birth, the midwife said to the guard, "Only blood came out of her."

God sent an inspiration to the mother of Moses: "Make a chest and put him in it. Bring it out at night and put it into Egypt's Nile." She did this. The wind pushed it and drove it to the shore, and Pharaoh's wife, seeing it, came close enough to pick it up. When she opened the chest and saw Moses, she was seized with love for him. She said to Pharaoh, "Let us adopt him as a son." She sought someone to nurse him, but he took nothing from the wet nurses until his mother came; from her he took milk. He grew to be a handsome youth and matured more quickly than other boys mature.

Joseph had said to the sons of Israel, "You will not cease to be in torment until a curly-haired boy comes of the offspring of Levi son of Jacob, one called Moses son of Amram." When the children of Israel had been in this state for a long time, they cried out and came to one of their elders. He said to them, "It is as if he were already with you!" While they were talking, Moses stood by them. | 1:32 When the elder saw him, he recognized him by the description. "What is your name?" he asked. "Moses," he said. "Whose son are you?" he asked. "The son of Amram," he said. So he and the people stood up; they kissed his hands and his feet, and he took them as followers.<sup>115</sup>

One day Moses entered one of the cities of Egypt, and behold one of his followers was fighting with a man of Pharaoh's family. So Moses struck the man and killed him. Pharaoh and Pharaoh's family got word of it, and they planned to kill him. When he learned of this, he set out on his own alone, wandering until he came to Midian. He hired himself out to the prophet Shu'ayb, the son of Nūnab, the son of 'Anqā, the son of Midian, the son of Abraham, on condition that he give him one of his two daughters in marriage.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Qur'ān 79:24.

<sup>115</sup> Arabic, "He took them as a *shī'a*." The word has overtones of a party or sect, as in the phrase, *shī'at 'Alī*, the partisans of 'Alī.

<sup>116</sup> The identification of the biblical Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, with the Qur'ānic prophet Shu'ayb is based on the connection of both to Midian. No such connection is implied in the Qur'ān. In al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:365, Jethro is said to have been Shu'ayb, while at 1:462,

Having fulfilled his term of employment, Moses set out with his wife for the Holy House, according to the report about him that God has related in His mighty book.<sup>117</sup> While Moses was traveling on his way, he saw a fire and headed toward it, leaving his household behind. When he came near, there was a bush blazing with fire from its bottom to its top. When he drew near, his soul held back; he was apprehensive, and his fear grew great. Then God, may He be glorified and exalted, called out to him, "*Moses, do not fear, for surely you are safe.*"<sup>118</sup> So his fear subsided. God commanded him to throw down his staff; he threw it down, and it became a snake as big as the trunk of a palm tree. Then God commanded him to pick it up, and it became a staff.

God sent him to Pharaoh and commanded him to go to him and summon him to worship God. The command distressed Moses to his very heart. So God said: "I command you to go to one of my slaves who has disregarded my grace, does not fear my devising, and maintains that he does not know me. I swear by my strength: were it not for justice and the agreement which I have put between me and my creation, I would strike him the blow of a mighty One at whose wrath heaven and earth grow angry." Moses said: "O God, strengthen my arm by means of my brother Aaron. *I have killed a soul among them, and I fear they will kill me.*"<sup>119</sup> | God said to him: "I have done it. Go, you and your brother, with my signs, and bring out the children of Israel. This is the time for me to bring them out of slavery and servitude." So Moses returned his wife to her father. He and his brother Aaron went to Pharaoh and told him what God had sent him to say. He informed the Israelites, and their happiness was great; they knew that Joseph had told them the truth.

Then they traveled to Pharaoh's gate. Moses was wearing a tunic of wool; around his waist was a rope of fiber, and in his hand was a staff. He was forbidden entry. So he struck the gate with the staff, and the doors opened. He

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Jethro is said to have been the nephew of Shu'ayb. The names in the genealogy of Shu'ayb are uncertain. M has Shu'ayb b. Nūnab b. 'Ayā (ed. Leiden corrects to 'Anqā, on the basis of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:54 [§ 86]) b. Madān (for Madyan?) b. Ibrāhīm.

117 The narrative that follows is based on Qur'ān 28:29 ff. Lacking in the Qur'ānic account is any mention of the Holy House (*Bayt al-Maqdis*, the normal designation for Jerusalem) as a destination. However, in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:447, there is a report that Pharaoh dreamt that "a fire came from Bayt al-Maqdis until it overcame the houses of Egypt; the Egyptians were burned, while the Israelites were left." (Trans. W. M. Brinner.) Moses' return to Egypt via Palestine would demonstrate that Pharaoh's dream was fulfilled.

118 Qur'ān 28:31.

119 Qur'ān 28:33, 35.

entered and said to Pharaoh:<sup>120</sup> "I am the messenger of the Lord of the worlds. He has sent me to you so that you should believe in Him and send the children of Israel with me." Pharaoh, deeming this to be an affair of great magnitude, said to him, "Produce a sign by which we may know your truthfulness." So Moses threw down his staff, and it became an enormous snake with its mouth open. It bent toward Pharaoh, who asked Moses to ward it off from him. Then Moses put his hand into the front of his tunic and brought it out white, without the bane of leprosy.

Pharaoh wanted to believe in him, but Haman<sup>121</sup> said to him, "O king, are there none among your servants who can do the like of this?" He brought sorcerers from the whole country, and they were informed about Moses. They spent time making hollow ropes and hollow staffs out of cow skins, embellishing them and putting mercury into them. They heated the places onto which they intended to throw down the ropes and staffs. Then Pharaoh took his seat and had Moses brought in, and the sorcerers threw down their ropes and staffs. When the mercury was heated, it moved, and the ropes and staffs "walked." Then Moses threw his staff down, and it devoured everything until nothing remained. The sorcerers recoiled. Pharaoh had some of them killed.

God sent Moses to Pharaoh with signs: the staff, the hand that came out | of his bosom white, locusts, lice, frogs, blood, and the death of the first-born. When this kept happening to them, Pharaoh said to him, "If you remove the wrath from us, we will believe and send the children of Israel out with you." So God removed it from them, but they did not believe.

1:34

God commanded Moses to bring the sons of Israel out. When they were about to leave, he looked for the body of Joseph son of Jacob, to take it with him, as Joseph had commanded the children of Israel. Serah, the daughter of Asher son of Jacob, came to him and said, "Will you guarantee my survival<sup>122</sup> so that I will guide you to it?" He gave her the guarantee, and she brought him

120 The narrative echoes Qur'ān 7:103 ff.

121 The Qur'ān makes Haman, who appears in the Bible as the evil counselor of King Ahasuerus in the book of Esther, into an archetype of evil counsel at the court of Pharaoh in Egypt. See Qur'ān 28:6, 8, 38; 40:24, 36. In 29:39, Haman, Korah, and Pharaoh are linked as rejecters of Moses' signs.

122 The Arabic (*taḍmanu lī al-baqā'*) is somewhat enigmatic. Al-Ṭabarī's version provides two rather different interpretations. In the first version, the woman wants to be guaranteed a room in paradise with Moses. In that case, *baqā'* would be a virtual synonym of *khulūd*, immortality. In his second version, the woman wants to be assured that Moses will not leave her behind; she merely wants to *survive* (the more general meaning of *baqā'*). See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, 1:482–483, 486.

to a place by the Nile and said to him, "It is here!" Moses took four plates of gold. On one he drew the figure of an eagle, on another the figure of a lion, on another the figure of a man, and on another the figure of a bull.<sup>123</sup> On each plate he wrote the Greatest Name of God.<sup>124</sup> He threw them into the water, and the stone casket containing Joseph's body floated up. One plate, on which was the figure of a bull, remained in Moses' possession. He gave it to Serah, the daughter of Asher, and he took away the casket.

Moses set out with the children of Israel. They were six hundred thousand mature men. Pharaoh and his army pursued him, but God drowned them all—they were a million horsemen. Gabriel is said to have come down while Pharaoh and his men were trying to enter in pursuit of them. When Gabriel descended, not a single horse of Pharaoh's cavalry had yet crossed. Gabriel was on a filly, and Pharaoh was on a horse with a long tail. Gabriel entered the sea. Pharaoh's horse caught sight of Gabriel's filly and plunged into the sea after her; Pharaoh's men followed him and all of them—Pharaoh and all his men—drowned.<sup>125</sup> The sea closed over them, and Moses went into the desert.

1:35 The children of Israel began to urge him to enter into the Holy Land quickly, | but God revealed to Moses that it was forbidden to them for forty years, so they stayed in the desert. When their thirst became very great, God revealed to Moses that he should strike the rock with his staff. Moses stood up angrily and struck the rock. Twelve springs gushed forth, a spring for each tribe to drink from. But God revealed to Moses: "You struck the rock before hallowing me and did not mention my name; therefore you, too, will not leave the desert." He commanded him to build the tent of meeting<sup>126</sup> there, to put the sanctuary<sup>127</sup>

123 The four figures are mentioned in the versions of the story in Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 2:181–184, and 3:122, where the lion, the man, the eagle, and the bull are identified as "the beings represented on the Celestial Throne." The ultimate source for these figures is the Prophet Ezekiel's vision of four living creatures that draw the divine chariot in Ezekiel 1. They also appear in Revelation 4:6–8.

124 Arabic, *ism Allāh al-a'zam*. This detail is not in the material recorded by Ginzberg or in al-Ṭabarī. In this context, the Greatest Name of God would be the Tetragrammaton, YHWH, to which magical powers are often attributed.

125 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:487–488.

126 Arabic, *qubbat al-zamān*, "the dome-tent of time." It appears to be a literal translation of Hebrew *ōhel mō'ēd*, rendered in the RSV by "tent of meeting." Hebrew *mō'ēd*, like its Arabic cognate *maw'id*, can mean both the time of a meeting and the meeting itself. The Targums and the Syriac Peshitta both render the phrase as "the tabernacle of time" (Syriac *mashkan zabnā*), and this seems to be the source of the phrase in al-Ya'qūbī.

127 Arabic, *al-haykal*.



in it, and to put the ark of the presence<sup>128</sup> in the sanctuary. Aaron was to be the priest of that sanctuary, which no one but he was to enter. He<sup>129</sup> collected the yarn of the women of the children of Israel and it was woven into cloth, and he collected all their jewelry. He made a tent one hundred cubits long; in its high place was the sanctuary, and in the high place of the sanctuary was the ark of the presence. This work of his took place in the second year of his exodus from Egypt. In it he put a table of gold. He made golden bells for the tabernacle and crowned the tabernacle with jewels. In it he put a golden censer for the incense. In it he put a golden lamp stand crowned with jewels. Aaron alone used to enter the tabernacle to sanctify God, while Moses was by the curtain and the rest of the children of Israel were in the tent. A cloud used to hover over the tabernacle, and it would not leave it. God commanded them to offer their offerings. He said to Moses:<sup>130</sup> "Say to the children of Israel that they shall offer an offering free of blemishes, of cattle and sheep. They shall put the fat of the offering on the altar and sprinkle the blood over it also. Any part of the offering is lawful for the sons of Aaron exclusively; it is forbidden for anyone else. Anyone who commits a sin, let him offer an offering to God at the altar according to what he can afford: from the cattle or the herd, or two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons."

God revealed to Moses that he should to write the Ten Verses<sup>131</sup> on two tablets of emerald, and he wrote them as God commanded him. These are the Ten Verses: 1:36

God said: I am the Lord, who brought you out of the land of the house of slavery and servitude. You shall have no other god but me.

You shall not take for yourself a likeness or an image resembling me from above the heavens or under the earth. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I am the Lord, the omnipotent king, exacting the debts of the fathers from the sons: my vengeance is threefold and

128 Arabic, *tābūt al-sakīna*, literally, "the ark of the Sakīna." Arabic *sakīna* is borrowed from Hebrew *shakīna*. The Hebrew word itself is post-Biblical, but was a way of referring to the "glory of the Lord" that filled the tabernacle after its erection and consecration (Exodus 40:34). See the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sakīna.

129 That is, Moses.

130 Cf. Leviticus 5:7.

131 Arabic, *al-'ashr al-āyāt*, the ten signs or ten verses. Perhaps this is an echo of the Hebrew as rendered by the Syriac. In Exodus 20:1–17, the commandments are introduced by the formula, "God spoke all these words (*dāḥārīm*)."<sup>1</sup> The Peshitta renders *dāḥārīm* by *petgāmē*, which means both "words" and "verses," and this explains the use of *āyāt*.

fourfold for whoever hates me, but I work my benefits for whoever loves me and keeps my commandment to the thousands of thousands, for those who love me, who keep my commandments.

Third: you shall not swear by the name of the Lord falsely, because God will not acquit anyone who swears by His name falsely.

Remember the sabbath day, to keep it pure. Work for six days and strive in all your works, but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord your God; you shall not do any work on it—you, [your son,] your daughter, your slave, your maidservant, your cattle, your beasts, or anyone living in your towns. For in six days God created heaven and earth, the stars, and all that is eminent in the heavens.<sup>132</sup> Therefore God blessed the seventh day and made it pure.

Honor your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land that the Lord your God has given you.

You shall not kill.

You shall not commit adultery.

You shall not steal.

You shall not bear false witness against your companion.

You shall not covet your companion's house, his wife, his slave, his maidservant, his ox, his ass, or any of your companion's wealth.

- 1:37 Moses ascended Mount Sinai. He stayed forty days and wrote | the Torah. Finding him slow to return, the children of Israel said to Aaron, "Moses has gone away, and we do not think he will return."<sup>133</sup> Then they took their wives' jewels, and out of them they made a hollow calf into which the wind would enter and make a mooing sound inside. God said to Moses: "The children of Israel have taken a calf and have worshipped it instead of me. Let me destroy them." Moses

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132 Arabic, *wa-jamī'a mā fara'a fi l-samā'*. The sense might also be, "and all that ascends into the heavens." It is unclear why al-Ya'qūbī, whose version of the Ten Commandments is very close to the original, suddenly introduces a phrase that is not in the original, and, to compound the mystery, leaves out the words "but rested on the seventh day." The notion that God "rested" is explicitly rejected by Qur'ān 50:38: "We created the heavens and the earth, and what between them is, in six days, and no weariness touched Us." Yet al-Ya'qūbī usually does not change Jewish and Christian accounts that do not accord with the Qur'ān. For example, he relates the Christian accounts of the crucifixion faithfully; only afterward does he note that the Qur'ān, which he deems the true account, says that Jesus was not really crucified. So the reason for the omission here is not clear.

133 Cf. Exodus 32.

prayed for them and said, "Lord, be mindful for their sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and let the people of Egypt not rejoice at their misfortune."

Moses came down from the mountain after forty days. When he saw the calf and saw them cleaving to it, his anger became intense, and he threw down the tablets and broke them. He put the blame on the head of his brother Aaron. He looked at the calf mooing, and he broke it up and crushed it until he made it like dust and scattered it on the water. He said to the sons of Levi, "Unsheathe your swords, and kill whomever you can of those who worshipped the calf." So the sons of Levi unsheathed their swords, and in one hour they killed a great number of people. God said to them, "Exterminate anyone who took a god other than me."

God commanded Moses to count the sons of Israel and to appoint over each tribe a good and virtuous man.<sup>134</sup> The number of those who had reached twenty years and upward, until sixty, those who could bear arms, was six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty men. His counting of them took place two years after their exodus from Egypt. The head of the sons of Judah was Nahshon son of Amminadab, and the number of those with him of his tribe was seventy-four thousand, six hundred men. The head of the sons of Issachar was Nethanel son of Zuar, and the number of those with him was fifty-four thousand, four hundred men. The head of the tribe of Zebulun was Eliab son of Helon, and the number of those with him was fifty-seven thousand, four hundred men. The head of the tribe of the sons of Reuben was Elizur son of Shedeur, and the number of those with him was forty-seven<sup>135</sup> thousand, five hundred men. The head of the sons of Simeon was Shelumiel son of Zurishaddai, and the number of those with him was fifty-nine<sup>136</sup> thousand, three hundred men. The head of the sons of Gad was Eliasaph son of Deuel, and the number of those with him was forty-five thousand, six hundred and fifty men. The head of the sons of Ephraim was Elishama son of Ammihud, and the number of those with him was forty thousand, five hundred men. The head of the sons of Manasseh was Gamaliel son of Pedahzur, and the number of those with him was thirty-two thousand, two hundred men. The head of the sons of Benjamin was Abidan son of Gideoni, and the number of those with him was sixty-five<sup>137</sup> thousand, four hundred men. The head of the sons of Dan was

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Numbers 1.

<sup>135</sup> Probably a copyist's error for forty-six, as in Numbers 1:20.

<sup>136</sup> The copyist, reversing the digits, has written ninety-five. Ed. Leiden corrects on the basis of Numbers 1:23.

<sup>137</sup> Probably a copyist's error for thirty-five, as in Numbers 1:37.

Ahiezer son of Ammishaddai, and the number of those with him was thirty-two<sup>138</sup> thousand, seven hundred men. The head of the sons of Asher was Pagiel son of Ochran, and the number of those with him was forty-one thousand, five hundred men. The head of the tribe of Naphtali was Ahira son of Enan, and the number of those with him was fifty-three thousand, four hundred men. The sons of Levi were the servants and guards of the tent of meeting, so they were not added with them. They were held in special honor and holiness for the service and cleansing of the tent of meeting. This is the number of the children of Israel, the name of the head of each of their tribes, and how many of the tribe he had with him, according to what is in the fourth book of the Torah.

1:39 God commanded Moses to tell the heads of the tribes of the sons of Israel that every leader among should make an offering.<sup>139</sup> The offering of each of them was to be a silver plate of one hundred thirty shekels,<sup>140</sup> a silver strainer<sup>141</sup> of seventy shekels, a plate full of white flour mixed with oil, a golden flask of ten shekels full of perfume, a bull, a ram, a yearling lamb, and a female yearling goat. The perfect sacrifice was two bulls, five rams, five kids, and five yearling lambs.

God commanded Moses to say to the children of Israel that they should sacrifice a yellow cow, a flawless one with no blemish on it.<sup>142</sup> He was to take its blood and sprinkle it onto the ropes of the tent of meeting. Then he was to burn it and its hide. Another man was to come and gather up the ashes and move them to a certain place. When anyone wanted to be purified, he was to put some of the ashes into water, and he would become pure.

Moses and the children of Israel stayed in the desert a long time. Their food was manna, and the manna was like coriander seed which they would grind with hand mills and make into loaves, so that their food was delicious, more delicious than anything else.<sup>143</sup> It used to come down to them at night, and they would collect it in the daytime. But they raised a clamor, wept, and

138 Probably a copyist's error for sixty-two, as in Numbers 1:39.

139 Cf. Numbers 7.

140 That is, weighing 130 shekels. Al-Ya'qūbī uses the Arabic cognate *mithqāl*.

141 Arabic *miṣfāh*. The Hebrew has *mizrāq*, rsv "basin." The Syriac translates this as *shāhlā*, meaning both "dish, plate" and "strainer," cf. Michael Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 1543. This is another instance of al-Ya'qūbī's reliance on Syriac mediation of the biblical text.

142 Cf. Numbers 19, where the sacrifice of a red heifer and the use of the ashes are described. Al-Ya'qūbī's characterization of its color as *ṣafrā*, yellow, rather than red, was influenced by Qur'ān 2:69, which calls the animal *baqara ṣafrā*.

143 Cf. the description of the manna in Exodus 16:4–36; Numbers 11:7–9.

began to say:<sup>144</sup> “Who will give us meat to eat? Do you not remember what we used to eat in Egypt: fish, cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic?” Moses became increasingly distressed at this. They began saying, “Give us meat to eat.” Moses said, “O God, I have no strength to deal with the children of Israel.” God therefore revealed to him, “I am going to give you meat to eat”—and he sent them quail. God told them that he would bring them out into Syria. Moses therefore sent Joshua son of Nun [and others]<sup>145</sup> to Syria, to the land of the sons of Canaan, to bring him information about it. The children of Israel said, “We have no power | to fight giants.”

1:40

God gave Moses permission to take vengeance on the people of Midian.<sup>146</sup> So he dispatched twelve thousand men of the children of Israel. They killed all the people of Midian and killed their kings. There were five kings: Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba. Balaam son of Beor was killed in the fighting—he was a prophet and had advised the king of Midian to send women against the army of the children of Israel to corrupt them, and so Moses had become enraged. God commanded Moses to divide the spoils among the children of Israel and to take from them one item of every fifty and set it aside for God, to give it to the children of Aaron. Then God commanded him to dispatch the children of Israel to Syria to fight the people who were there. So he dispatched a large army. They began traveling little by little, encamping and saying, “We are afraid of the giants”—and they stayed in the mountains of Seir. So God said to Moses: “The children of Israel have disobeyed my command. Let them therefore buy food at a price, and let them now be subject to those who used to be subject to them.” This took place after Moses had killed Sihon, the king of the Amorites, and had declared his land lawful booty.<sup>147</sup>

In the fortieth year of their stay in the wilderness, which is the desert of Sinai, God revealed to Moses: “I am going to take Aaron to myself. Bring him up the mountain so that my angels can come to take his spirit.”<sup>148</sup> So Moses took his brother Aaron by the hand, and when he brought him up the mountain—no one was with him except Aaron’s son Eleazar—and arrived atop the mountain, there was a bed there with some garments on it. Moses said to him, “My brother, put on these clean garments, which God has prepared for you to meet him in.” So Aaron put them on. | Then he stretched out on the bed and died, and Moses prayed over him. When the children of Israel did not see Aaron, they

1:41

144 Cf. Numbers 11:4–35.

145 Added by the Leiden editor. The sending of the spies is based on Numbers 13.

146 Cf. Numbers 31.

147 Cf. Numbers 21:21–32.

148 Cf. Numbers 20:23–29; 33:38–39.

raised a clamor and said, “Where is Aaron?” Moses said to them, “God took him to himself.” They were disquieted. Aaron had been beloved among them and gentle toward them. God therefore raised him up for them on the bed, so that they saw his face and they knew that he had died.<sup>149</sup> At that time Aaron was one hundred twenty-three years old. He had four children: Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. Nadab and Abihu passed away while he was still alive, and Eleazar and Ithamar remained. Eleazar took the place of Aaron, officiating in the tent of meeting.

Moses summoned Joshua son of Nun and said to him before the children of Israel: “Go, and make strong your heart, for you shall bring the children of Israel into the land of the descendants of Canaan, which God has bequeathed to them. Give this Torah to the priests of the sons of Levi, who have been caring for the ark of the presence. Revere God’s dwelling, and keep His commandments, which He has set out clearly for you in the Torah.” He enjoined them to follow what is in it, and he blessed them.

Part of what God commanded the children of Israel by the tongue of Moses was the following:

Remember the day when you stood before God, when God said to me, “Assemble this people before me, that I may make them to hear my word, so that they will fear me all the days of their lives.”<sup>150</sup> You stood at the foot of the mountain, and the mountain was burning with fire to the heart of the heavens. God spoke to me from the midst of the fire; you heard the voice, but you did not see the likeness. God commanded you to learn the Ten Verses.<sup>151</sup> He commanded me to teach you the statutes and the ordinance for you to observe in the land to which you are going. Keep watch over yourselves, and make no idols, the likeness of male or female, of anything | that creeps on the ground, or of anything in the sea. Do not raise your heads to the heavens to worship the stars.

God has sworn that I shall not enter the good land. I shall die in this land and not cross the Jordan, but you will cross over and come into the good land that God has given to you as an inheritance. Do not stray from

149 Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 3:320–327, for the Jewish legends about the death of Aaron. According to one of these, when the Israelites refused to believe that Aaron was dead—they suspected that Moses or Eleazar had murdered him—God commanded the angels to raise Aaron’s bier in the air so that all might see how peacefully he had died. The same detail is incorporated into an Islamic account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:501–503.

150 Cf. Deuteronomy 4:10 ff.

151 See note 131 above.

the covenant of God your Lord, which He made with you, by making idols. Do not do evil deeds before your God, if you have come into the good land; for, if you disobey, you will soon perish and be dispersed among the peoples. If you serve what human hands make of wood and stone, they will not see; you will pray, and your prayer will not be heard. But God, who is compassionate to you, will hear your voices.

It is not fitting for anyone who has heard from God the like of what you have heard, or who has seen the like of what you have seen, to disobey God. You have seen what God did to the people of Egypt while you watched. God is the Lord; there is no other than He, who made you to see His fire and to hear His voice. He loved your forefathers and chose their descendants. He destroyed for you a people who were greater and mightier than you. God will bring you into the good land and will give it to you as an inheritance. So keep His statutes that He has commanded you and enjoined upon you, that He may do good to you and to your descendants after you and that your days in the land may be many.

Obey God's commandment that He has commanded you; do not turn from it to the right or to the left. Travel every path that your Lord has commanded you, that He may do good to you. Love God with all your hearts, with your determination and your mind.<sup>152</sup> Tell your children of these things, and perform them. Recite them in your houses, put them as a sign between your eyes, and write them in your dwellings. God will give you | large towns that you did not build, houses full of goods that  
1:43 you did not fill up, stone-lined wells that you did not dig, and vineyards and olive trees that you did not plant. So do not forget God; fear Him, serve Him, swear by His name, and do not follow any other god. Beware of God's anger, which will destroy you from the face of the earth, and do not betray God: obey His commandment, and do what is good and true.

Remember when you were slaves of Pharaoh, but God brought you out with a strong hand and with wondrous great signs that drove Pharaoh and his men to destruction before your eyes. God says to you: "I will give you the good land and power over the peoples who are before you. I will grant you victory over the Hittites, the Gergashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perezites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites<sup>153</sup>—these seven nations who are more numerous and stronger than you." And when God

<sup>152</sup> Reading with M, *bālikum*, for ed. Leiden, *mālikum* (your wealth).

<sup>153</sup> The transmission of these names is quite uncertain in the MSS. M reads: "the Giants (*al-Jabbārīn*), the Khurāsānians, the Jordanians, the Canaanites, the 'Irāzians, the Ḥarrānians, and the Nablusīs." Ed. Leiden corrects on the basis of Deuteronomy 7:1.

grants you victory over them, strike them and stone them; show them no mercy, and grant them no covenant. Do not marry your daughters to them, lest they become a stumbling block for you and turn your children away from me, so that they serve a god other than me, and my anger grows strong against you, so that I quickly destroy you. But break up their idols, cut down their altars, destroy their offerings and set them on fire. If you heed my commandment and keep my judgments, I will preserve your blessings for you and the covenant that I made with your fathers. I will multiply you, and I will make your seed and your livestock fruitful.

Make over to God a share in your wealth. Assist the orphan from it, the widow, the poor, the weak, and the one living with you who has no farmland.

1:44

When you judge between two, act justly. Do not accept bribes, for a bribe | blinds the eyes of the arbitrators.<sup>154</sup> You shall not plant a tree by an altar. You shall not sacrifice an offering of a bull or ram on which there is a blemish.<sup>155</sup> Kill anyone who makes idols to be worshipped instead of God. If it is reported to you that someone is worshipping the sun, the moon, the stars, or any of the luminaries, make inquiry about him. If you learn that it is true, stone him to death with rocks.

In cases involving the death penalty, do not accept the testimony of one person, but<sup>156</sup> the testimony of two or three witnesses. When the witnesses testify against someone subject to the death penalty, let the witnesses appear and let them stretch out their hands toward the one who is to be killed. Whenever the judgment is too difficult for you, refer to the learned and the priests.

Whoever kills a man accidentally without intending it, let him flee from the avenger of blood, so he cannot reach him and so that you do not shed the blood of an innocent man.<sup>157</sup> Any man who kills an innocent man intentionally shall be put to death, but you shall not put anyone to death until testimony against him is furnished before the learned man or the judge.<sup>158</sup> If the judge discovers that someone has given false testimony, it shall be done to the witness as he intended to do to the one against

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154 Cf. Deuteronomy 16:19.

155 Cf. Deuteronomy 17:1 ff.

156 Emending MSS *wa-lā* (and not, nor) to *wa-lākin* (but) as suggested by ed. Leiden. Cf. Deuteronomy 17:6.

157 Cf. Deuteronomy 19:1–7.

158 Reading *aw* (or) with M; ed. Leiden *wa-* (and).



whom the testimony was given: life for life, eye for eye, hand for hand, and foot for foot.<sup>159</sup>

When you go to war against a people and come to their town, first call them to peace.<sup>160</sup> If they accept your offer, levy a tribute on them. If they do not surrender, you shall kill everyone who carries a weapon, but you shall not destroy the town's trees.

God said to Moses:<sup>161</sup> When you go out to fight your enemy, and God allows you to prevail over them, and you see among the captives a woman whom you desire to take for yourself, bring her into your house: uncover her head, cut her nails, remove from her the clothes in which she was captured, and lodge her in your house for three months to weep | for her father and her mother; then regard her as lawfully yours. If you dislike her after you have cohabited with her, send her away. You shall not sell her, nor shall you accept a price for her after you have lain with her. 1:45

Any son who rebels against his father,<sup>162</sup> does not obey him, and does not accept his command, let his father bring him out to the elders of his people,<sup>163</sup> and let them stone him, that the evil and the abomination<sup>164</sup> may depart from you and that his likes among the children of Israel may beware.

If anyone of you finds a stray, a ewe or a bull or a donkey that has strayed from its owner, let him return it to its owner; and if he does not find him, let him pen it up at his own house until its owner arrives.<sup>165</sup>

You shall not wear garments woven of cotton and wool together. Put fringes on the ends of your garments.<sup>166</sup>

Any man who casts aspersions at his wife and accuses her of immorality, and it is not true of her, let him pay a fine of a hundred dirhams,<sup>167</sup> and she shall be his wife forever. But if his accusation against her is true, let her be stoned.

159 Cf. Deuteronomy 19:16–21.

160 Cf. Deuteronomy 20:10 ff.

161 Cf. Deuteronomy 21:10 ff.

162 Cf. Deuteronomy 21:18 ff.

163 Reading with M, *sha'bihi* (of his people); ed. Leiden has *sab'a* (seven).

164 Sic ed. Leiden (*fazī'a*); M reads *qaṭī'a*, severance (of kinship ties).

165 Cf. Deuteronomy 22:1–3.

166 Cf. Deuteronomy 22:11–12.

167 Deuteronomy 22:19 specifies a fine of 100 shekels. Al-Ya'qūbī has substituted the corresponding Islamic coin.

Any man who is found committing adultery with a woman who has a husband, let them both be killed.<sup>168</sup> But any man who overpowers a woman against her will, let the man be killed. Any man who lies with a girl who is under the guardianship of her father, and he deflowers her, and he loves her, let him give her father fifty silver shekels, and she shall be his wife forever; he shall not send her away.

It is not permitted for a man to touch a woman whom his father has touched, neither shall he look upon her nakedness. A man in a state of uncleanness shall not enter one of God's mosques. Do not charge usury for silver or for gold. When you make a vow, do not postpone its fulfillment. Keep a promise, when you have made a covenant to someone, and do not break the promise, for God loves him who keeps his promise.

1:46

Avoid anyone who has leprosy, and stay far from him.<sup>169</sup> You shall not withhold the wage of a hired man.<sup>170</sup> You shall not punish a father for the sin of his son, or a son for the sin | of his father. Pay the alms<sup>171</sup> from your wealth and your harvests to the religious official as an offering to God, and give to the poor, the widows, the orphans, the destitute, and the travelers.

When you enter the good land, make an altar for the sanctuary of smooth stones. And let the religious authorities of the children of Israel say: "Cursed be anyone who leads a blind man astray from the way. Cursed be anyone who gives an unjust judgment against the poor, the orphan, or the widow. Cursed be anyone who lies with his father's wife. Cursed be anyone who lies with an animal. Cursed be anyone who lies with his sister or his mother. Cursed be anyone who lies with his wife's mother. Cursed be anyone who slanders<sup>172</sup> his brother in secret. Cursed be anyone who takes a bribe to kill an innocent soul wrongfully. Cursed be anyone who does not keep God's commandment."

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168 Cf. Deuteronomy 22:22 ff.

169 Cf. Deuteronomy 24:8–9.

170 Cf. Deuteronomy 24:14 ff.

171 *Zakāh*, the word used here, is used regularly for the alms that Muslims are obliged to give to the community for the upkeep of the poor. The word translated as "religious official" is *ḥabr*, which can be applied to any religious scholar, but in later Christian usage applies to high authorities such as a bishop; one might think of a "chief priest." However, in the next paragraph, the word in its plural form, *aḥbār*, corresponds to "the Levites" in Deuteronomy 27:14; and this may be the intended meaning here.

172 Literally, "who eats the flesh of his brother."

Then Moses said to them, “I have transmitted to you God’s ordinances and acquainted you with His commandment; so follow it and do it.<sup>173</sup> I am one hundred twenty years old, and my death is approaching. Here is Joshua the son of Nun, who shall be in charge among you after me. Listen to him and obey his command, for he will judge rightfully among you. Cursed be anyone who opposes him and disobeys him.”

There were seven months between Aaron’s death and the coming of death to Moses. Then Moses ascended Mt. Nebo. He looked toward Syria, and God said to him, “This is the land that I guaranteed to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that I would give to their descendants. I have let you see it with your own eyes, but you shall not enter it.” Moses died in that place; Joshua son of Nun buried him, but no one knows where his grave is.<sup>174</sup>

### The Prophets and Kings of the Israelites after Moses<sup>175</sup>

It came to pass that when Moses’ death was imminent, God, may He be glorified and exalted, commanded him to bring Joshua son of Nun—Joshua son of Nun was of the tribe of Joseph son of Jacob—into the tent of meeting, sanctify him, and lay his hand on his body, | that his blessing might pass into him, and commission him to take his place after him among the children of Israel. Moses did this; and so, when Moses died, Joshua arose among the children of Israel. He came out of the wilderness one day after the death of Moses—some of the People of the Book say it was thirty days—and went into Syria. The giants were there, the offspring of Amalek son of Lud son of Shem son of Noah.<sup>176</sup> The first of them to reign as king was al-Samayda’ son of Hawbar.<sup>177</sup> He came from the land of Tihāma<sup>178</sup> into Syria intending to raid the children of Israel, but Joshua

1:47

173 Cf. Deuteronomy 31.

174 Cf. Deuteronomy 34.

175 This section and the sections following, until the section on “The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary” (ed. Leiden, 1:46–73), have been translated and annotated by R. Y. Ebied and L. R. Wickham as, “Al-Ya’qūbī’s Account of the Israelite Prophets and Kings.”

176 The Amalekites are mentioned in Numbers 13:28–29.

177 Cf. al-Ya’qūbī, 1:253, where al-Samayda’ is said to have gone to Syria after a failed attempt to wrest control of Mecca and the Ka’ba from the tribe of Jurhum. The story is also told in al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:56 (§ 91), 2:165 (§ 945–946), and 2:263 (§ 1147).

178 Tihāma is the Red Sea coast of the Arabian peninsula, loosely including Mecca.

son of Nun dispatched someone against him who killed him. A group of his father's sons arose after him, but Joshua killed them.

Joshua traveled until he reached al-Balqā', where he encountered a man called Balak, after whom al-Balqā' was named.<sup>179</sup> They began to go out to do battle with him, but Joshua could not kill a single one of their men. He asked about this and was told that in Balak's city there was a woman astrologer who would turn her pudendum toward the sun and make calculations. When she was finished, the devices would be shown to her,<sup>180</sup> and no one whose time was up would go out on that day. So Joshua made two prostrations<sup>181</sup> and prayed that God would set the sun back one hour, and it was set back one hour for him. Her calculation therefore became confused for her, and she said to Balak, "Consider what they are asking of you, and give it to them, for my calculation has become confused for me." He said, "Examine your instruments carefully, and get something out of them, for there will be no truce without a fight." So she examined the devices without knowing what she was doing, due to the confusion of the matter for her, and they were slaughtered as no people had ever been slaughtered. They asked Joshua for a truce, but he refused it to them until they would hand the woman over to him. Balak said, "I will not hand her over." She said, "Hand me over to him." So he handed her over to him, and he offered a truce. She said to him, "Do you find anything in what was sent down to your master about the killing of women?" He said, "No." She said, "Then I hereby enter your religion." He said, "Go to live in another city." And he settled her in another | city.

1:48

After Joshua son of Nun conquered al-Balqā', the children of Israel engaged in much whoring and wine drinking. They lay with the women, and fornication

179 Al-Balqā' was one of the Arabic names for what is now called Jordan. Al-Ya'qūbī has amalgamated into one narrative the Moabite king Balak (Bālaq in Arabic) from Numbers 22–24, the woman astrologer (an echo of the prostitute Rahab who plays a part in the capture of Jericho) from Joshua 6, and the miraculous stopping of the sun at the battle against the Amorites at Gibeon from Joshua 10.

180 Sic ed. Leiden, but there is a textual problem. M reads, *'urīdat 'alayhā l-khayl*, "the horsemen would be shown to her." But there is no subsequent mention of horsemen, and no soldier, horse or foot, was being killed. Ed. Leiden, following C, which clearly indicates that the first letter of the last word is *h*, not *kh*, reads *al-ḥiyāl* (the devices), which accords with her subsequently being brought "her instruments" (*āla*). The "devices" presumably are astronomical instruments, although it is just possible that the sense is that the *strategies* (another sense of *ḥiyāl*) were submitted to her for approval.

181 The term used for a prostration, *rak'a*, is the standard Islamic liturgical terminology.

increased among them. This was grievous to Joshua son of Nun. He told them to fear God and warned them of His chastisement, but they did not take the warning. So God sent a revelation to Joshua son of Nun: "If you wish, I will give their enemy power over them; or, if you wish, I will destroy them by means of droughts; or, if you wish, by means of a quick, speedy death." He said: "They are the children of Israel. I would not have You give their enemy power over them, or that they should perish by means of droughts, but rather by means of a quick death." So the plague fell upon them, and seventy thousand died at one time.<sup>182</sup> Joshua's days among the children of Israel after the death of Moses son of Amram were twenty-seven years.

After Joshua son of Nun, Cushan the Infidel<sup>183</sup> was over the children of Israel; he remained among them for eight years. After Cushan came Othniel son of Kenaz, Caleb's brother, of the tribe of Judah son of Jacob, for [forty] years. When the wrongdoing and insolence of the children of Israel had increased, God gave Cushan,<sup>184</sup> the Mighty One of Moab, power over them. When Othniel became ruler, he killed Cushan and ruled for forty years.

Then the children of Israel reverted to unbelief, and God therefore gave Eglon king of Moab power over them for fifteen years. When they repented, God sent to them a man named Ehud<sup>185</sup> son of Gera of the tribe of Ephraim, and he killed Eglon king of Moab. He used to fight with his left hand and his right hand, so they named him "the man with two right hands." He was the first to forge | two-edged swords; before him swords had backs. In his time al-

1:49

182 Al-Ya'qūbī (or his source) has combined Numbers 25 (a plague visited on the Israelites because of their sexual relations with Moabite women) and 2 Samuel 24:12 (David, in the wake of displeasing God by taking a census, was offered the choice of three punishments: three years of famine, three months of military defeats, or three days of plague; he chose three days of plague, and 70,000 people died). Cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:57 (§ 92), for a version of the plague closer to Numbers 25, omitting the motif of the threefold choice, but introducing Joshua (who is absent from Numbers 25).

183 Cushan (M, Dūshān) the Infidel (Arabic, *al-Kufīrī*) corresponds to Cushan-rishathaim (Cushan of the Two Evils) of Judges 3:7–11. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:545–546; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:57–58 (§ 93–94).

184 Possibly a different person than Cushan the Infidel: M reads Kūshan here, not Dūshān.

185 The MSS read Ahūr, which Houtsma corrected to Ahūd, based on the similarity between *r* and *d* in Arabic script. However, Nöldeke, in his review of Houtsma's edition (*ZDMG* 38:154) noted that the MSS reading in this case corresponded to the reading of the Syriac Peshitta, which renders Hebrew Ēhūd as Āhūr. This, Nöldeke argued, was evidence that al-Ya'qūbī's biblical citations go back to a translation made from the Peshitta.

Tabniyya<sup>186</sup> was built in Syria. In the twenty-fifth year of Ehud's rule, the fourth millennium was complete.<sup>187</sup>

After Ehud, the children of Israel relapsed, and God therefore gave Jabin king of Canaan power over them for twenty years. Shamgar son of Anath had ruled the children of Israel before this and had killed six hundred of the Philistines. Then God had mercy on them and sent to them a man named Barak son of Abinoam of the tribe of Naphtali, and he ruled them for forty years.

Then the sons of Israel reverted to unbelief, and God therefore gave the people of Midian power over them for seven years. Then God had mercy on them and sent to them a man named Gideon son of Joash of the tribe of Manasseh, a righteous man.<sup>188</sup> It was he who attacked the Midianites by night and killed two hundred and eighty-five thousand of them. He ruled for forty years. After him, his son Abimelech son of Gideon ruled, but he was evil.<sup>189</sup> It was he who killed seventy of his brothers. He was killed by a woman: she threw a stone at him from atop the city gate and crushed him. He had ruled for three years.

Then Tola son of Puah of the tribe of Issachar ruled. He remained for twenty-three years. Then Gilead<sup>190</sup> of the tribe of Manasseh became ruler. He had thirty sons who rode with him on thirty fillies. | His rule was for twenty-two years.

Then the children of Israel reverted to unbelief. God therefore gave the children of Ammon power over them for seventeen years. In his<sup>191</sup> time the city of Tyre in Syria was built. He<sup>192</sup> inflicted a severe punishment on them. Then God, exalted be He, had mercy on them and sent them a man of the people

186 Sic M (vocalization uncertain), apparently the name of a city. Ed. Leiden reads *al-baniyya*, with *al-baniyya* apparently to be taken as a proper noun. However, since *al-baniyya* normally refers to the Ka'ba in Mecca, the reading is probably corrupt. Below, at 1:50, al-Ya'qūbī uses the formula, "In his days the city of ... was built." This formula probably occurs here.

187 That is, 4,000 years since the creation of the world; cf. *Schatzhöhle*, 42, 174–175 (trans. Budge, 166). The account of Ehud can be compared to Judges 3:12–30; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:546; and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:58 (§95). Curiously, the RSV of Judges 3:15 calls Ehud "a left-handed man." The Hebrew, as was noted by W. M. Brinner in his translation of al-Ṭabarī, says "who bound up his left hand," but the word used for "bound up" came to mean "withered" in later Hebrew. See William M. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, III, 127n.

188 Cf. Judges 6–8.

189 Cf. Judges 9.

190 He is Jair the Gileadite of Judges 10:3.

191 The antecedent is unclear.

192 Again, the antecedent is unclear—the name of someone who persecuted the children of Israel may have fallen out.

of Gilead named Jephthah.<sup>193</sup> He killed forty-two thousand of the children of Israel of the people of Ephraim—he was of the tribe of Manasseh. His rule was for six years.

Then Ibzan, who was called Nahshon,<sup>194</sup> was over them for seven years. Then Elon, of the tribe of Zebulun, was over them for twenty years. Then for eight years Abdon<sup>195</sup> was over them. Then Alānkashas was over them, and he inflicted a severe punishment on them. He ruled them exceedingly harshly for forty years.<sup>196</sup> Then Samson was over them for twenty years. Then they remained with no one over them for twelve years. Then Eli the High Priest was over them for forty years.

Then Samuel the prophet was over them. He was the one whom God mentioned.<sup>197</sup> *When they said to a prophet of theirs, “Raise up for us a king, and we will fight in God’s way.”* When they said to the Prophet Samuel, “Ask God to raise up for us a king to fight His enemies,” Samuel said, “You have no loyalty or sincere intention.” They said, “Not so!” He said, “*Verily, God has raised up Ṭālūt for*

193 Cf. Judges 11–12. Al-Ya‘qūbī’s condensation creates the impression that God in His mercy sent the children of Israel someone who killed 42,000 of them. The account in Judges makes it clear that Jephthah first defeated the Ammonites. Only then did the people of Ephraim, chafing under his rule, rebel, whereupon Jephthah and his Gileadites killed 42,000 of them.

194 For Ibzan of Judges 12:8 (Hebrew *Ibṣān*) the original reading of al-Ya‘qūbī seems to have been *Abīṣān*, which is how the Hebrew consonantal text was vocalized by the Septuagint (B: *Abaissan*) and the Syriac (*Abīṣān*). One cannot explain the identification of him with Nahshon (the name occurs in Exodus 6:23 as that of Aaron’s brother-in-law); however, the same wording (“Abīṣān who is Naḥshōn”) occurs also in *Schatzhöhle*, 42, 176–177 (trans. Budge, 168), and Nahshon is mentioned in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:59 (§ 96).

195 M reads ‘Akrān, which corresponds to the Peshitta reading ‘Akrān in Judges 12:13, where the Hebrew reads ‘Abdōn. Nöldeke, in his review of Houtsma’s edition (*ZDMG* 38:154) adduced this as further evidence that al-Ya‘qūbī’s biblical citations go back to a translation made from the Peshitta.

196 No source is known for the name of this foreign ruler (this is the probable reading, but the *n* could be *b*, *t*, *th*, or *y*). In Judges, forty years of Philistine rule intervene between Abdon and the coming of Samson, and this is echoed by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:547 and al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:59 (§ 96), without mention of any name.

197 Qur’ān 2:246. The story of Saul (identified with the Qur’ānic Ṭālūt) synthesizes material from 1 Samuel 5–18 and from various passages of the Qur’ān (2:246–251 and 9:91–92). The name Ṭālūt is usually explained as from the Arabic root *ṭ-w-l*, “to be tall,” referring to Saul’s great height, cf. 1 Samuel 9:2, “He stood head and shoulders above everyone else.” For a summary of the material on Saul in Islamic sources, see the article by R. Firestone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭālūt.

*you as king*,”<sup>198</sup>—his name was Saul. They said: “By God, he is not of the tribe of kingship and prophecy. He is not of the offspring of Levi or of Judah; he is only of the tribe of Benjamin.” Samuel said, “It is not for you to choose over God.”

1:51 So Samuel summoned | Saul, that is, Ṭālūt, and said to him: “The Lord has commanded me to raise you up as king over the children of Israel. God commands you to take vengeance on Amalek. Therefore, destroy Amalek and everything that is his. Spare him nothing; neither man, nor woman, nor nursling; neither calf, nor sheep, nor camel, nor donkey.”

He gave this commission to the whole assembly, whose number was four hundred thousand fighters. So Saul went against Amalek. He killed Amalek’s forces and captured Agag, the king of the Amalekites, but he kept him alive and spared him. They refrained from destroying any of the cattle or sheep and kept them for themselves. God therefore sent a revelation to Samuel: “Saul has disobeyed me; he has not destroyed Amalek and everything his kingdom contains.” So Samuel said to Saul, “God is angry at what you have done.” Saul therefore summoned Agag and said, “What is the bitterest death?” “Having one’s throat cut,” he said. So Saul cut his throat.<sup>199</sup> Then Saul said to Samuel, “Come with me, so that we can bow down before God, who is exalted.” But Samuel refused. So Saul grabbed Samuel’s cloak and tore it. Samuel said, “Thus will your kingdom be torn.”

Support<sup>200</sup> was taken away from Saul, and an evil spirit entered him. He would become troubled, and his color would change. His companions said to him, “If only a man of good voice, a poet, could be brought to you, to recite for you when this evil spirit enters you.” So he sent a message to Jesse: “Send your son David to me.” So he sent him to him, and whenever Saul was possessed,<sup>201</sup> David took his harp in hand and recited to its accompaniment, and the evil spirit would leave him.

Then the pagans<sup>202</sup> who were there in the time of Saul gathered together, and he fought them—they were star-worshippers. When Saul went out with

198 Qur’ān 2:247.

199 Cf. 1Samuel 15:32–33, where it is Samuel who summons Agag and kills him.

200 That is, divine support: Arabic, *nuṣrah* (aid, assistance), applied in the Qur’ān mostly to God’s assistance. Note that 1Samuel 16:14 says explicitly that “the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him.” The Arabic phrase used here for “evil spirit,” is strange: instead of the expected *rūḥ sū’*, one has *rīḥ sū’*, which normally would mean, “an evil wind.”

201 Ed. Leiden reads *khuniqa* (was choked), but M reads *kh.b.q*, which is easily corrected to give *khabila*, which is what has been translated.

202 Arabic, *ḥunafā’*. In Islamic usage, this term designates monotheists who are not members



his armies to fight them, a man came out from among them whose height was five cubits; his name was Goliath, which is Jālūt.<sup>203</sup> He said, "Let one of your men stand forth for me." David therefore said to Saul, "I will stand forth for him." Saul said to David, | "Go, and may the Lord be with you." So David took a stick and five stones and went out to Goliath. When Goliath saw him, he disdained him and said to him, "Have you come out against a dog with sticks and stones?" David said to him, "To one worse<sup>204</sup> than a dog." Then he took a stone from his pouch and hurled it at him, so that the stone sank into the forehead of Jālūt and he fell down. David ran up to him, took his sword, cut off his head, and made good his return. Goliath's army was routed, and the joy of the sons of Judah was great; Saul, however, was grieved. Envious of David, he banished him from his presence and made him chief of a thousand men; he spared him because of the standing of the sons of Judah.<sup>205</sup> David married Saul's daughter Michal. 1:52

Intent on killing David, Saul would dispatch him to fight the pagan star-worshippers, but God would grant him victory. So Saul determined to kill him without any subterfuge. David therefore fled to Samuel the prophet and gave him a report about Saul. Saul kept trying to kill David until David finally fled and passed by Achish, king of Gath. When Achish saw him, he recognized him, but David tricked him into releasing him. He went to Sāri<sup>206</sup> and encamped there.

When Saul learned that David had eluded him, he killed the priests who performed the sacred rites. He said, "You knew about him, but you did not inform me." Saul then went out to pursue David, and finally he caught up with him. David had entered a cave. When Saul came to the cave, he dismounted to relieve himself and went into the cave, not knowing that David was in it. David got up and hid. His companions said to him: "David, kill him! God has put him in your power." He said, "I am not one who would do such a thing."

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of the Jewish or Christian communities; here, however, it is used in the sense of "pagans," the normal meaning of its Syriac cognate *ḥanpē* (gentiles, heathens). Here and subsequently the word refers to the Philistines.

203 Jālūt is the name given to Goliath in Qurʾān 2:249–251. For a discussion of possible sources of the name, see the article by G. Vajda in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djālūt*.

204 Reading with M, *asharr*; ed. Leiden has *ashadd* (stronger), a copyist's error that makes little sense.

205 Reading with M, *wa-baqqāhu li-makāni banī yahūdā*. Ed. Leiden, *wa-naḥāhu bi-makāni banī yahūdā* (he exiled him in the place of the sons of Judah).

206 Cf. 1 Samuel 22:5, "and went into the forest of Hereth." Al-Yaʿqūbī's source followed the reading of the Septuagint, "and he stayed in the city of Sarich."

The prophet Samuel died, and the children of Israel assembled. They grieved and mourned him for thirty days.

1:53 Saul went out to fight the pagans. When the battle between them became fierce, they routed the children of Israel, many of whom were killed. Meanwhile, David son of Jesse, with his men from the tribe of Judah, was battling the Amalekites. When all the sons of Israel had been routed, leaving Saul isolated, he and his sons set to fighting by themselves. Then he said to his companion who was carrying his weapons, "Take your sword and kill me with it, lest these uncircumcised ones kill me and make sport with me." He did not do it; so Saul took his own sword, set it upright, and threw himself on it. He died, and his three sons were killed. Saul's reign was forty years.

### David

When Saul, who is Țālūt, died, David returned from fighting Amalek and went to Ziglāg. He stayed there two days. Then the report of Saul's death reached him, and he was saddened and grieved openly. David became king over the tribe of Judah. David had a number of wives who bore him children.<sup>207</sup> His eldest child was Amnon, whose mother was Ahinoam.<sup>208</sup> The second was Dalūyā son of Abigail. The third was Absalom son of Maacah. The fourth was Ornia son of Dahāt. The fifth was Shephatiah son of Abital. And the sixth one was Nathan son of Eglah. These six were from six wives. Michal, the daughter of Saul, bore no children. She fled from David to the companions of Saul.

The children of Israel from the tribes assembled to make David king. They made him king after seven years during which he ruled over the tribe of Judah exclusively, until all the tribes of the children of Israel made him king.

David moved his residence<sup>209</sup> to the city of Zion, which is Jerusalem,<sup>210</sup> and there he built a residence and married wives. After he became king, there

207 Cf. the lists in 2 Samuel 3:2–5 and 1 Chronicles 3:1–4. The names in al-Ya'qūbī's list are closer to the Septuagint than to the Masoretic Hebrew text. The differences can be accounted for—mostly—by miscopying, but some are hard to explain: Shītamūn for Ahinoam, Dalūyā for Chileab, Ornia for Adonijah, Dahāt for Haggith, and Nathan for Ithream.

208 M, C: Shītamūn. Nöldeke (*ZDMG* 38:154) explained this as derived (by miscopying, perhaps) from an original (A)shinūm, which, if one assumes "an Egyptian pronunciation of Greek χ as *sh*," corresponds to the Septuagint form of the name: Ἀχινόμ.

209 Reading with M, *wa-tanazzala*, instead of ed. Leiden, *wa-yanzilu* (and he used to dwell). For this meaning of *tanazzala*, see al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, DX.

210 Arabic, *Bayt al-Maqdis*.

were born to him:<sup>211</sup> Shammua, Shobab, Nathan, | Solomon, Ibhar, Elishua, 1:54  
Nepheg, Japhia, Elishama, Eliada, and Eliphelet. David's children were many;  
his kingdom was strong, and the children of Israel honored him.

When the pagans heard that David had become king over the children of Israel, they assembled to fight him. David fought them and made great slaughter among them, until he had exterminated them. When he finished fighting them, he loaded the Ark of the Shekhina onto a calf<sup>212</sup> to bring it into Jerusalem, and he prepared a meal for the children of Israel, for their men and women.

The prophet Nathan lived at that time. God sent a revelation to Nathan:<sup>213</sup> "Say to my servant David, 'Build me a house; for I have made you king over the children of Israel after you were in the sheepfold, and I have killed your enemies.'" So Nathan the prophet spoke to David, and it was of great importance in David's heart. It is said that Nathan was David's son.<sup>214</sup>

David fought the pagans and defeated them.<sup>215</sup> He fought the people of Moab and defeated them. He fought Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and defeated him. He took for himself a thousand chariots and seven thousand horses.

The people of Syria and Damascus gathered with Hadadezer to fight David. He killed twenty-two thousand of them and gained mastery over the land, so that the Syrians all became servants to him. Then they all assembled to make war on David. He dispatched his sister's son Joab and Abishai his brother<sup>216</sup> against them. David himself went out, crossed the Jordan River, and killed forty thousand of the enemy. He killed Ashan,<sup>217</sup> the enemy leader. Then he dispatched his sister's son Joab to the lowlands of Syria to fight the Ammonites, while he went back to Jerusalem.

<sup>211</sup> Compare the list in 2 Samuel 5:14.

<sup>212</sup> Sic. However, the Arabic word used here, *'jl*, can be read as *'ajal*, a plural of *'ajala*, (cart). Cf. 2 Samuel 6:3: "They carried the ark of God on a new cart." The reading *'ajal* could also mean "haste."

<sup>213</sup> Cf. 2 Samuel 7. In the biblical account, David initiates the project of building a temple. Nathan at first welcomes it, but receives a revelation overnight that the temple must be built not by David, but by his son.

<sup>214</sup> There is no indication of such a relationship in the biblical text. The idea may have arisen from the presence of the name Nathan in the list of David's children.

<sup>215</sup> For David's campaigns against the Philistines (the "pagans"), the Moabites, and Hadadezer, see 2 Samuel 8. The numbers (1,000 chariots and 7,000 horse) agree with the Septuagint, rather than with the Massoretic text.

<sup>216</sup> Abishai was Joab's brother.

<sup>217</sup> 2 Samuel 10:18, Shobach. As the Septuagint has a similar name (Sōbak), the reading here is probably due to a copyist.

1:55 David arose to walk on his roof, | and suddenly he caught sight of Bathsheba daughter of Eliam,<sup>218</sup> the wife of Uriah son of Hanan the Hittite. He inquired about her and was told of her situation and that she was the wife of Uriah son of Hanan. He fell in love with her. He sent a message to Uriah son of Hanan and had him come to him. Afterward, he wrote to his sister's son Joab: "Put Uriah at the front of the cavalry to fight." Joab put him forward; he fought and was killed. David then sent for Uriah's wife, married her, and fathered a child by her. God therefore sent the two angels to him, as He has related in His scripture.<sup>219</sup> And He sent to him the prophet Nathan, who said to him, "David, did God not command you to be just in judgment, decide by the truth, and not follow caprice?"<sup>220</sup> He said, "Certainly." So Nathan said: "Now there were two men living in the same city. One was rich, the other poor. The rich man had much cattle and livestock; the poor man had nothing but one little lamb that he had reared. It grew up with him and with his children. It ate of his food, drank from his cup, and slept in his lap. Then a guest descended upon the rich man. But the rich man took none of his own cattle or sheep; he took the poor man's lamb and prepared it for his guest." David became angry and said, "He deserves to die and to pay for that lamb sevenfold."<sup>221</sup> So Nathan the prophet said to David: "You are the man who has done this. The Lord your God says to you, 'I am the one who made you king over the children of Israel after you were a herder of sheep. I rescued you from the hands of Saul, and I gave you the house of Israel and the house of Judah; and yet you have done this. I will assuredly take vengeance on you by means of the worst of your offspring. I will give him power over you and over your wives.'" This was grievous to David, so Nathan said to him, "God has forgiven you; you will not die, but He will take vengeance on you by means  
1:56 of the worst of your sons." And God informed him that his child, whom | the woman bore, would die. David grieved, and his grief became intense. The boy fell ill, and when his sickness worsened, David fasted and stood up to pray; he would weep and roll on the ground with his hair disheveled. When the boy died, David's attendants found it hard to inform him of it, but finally he heard their

218 The form of the name used by al-Ya'qūbī is similar to that of the Septuagint (2 Samuel 11:3): Beersheba (Greek Bērsabee) daughter of Eliab.

219 Cf. Qur'ān 38:20 ff. In the Qur'ānic version of the story, the rich man and the poor man in Nathan's parable are cast as two angels who appear to David in the guise of two brothers, one rich and one poor, one of whom has wronged the other as in Nathan's parable, and David gives his judgment. No context is given for the episode, and Nathan does not appear.

220 Echoing Qur'ān 38:25; the rest of the account of Nathan's words follows 2 Samuel 12.

221 "Sevenfold" follows the Septuagint version of 2 Samuel 12:6; the Massoretic text has "four-fold."

whispering and he knew. He washed his face, put on his garments, sat in his accustomed place, and called for his meal. He said: "I grieved only before he perished. Now, however, my grief will not bring him back to me; rather, I shall go to him." Then he lay with Bathsheba; she bore a male child, and he named him Solomon.

Then David's son Absalom killed his brother Amnon<sup>222</sup> because he suspected Amnon with regard to a full sister of his. So he killed him and rebelled against David. Absalom was large of body and had abundant hair. David sent someone after him to bring him back, with the result that he returned. Then he rebelled a second time. David fled from him, walking on foot, until he ascended the pass of Mount Sinai. He was extremely hungry, until a man who had bread and oil with him caught up with him, and he ate some of it. Meanwhile, Absalom entered his father's city. He went to his house, took his father's concubines, and lay with them. He said, "God has made me king over the children of Israel." He went out with twelve thousand men and pursued David to kill him. David fled across the Jordan River. When he had crossed, a group of his companions rallied to him and a multitude from the villages. He dispatched Joab<sup>223</sup> to do battle with Absalom and said to him, "Take him for me alive and well." So they left and did battle with him. Absalom, who was on a mule, passed under a terebinth<sup>224</sup> tree and became caught in it, and his neck was broken. Joab shot three arrows into him and flung him into a cistern. When the report reached David, he grieved greatly over him. David then returned to his place.

After that Azla<sup>225</sup> came out against David, and with him there were mighty warriors. David did battle with them and killed them. When he had killed them and God had saved him from them, he rose to bless God and to praise Him. In his blessing he said:<sup>226</sup>

1:57

222 Cf. 2Samuel 13 for the story of Amnon's rape of his half-sister Tamar, the full sister of Absalom, and Absalom's revenge.

223 Ed. Leiden, "his son Joab," but the word *waladahu* (his son) is absent from M and is apparently a copyist's error. The note in ed. Leiden suggests emending to *walad ukhtihi* (his sister's son).

224 Arabic *buṭm*; the Hebrew (2Samuel 18:9) *ʿēlā* is also a terebinth, but for some reason AV and RSV both render it as "oak," which is usually *ʿallōn*.

225 Sic. The name here originally may have been Barzillai, based on a confusion with Barzillai the Gileadite who fed David and his army during the revolt of Absalom (2Samuel 17:27–29, 19:31–40). The leader of the revolt meant here is identified as Sheba son of Bichri in 2Samuel 20:1.

226 Cf. 2Samuel 22 = Psalm 18.

You, O Lord, I worship;  
to You I make pure my love.  
For You are my strength and my readiness,  
my refuge and my savior.  
After the agonies of death encompassed me,  
and the misfortunes of destruction drew near and enclosed me,  
I called upon You in my distress,  
and asked for Your help, O my God.  
You heard my voice and rescued me  
from those who struck me by turns and persecuted me.  
You became my helper;  
You brought me out from distress to relief.  
How just You are, O Lord!  
How helpful to those who trust You!  
Because there is no lord but You,  
inspire me with power, and make me to see the right way.  
Make my feet firm before You, and strengthen my arm.  
Do not empower my enemies against me.  
Give me the obedience of the children of Israel;  
Make them submissive servants, and inspire me with your thanks.

When David praised God in these words, he raised up a voice so beautiful that no one had heard the like of it. When he recited the Psalms he used to say:<sup>227</sup>

Blessed is the man [...] who has not walked in the path of sinners,  
and has not sat in the councils of scoffers.  
But his desire is the law of God,  
and he studies His law day and night.  
He shall be like a tree planted beside water,  
that brings forth its fruit in every season,  
and its leaves do not fall away.  
Not like this are the hypocrites in judgment,  
or the sinners in the assembly of the righteous.  
For God knows the way of the righteous,  
but the way of the wicked will come to naught.

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227 Psalm 1.

Then he would say:<sup>228</sup>

Praise God, whoever is in heaven;  
 let whoever is on high praise Him.  
 Let all His angels praise Him;  
 let all His hosts praise Him.  
 Let the sun and moon praise Him;  
 let the stars and the light praise Him.  
 Let the water above the heavens  
 give praise to the name of our Lord.  
 For He said to each thing, "Be," and it was;<sup>229</sup>  
 He created each thing and originated it.  
 He made them to last forever;  
 He set for each thing its measure.  
 He appointed them a limit and end,  
 that they should not exceed it.  
 Therefore let whoever is on earth praise God,  
 and fire and cold, snow and ice.  
 For He created the stormy wind by His word.

1:58

Praise God with a new song of praise  
 in the temple of the righteous.<sup>230</sup>  
 Let Israel rejoice in his Creator;  
 [sons of] Zion, magnify your Lord.  
 They praise His name with the tambourine,  
 the drum, and the harp.  
 They magnify Him,  
 because God rejoices in His law.  
 He gives help to the poor,  
 that the righteous may celebrate His favor.  
 They sing praise on their beds:  
 they magnify God with their throats,  
 with a two-edged sword in their hands;

<sup>228</sup> Psalm 148.

<sup>229</sup> The wording is closer to a frequently repeated formula in the Qurʾān (2:117, 3:47, 3:59, 6:73, 16:40, 19:35, 36:82, 40:68) than to Psalm 148:5.

<sup>230</sup> Psalm 149. The word translated as "temple," is *masjid*, a mosque, but more generally any place of worship.

To triumph over the peoples,  
     that the nations may be warned.  
 They fasten their kings in fetters,  
     and their nobles in chains of iron,  
 That to them there may be done  
     the judgment that was written.

Praise to God by all the righteous!<sup>231</sup>  
 Praise Him in His sanctuary.  
 Praise Him in the heaven of His might.  
 Praise Him for His might and strength.  
 Praise Him for His majesty.  
 Praise Him with the sound of the stringed instrument.  
 Praise Him with the lyre and harp.  
 Praise Him with lutes and horn.  
 Praise Him with strings and long [sounds of the drum].<sup>232</sup>  
 Praise Him with resounding cymbals.  
 Praise Him with loud voices | and shouts.  
 Praise our Lord with pure praise, every being with breath.

1:59

Then David says at the end of the Psalms:<sup>233</sup>

I was the last of my brothers,  
     a servant of my father's house.  
 I was the shepherd of my father's sheep,  
     while my hand made the drum,  
     and my fingers cut flutes.  
 Who is it who has told my Lord of me?  
 He is my Lord;  
     it is He who heard my voice  
     and sent His angels to me.  
 He took me away from my brothers' sheep:  
     they were older and comelier than I,  
     but my Lord was not pleased with them.  
 He sent me to meet Goliath's hosts.

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231 Psalm 150.

232 The text is corrupt, the meaning uncertain.

233 What follows is Psalm 151 in the Septuagint; the RSV includes it in the Apocrypha.



When I saw him worshipping his idols,  
 He gave me victory over him:  
 I took his sword and cut off his head.

Then the children of Israel spoke evil of David, and God's anger became great against them.<sup>234</sup> God therefore ordered David to make a census of the children of Israel. He counted them and found them to be eight hundred thousand fighting men; those of the tribe of Judah numbered five hundred thousand men. Then God sent the prophet Hiram<sup>235</sup> to David, to say to him, "Say to David, 'Choose one of three things: a famine for seven years; or that you be given over to your enemies, and they overcome you for three months and deprive you of your authority; or that there be a plague for three days.'" David was distressed by this and said, "Better God than man!" So God gave death power over them, and in a single hour seventy thousand men died. David said: "Lord, it is I who have done wrong. What is the sin of these who are like beasts?" God then sent him a revelation, "Build a temple for me on the threshing floor of the Jebusite." So David went up the mountain and purchased the threshing floor for fifty shekels,<sup>236</sup> and there he built an altar. Then death turned away from the sons of Israel.

David had grown old, and his body had become weak.<sup>237</sup> He had a son named Adonijah who won the support of Joab, the master of David's army, and some of David's generals. He said to them, "King David has become old, and I am the person most suited to take his place." When word of this reached David, he sent for Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet and said to them: "Assemble the people of the kingdom. Mount my son Solomon on my mule, and seat him on my pulpit;<sup>238</sup> for God has appointed him head over the children of Israel, and

1:60

234 Cf. 2Samuel 24. By making the cause of God's anger the evil that the Israelites spoke against David, al-Ya'qūbī rationalizes a difficult biblical text. In 2Samuel 24, God, having become angry against Israel for an unspecified reason, incites David to sin by conducting a census. The parallel text in 1Chronicles 21 makes Satan the inciter of David.

235 In 2Samuel 24:11, the prophet is named Gad. Unaccountably, the name of Hiram, the king of Tyre who in 1Kings 5 supplies cedar wood for the construction of the temple, has been substituted here.

236 The Arabic replaces the Hebrew monetary unit, shekel, with something more familiar, but the reading of the MSS is uncertain. M reads *istākhā*, which ed. Leiden emends to *istārā*, a Persian unit of weight borrowed into Greek as *statēr*. The Syriac form is *estayrā* or *estārā*, which corresponds exactly to the Arabic (Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 80).

237 Cf. 1Kings 1.

238 The term in the text is *minbar*, the place of preaching in a mosque. Since both the Hebrew

God will magnify his rule and exalt his rank.” So they went with Solomon; he ascended David’s pulpit, and the people of the kingdom rallied to him. David said, “Thus did God inform me: that my son Solomon would become king before my very eyes.” Solomon was twelve years old at the time.

Then David’s illness grew worse, and so he made his testament to Solomon.<sup>239</sup> He said: “I am about to go the way of all the people of the earth. Carry out the commandments of the Lord your God. Keep His statutes, ordinances, and commandments which are in the Torah that was sent down to Moses son of Amram.” David died when he was one hundred and twenty years old.<sup>240</sup> His reign was for forty years.

### Solomon, the Son of David

When God took David, Solomon arose in his place as prophet and king. God subjected to him jinn and men, winds and clouds, birds and beasts; and, as He has recounted in His mighty Book, He gave him a mighty kingdom.<sup>241</sup>

1:61 Joab, the master of David’s armies, and some of his companions, along with Solomon’s brothers, were inclined to undermine Solomon’s reign. | Solomon therefore killed them to the last man, and he killed his brother Adonijah;<sup>242</sup> then Solomon’s reign prospered, and his authority was established. He married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and brought her into David’s house.<sup>243</sup>

Solomon assembled the children of Israel to offer sacrifice, and he offered a thousand victims. One night, Solomon saw as it were the Lord saying to him,

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and the Greek use the ordinary word for a king’s throne (*kissē* and *thronos*, respectively), one is tempted to think that al-Ya’qūbī or his immediate source had something in mind: perhaps a desire to emphasize that Solomon was a prophet, not merely a king. Muḥammad, for example, had a *minbar*, not a throne.

239 Cf. 1 Kings 2.

240 There is no biblical source for this number. 1 Chronicles 29:28 merely says, “He died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honor.” On the basis of 2 Samuel 5:4 (“David was 30 years old when he began to reign, and he reigned 40 years”) one can infer that he was 70 years old at his death. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:572, gives his lifespan as 100 years “according to accounts that came from the Messenger of God.” He then mentions the figure of 70 according to “one of the People of the Book.”

241 An echo of Qur’ān 4:54.

242 Cf. 1 Kings 2:13–25. Al-Ya’qūbī gives the name of Solomon’s half-brother Adonijah in its Greek form, Adonias.

243 Cf. 1 Kings 3:1.

“Ask whatever you like, that I may give it to you.”<sup>244</sup> Solomon said: “Lord, you bestowed great favor on David and have made your servant Solomon king after him. Give me therefore a wise heart to judge justly among your servants and to understand good and evil.” God said, “Because you have asked this, and have not asked for wealth, or asked for the lives of your enemies, or asked for long life, but have asked for wisdom to judge and decide with understanding, I have granted your request. I have given you an understanding and discerning heart, such as no one before you has had, or anyone after you will have. I have also given you what you did not ask for: wealth, swift horses, and honor. If you walk in my way, and keep my laws and commandments, as David your father kept them, I will lengthen your life and make your undertakings great.”

Solomon would take his seat to pass judgment and make rulings among the children of Israel, and they marveled at his wise and just decisions and at his sayings and eloquence. Solomon had officers, ministers, scribes, and deputies.<sup>245</sup> His minister<sup>246</sup> was Zabud son of Nathan. In charge of his wars was Benaiah son of Jehoiada. His treasurer was Ahishar. Adoniram son of Abda was in charge of taxes. He had twelve deputies in charge of his expenditures, each in charge of a month's expenditure. His expenditures were paid by the tribes of the children of Israel. His outlay every day was thirty cors<sup>247</sup> of fine flour, sixty cors of fine meal, ten | fattened oxen, twenty bulls, and one hundred sheep. He had forty thousand tethering posts to which his animals were tethered. He was very fond of horses. God has related something about this.<sup>248</sup>

1:62

Solomon started to build the Holy House. He said: “God commanded my father David to build a house, but David was busied with wars. God therefore revealed to him, ‘Your son Solomon shall build the house in my name.’” Solomon then sent for a delivery of pine wood and cypress wood. Then he built the Holy House of stone. He fitted it out, dressed it with wood on the inside, and had the wood carved. He made a gilded sanctuary for it, with golden utensils in it. Then he brought the ark of the presence up and put it into the sanctuary. In the ark were the two tablets that Moses had deposited.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 3:5–15.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 4.

<sup>246</sup> Arabic, *wazīr*, which evokes the powerful figure of the Abbasid court. The Hebrew has *rē'eh hammelek*, which the RSV renders as “king's friend.” The Septuagint renders it as ἐταῖρος τοῦ βασιλέως (the king's companion).

<sup>247</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 4:22. The cor (Hebrew *kōr*) was a large measure of capacity. The most common estimate is 6 U.S. bushels.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 38:32 ff.

When Solomon had set the ark of the presence in place, he stood before the sanctuary, with the throngs of the children of Israel having assembled.<sup>249</sup> He glorified and blessed God, and he praised Him for His favor in making him king over the children of Israel and in carrying out the building of the Holy House through him. The children of Israel were gathering to him, and he was saying: “Blessed and exalted be the Lord, who has given rest to Israel. His good words have been fulfilled; none of them that He spoke to His servant Moses has fallen away. We ask God our Lord to be with us, as He was with our fathers, and that He not reject us or forsake us. Rather, may He turn our hearts to Him, that we may travel on the way that He approves and that we may keep His laws, His covenants, His commandments, and His statutes, which He commanded our fathers. May He make our words to be close to Him and pleasing in His sight, and make our hearts submissive to Him and mindful of His bidding.”

1:63 When Solomon finished building the Holy House, he made a feast. He offered sacrifices at it and continued doing so for fourteen days, | having assembled the children of Israel to it. When he finished feeding them, he rose to bless and praise God. When he finished, God sent a revelation to him:<sup>250</sup> “I have heard your prayer, and have seen your offering. If you remain obedient to Me, I will confirm your kingdom for you and for your offspring after you, and I will sanctify this house forever. But if you turn aside from My command, or any of you violates My covenants, I will deprive him of his kingdom and destroy this house forever.”

Bilqīs, the queen of Sheba, came to Solomon,<sup>251</sup> and the events that God has recounted in His mighty book took place. When she came to him, she brought him camels laden with gold and ambergris. She said to him, “Such word about you reached me that I did not believe it until I saw it.” Then she returned to her own country.

Solomon was very fond of women—he is said to have married seven hundred wives. Among them were a daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt; several women of the children of Ammon; several women of the people of Moab, the mighty ones of Syria; from Edom; from the Hittites, who are the Sidonians; and from the peoples with whom God had forbidden relations. There were seven

249 Cf. 1 Kings 8.

250 Cf. 1 Kings 9.

251 Cf. 1 Kings 10:1–13 and Qur’ān 27:15–45. Neither the Bible nor the Qur’ān gives the Queen of Sheba a name. The name Bilqīs emerged early in Islamic lore. Its origin is unknown, although its similarity to the Greek word for concubine (παλλακίς, borrowed into Hebrew as *pīlegesh*) is striking. See the article by E. Ullendorff in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bilqīs; and the article by Axel Havemann in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bilqīs.

hundred of them. One of Solomon's wives made a statue after the likeness of her father.<sup>252</sup> When his other wives saw it, they did as she had done. God reproved Solomon, saying: "Idols are being worshipped in your house, and they do not anger you! I will surely deprive you of your rule, divest you of your power, and divide the tribes from your descendants. But mindful for your sake of David your father, I will not divest you of the kingship for the remainder of your life or take away all the tribes. Rather, I will leave two tribes in your control, so that the memory of you will not vanish."

When Solomon was sitting on his throne wrought of gold and crowned with jewels, his signet ring was snatched from him.<sup>253</sup> One of the satans took it, put it on his own hand, and pushed Solomon | off his throne; the satan sat on it himself. He stripped off Solomon's clothes and put them on himself. Solomon went wandering aimlessly, wearing a woolen coat, with a reed in his hand, begging for food. He would say: "I am the king of the children of Israel. God has divested me of my kingdom." Whoever heard him scoffed at him and denied his words. He would wait for the fishermen by the sea and ask them for whatever they would give him to eat. However, Solomon's companion Asaph and others found something strange in the satan's behavior, and they did not see him mentioning God. The satan therefore fled and flung the ring into the sea. Solomon remained deprived of kingship for forty days. When his forty days were over, he was walking haplessly along the seashore when a fisherman said to him, "Come, madman, and take this fish." And he gave him a fish whose odor had already turned. Solomon took it to the sea, washed it, and split open its belly, and lo there was another fish within it. He split open the belly of the other fish, and there was his signet ring in its stomach. He put it on and praised God, and God restored his kingdom to him. 1:64

Solomon remained king over the children of Israel in the way that God has described regarding his kingship and how He subjected to him the birds, the jinn, and humans to produce marvels of workmanship for him, constructing the building for him, and obeying his every order for forty years. Then he died and was buried beside the tomb of David. Solomon was twelve years old when he became king. He died when he was fifty-two years old.

<sup>252</sup> For this detail, cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:587.

<sup>253</sup> The post-biblical story of how Solomon's ring came into the power of a devil who then impersonated Solomon, while the real Solomon became a beggar, is alluded to in Qur'an 38:34–35. It is recorded in more detail in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:589–594. For Jewish versions of the story, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 4:168 ff.

### Rehoboam, the Son of Solomon, and the Kings after Him

When Solomon son of David died, Rehoboam son of Solomon became king.<sup>254</sup> The tribes of the children of Israel gathered before him and said, “Your father dealt roughly with us and subjected us to harsh servitude, so lighten our burden now.” Rehoboam said to them, | “Go away from me today, and come back to me in three days.” So they left him, and he consulted the elders among his father’s companions. “What do you think?” he asked. They said, “We think that you should reply graciously to the children of Israel and speak softly to them, so that you may rule them after today.” But he abandoned the opinion of the elders of the children of Israel and consulted some young men who had grown up with him. They said to him, “We think you should speak harshly to them, so that things proceed aright for you with them as they did for your father.” When the third day came, they gathered before him to ask him about what they had mentioned to him. He said to them, “My little finger is heavier than my father’s thumb.” When he said this, they left him and dispersed to their villages. Of all the tribes of the children of Israel, only the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin remained with him.

The ten tribes made Jeroboam son of Nebat king over them. He had fled from Solomon into Egypt; however, when the children of Israel parted ways over Rehoboam son of Solomon, he returned. Rehoboam son of Solomon gathered a thousand men from the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin, intending to make war on Jeroboam son of Nebat and those with him. But God revealed to the prophet Shemaiah:<sup>255</sup> “Say to Rehoboam and those with him, ‘Do not make war on the children of Israel.’” They heeded his word and went away. Rehoboam reigned for seventeen years.

Jeroboam, son of Nebat, ruled as king over the ten tribes from the mountains of Ephraim.<sup>256</sup> Then the children of Israel said, “We wish to make our offerings to God.” Jeroboam was loathe to have them go up to Jerusalem, lest the people of Judah win them over and they join their kingdom. So he said, “There is no need for you to go up; I will set up an altar for you.” So he set up an altar for them, procured a golden calf for it, and said, “These are your gods, who brought you up from the land of Egypt.” He appointed | chief priests for the calf. He made a feast and offered sacrifices to the calf. The prophet of the children of Israel came to him and admonished him.<sup>257</sup> Jeroboam stretched out his hand toward

<sup>254</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 12.

<sup>255</sup> The MSS read “Isaiah,” but this seems to be due to the miscopying of an unfamiliar name.

<sup>256</sup> The MSS read “the mountains of Farān,” but this seems to be due to miscopying.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 13.

him and it dried up. So he said to the prophet, “Pray to God to restore my hand.” The prophet prayed for him, and Jeroboam’s hand was restored; but Jeroboam persisted in his way and did not turn back from it. God destroyed Jeroboam and all those who were with him. He killed him and brought ruin upon him. His reign was for twenty years.

Then Abijam, son of Rehoboam, became king.<sup>258</sup> He walked in his father’s ways, displayed vile behavior, and committed shameful deeds; God therefore cut his life short. His reign lasted for three years.

Then Asa became king.<sup>259</sup> He displayed behavior obedient to God. He forbade fornication and punished people for it and for other immorality. He expelled from his kingdom anyone who worshipped idols, even driving out his mother when word reached him that she was worshipping idols. In his time Zerah became king of Ethiopia, and the king of India advanced toward Jerusalem, but God sent a punishment and destroyed Zerah and the king of India. Asa reigned for forty years. The children of Israel are said to have used the wood of the Indians’ weapons as fuel for seven years after Asa killed them.

After him his son Jehoshaphat became king. He walked in his father’s ways. He was a devout, truthful man. He ruled the ten tribes and was accepted among all the children of Israel. His rule lasted twenty-five years.

His son Joram reigned after him. He became an infidel, and his people returned to the worship of idols. He married a woman who encouraged his tyranny and led him astray. His reign lasted for forty years.

Ahaziah became king after his father and walked in his ways. The ten tribes had seceded and had made one of their own, a man named Jehu, king. He went to war with Ahaziah and made great slaughter among his people. | Then God gave the king of Syria power over them, and he did the same thing among them. Ahaziah ruled for one year.

1:67

Then Athaliah daughter of Omri reigned. She killed David’s progeny, so that none of David’s descendants remained except a boy named Joash.<sup>260</sup> A woman from the family of his paternal uncle—one named Jehosheba—his paternal aunt, took him; he was still a nursling. Athaliah did evil, worked abominations openly, and corrupted the country. The children of Israel came in assembly to the priest Jehoiada and complained to him about what she was doing to them. They gathered together and killed her. Her rule lasted for seven years.

<sup>258</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 15:1.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 15:9. Al-Ya’qūbī supplements the Bible’s spare account of Asa’s reign with material from other sources. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:619–637.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. 2 Kings 11.

After Athaliah, the young man who remained of the sons of David, that is, Joash, became king.<sup>261</sup> He was seven years old when he became king. The affairs of the children of Israel improved, and justice prevailed among them; immorality was eliminated, and they abandoned the worship of idols. However, at the end of his life, he became unjust; he made use of murder, even murdering the children of priests. He murdered the child of the priest Jehoiada, who had made him king. Then he died; his reign had lasted forty years. He razed the wall of the Holy House for forty cubits and made off with everything in it.<sup>262</sup>

Amaziah became king after him. At the beginning of his reign, his course of action resembled that of Joash, but then he behaved unjustly and acted oppressively. His reign lasted for twenty-seven years.

Then Uzziah son of Amaziah became king.<sup>263</sup> The prophet Isaiah lived in his time. Uzziah worshipped God aright and did His work obediently, except that he took the censer and entered the sanctuary, which was permitted to no one except the priests. God therefore punished him, and he became a leper. God  
1:68 also punished Isaiah the prophet because | he did not forbid him to do it. God divested him of prophecy until Uzziah died. His reign lasted for fifty-two years.

Jotham became king when his father became a leper.<sup>264</sup> His reign lasted for sixteen years.

Then his son Ahaz became king. He became an infidel and worshipped idols. God therefore gave Tiglath-pileser, the king of Babylon, power over him.<sup>265</sup> He took him captive, enslaved him, and imposed a tax<sup>266</sup> on him. He destroyed Sebastea,<sup>267</sup> the city of the ten tribes in Palestine, and brought its people into captivity in the land of Babylon. Then he sent some of his own people to the

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261 Cf. 2 Kings 11:21 ff.

262 Cf. 2 Kings 12:18, 14:13. Al-Ya'qūbī or his source has confused King Joash of Samaria with King Joash of Jerusalem.

263 Cf. 2 Kings 15:1–7 and 2 Chronicles 26. Azariah (2 Kings) and Uzziah (2 Chronicles 26) apparently are variants of the same name.

264 2 Kings 15:32–38; 2 Chronicles 27.

265 Al-Ya'qūbī or his source has amalgamated the events of 2 Kings 16–17, making it appear that Ahaz ruled from Samaria-Sebastea, rather than Jerusalem, and that he, rather than Hoshea was the king captured and exiled by the Babylonians (Assyrians in 2 Kings 17). The name of the “king of Babylon” in M appears to be Bala'qīs (the first letter is ambiguous because undotted). Tiglath-pileser is the name that appears in 2 Kings 15–16. The name of the Assyrian ruler who conquered Samaria is given as Shalmaneser in 2 Kings 17:2.

266 Arabic, *jizya*, later used for the poll-tax paid by non-Muslims in Muslim territory. Here the word should be taken in the broader sense of tax or tribute.

267 Anachronism: the capital of the ten tribes was called Samaria; the rebuilt city did not receive the name Sebastea until the reign of Herod the Great.



city, and they restored it and rebuilt it. They are the ones called Samaritans<sup>268</sup> in Palestine and Jordan. When they settled there, God sent lions to attack them. Then he<sup>269</sup> dispatched one of the priests of the children of Israel to them, a descendant of Aaron, to teach them the religion of the children of Israel. When they entered their religion, the lions left them. They became Samaritans. They said, "We believe in no prophet but Moses, and we acknowledge only what is in the Torah." They rejected the prophethood of David and denied the resurrection and the afterlife. They refused to sit or associate with other people, partake of anything from them, or carry the dead. Whoever has carried a dead person goes apart for seven days; he goes apart into the desert, not associating with them, and then he washes himself. It is the same for anyone who has partaken of anything that is not permitted. They do not shelter a menstruating women in their homes. They appointed their leader from the descendants of Aaron, and they name him | the *ra'ṣ*.<sup>270</sup> They deal with inheritance according to the Torah. They are in no other place on earth except the province of Palestine. The reign of Ahaz lasted for sixteen years. 1:69

After Ahaz, Hezekiah<sup>271</sup> his son became king. He worshipped God aright. He broke down the idols and destroyed their shrines. In his time, Sennacherib son of Sarāṭum<sup>272</sup> became king of Babylon. He came to Jerusalem and captured the rest of the tribes. Hezekiah bribed him with three hundred talents<sup>273</sup> of silver and thirty talents of gold to leave. He accepted them, but then he acted treacherously. When he did this, Isaiah the prophet and Hezekiah prayed to God against Sennacherib, and God answered their prayer.<sup>274</sup> God subjected Sennacherib's men to slaying: one hundred and eighty-five thousand of them were killed in a single hour. Sennacherib turned back in defeat; and when he

268 On the Samaritans, cf. 2Kings 17:24–41. See also the article by S. Noja Nosedá in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Sāmira. For Islamic traditions concerning the Samaritans, see the article by B. Heller in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Sāmīrī.

269 The pronoun should refer to the king of Babylon (Assyria) as in 2Kings 17:27, but in al-Ya'qūbī's abbreviated version might also refer to God.

270 That is, head, chief, or leader.

271 Given as Ḥizqīl, ordinarily the Arabic form of the name of the prophet Ezekiel; probably a copyist's error.

272 Sic. Sennacherib's father was Sargon II, and Sarāṭum may be a copyist's error for something like the Akkadian form of the name: Sharrukēn. Sennacherib, like Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser, was a king of Assyria, not Babylon.

273 Arabic, *qīntār*, a large unit of weight, c. 100 pounds. The amount of the tribute is given thus in 2Kings 18:14.

274 Cf. 2Kings 19; 2Chronicles 32.

reached Babylon, his own son slew him in a most evil murder. God commanded Isaiah the Prophet to tell Hezekiah that he would die and that he should make his will. When God gave him to understand this, he besought God to prolong his life until He should grant him a son to reign as king after him. God therefore prolonged his life for fifteen years, until a son was born to him. In the days of Hezekiah, the sun went back five signs of the zodiac toward its rising.<sup>275</sup> Hezekiah ruled as king for twenty-seven years.

After Hezekiah, Manasseh son of Hezekiah became king.<sup>276</sup> The children of Israel became infidels during his days. He became an infidel and worshipped idols; he was the worst king among the children of Israel. He built a place of worship for the idols and took an idol of four faces for himself. Isaiah 1:70 forbade him and ordered it | to be sawn from head to foot with a saw. God set against Manasseh Constantine the king of the Romans, who made war on him and took him prisoner, so that Manasseh spent time in captivity.<sup>277</sup> Then he repented to his Lord, and God restored him to his kingdom. He smashed the idol and destroyed the houses of the idols. His reign lasted for fifty-five years; his captivity was for twenty years.

Then Amon son of Manasseh became king. He brought back the idols, so that they became even more numerous. His reign lasted for sixteen years.

After him, Josiah his son became king.<sup>278</sup> He worshipped God aright: he smashed the idols and destroyed their houses, and he killed and burned their custodians. In his justice, right worship of God, and good policy, he resembled David and Solomon. His reign lasted for thirty years.

275 Reading with the mss *khamṣ burūj*. Ed. Leiden emends to *khamṣ darajāt*, five degrees. There are three arguments against the emendation: 1. The text in the mss is clear and makes sense. 2. A 5-degree retrograde motion, the distance the sun normally travels in 20 minutes, would hardly be perceptible, except to astronomers. 3. The Jewish legendary material, interpreting 2 Kings 20:9–11, says that in this miracle, “the sun shone ten hours longer than its wonted time” (Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 4:275), interpreting the Hebrew *ma’alōt* to mean hour marks on a sundial. Since each of the 12 signs of the zodiac covers 360/12 or 30 degrees, the sun, moving across the sky at an apparent 360/24 or 15 degrees an hour, takes 10 hours to cover 5 signs; which is what the text implies—a very apparent miracle.

276 Cf. 2 Kings 21; 2 Chronicles 33.

277 The biblical source for the captivity of Manasseh is 2 Chronicles 33:10–13, where the captor is identified as “the king of Assyria,” and Manasseh spends his captivity in Babylon. The source of this anachronistic introduction of Constantine is unknown. It also occurs in al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:67 (§ 111).

278 Cf. 2 Kings 22–23; 2 Chronicles 34–35.

Then Jehoahaz his son reigned for three months.<sup>279</sup> Pharaoh the Lame, king of Egypt, took him captive and imposed a tax on his country. Pharaoh made one of his own the king over it and took Jehoahaz away to Egypt, where he died.

After him, Jehoiakim his brother became king; he was the father of the prophet Daniel.<sup>280</sup> In his time, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came to Jerusalem and wrought slaughter among the children of Israel. He took them captive and brought them to the land of Babylon. Then he went into the land of Egypt and killed Pharaoh the Lame, its king. Nebuchadnezzar took the Torah and the books of the prophets that were in the temple; he put them into a well, threw fire onto them, and pressed them down. The prophet Jeremiah lived at that time. When he learned of Nebuchadnezzar's approach, he took the ark of the presence and hid it in a cave where no one knew of it.<sup>281</sup> No one escaped from Nebuchadnezzar except Jeremiah.

The number of those whom Nebuchadnezzar brought to the land of Babylon | was eighteen thousand. Among them were a thousand prophets. Their king was Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim.<sup>282</sup> From them are descended the Jews who are in Iraq. It is said that Jeremiah the prophet said: "O God, I know of your justice what no one else knows. Why did you give Nebuchadnezzar power over the children of Israel?" And God revealed to him, "I take vengeance on my servants, when they disobey me, only with the worst of my creatures."

1:71

The children of Israel continued in captivity under the power of Nebuchadnezzar until he married one of their women called Sîḥat<sup>283</sup> daughter of Shealtiel. She asked him to restore her people to their land. When the children of Israel returned to their land, they made Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel king over

279 Cf. 2 Kings 23:31–35; 2 Chronicles 36:1–4. The name "Pharaoh the Lame" (Arabic, *Fir'awn al-A'raj*) derives ultimately from a Jewish folk etymology of the Egyptian name transliterated into Hebrew as Nəḳō (RSV Neco), as if from the adjective *nāḳē* (smitten, stricken), which occurs in 2 Samuel 4:4 and 9:3 in the phrase *nāḳē raglayim* (crippled of feet). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:643. The same folk etymology is also present in the Syriac Bible, where he is called *Per'ōn Ḥgīrā*, Pharaoh the Lame.

280 This is deduced from Daniel 1:3–7, where Daniel is said to be "of the royal family."

281 Cf. 2 Maccabees 2:18; Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 4:320–321.

282 Cf. Jeremiah 24:1.

283 Sic MSS. The tradition that the exiles' return was furthered by the marriage of the sister of the man who became their leader, Zerubbabel, to the ruler who allowed them to return can also be found in *Schatzhöhle*, 51, and 206, 208 (trans. Budge, 190), although the ruler is correctly named there as Cyrus, not Nebuchadnezzar. The Syriac gives the name of Zerubbabel's sister as Mshinat (another MS reads Mashḥat) and the Arabic translation reads Mashḥat, which in ductus closely resembles the word in M. Thus, although the original form of the name remains obscure, its provenance can be traced.

them. He rebuilt the city of Jerusalem, and he rebuilt the temple, spending forty-six years rebuilding it. In his time, God transformed Nebuchadnezzar into a female beast.<sup>284</sup> He continually wandered among various kinds of beasts for seven years. Then it is said that he turned back to God, who caused him to live as a man again; then he died. Zerubbabel was the one who brought out the Torah and the books of the prophets from the well in which Nebuchadnezzar had buried them. He found them intact, not burnt. He recopied the Torah, the books of the prophets, their traditions,<sup>285</sup> and their laws. He was the first one who copied these books.

The law<sup>286</sup> of the children of Israel was: the declaration of God's oneness;<sup>287</sup> and confessing the prophethood of Moses and Aaron, the sons of Amram son of Kohath son of Levi son of Jacob son of Isaac son of Abraham, God's friend.

1:72 Their fasting was six days every year. The first of them is on *Rosh ha-Shanah*.<sup>288</sup> They reckon *Rosh ha-Shanah* to be the first day of Tishrīn. When | ten days of Tishrīn have passed, they fast for one day; it is the day on which the second set of tablets came down to Moses son of Amram.<sup>289</sup> They fast on the tenth of Kānūn 11 for a single day; it is the day on which God delivered the children of Israel from Haman.<sup>290</sup> They fast on the seventeenth of Tammūz for a single day; it is the day on which Moses came down from the mountain.<sup>291</sup> They fast on the ninth of Āb for a single day; it is the day on which the destruction of Jerusalem took place. They fast on the third of Tishrīn; it is the day on which Gedaliah son of Ahikam was killed.<sup>292</sup>

284 Cf. Daniel 4:28–37.

285 Arabic, *sunan*, plural of *sunna*.

286 Arabic, *sharī'a*, the normal word also for Islamic law.

287 Arabic, *tawhīd*, literally, "declaring of oneness," the normal word for monotheism in Islam.

288 Given in the Arabic form, *Ra's al-Sana*. The Arabic and Hebrew both mean "Head of the Year," that is, New Year. Curiously, in the next paragraph, the New Year is called a feast-day, which corresponds more closely to its character in Jewish observance.

289 For the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) as the day on which Moses received the second set of tablets, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 3:138–140.

290 The fast of the 10th of Kānūn 11 (Tēbēt in Hebrew) commemorated the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kings 25:1 and Jeremiah 52:4). Al-Ya'qūbī or his source has confused it with the fast on 13 Ādār commemorating Esther's fast, preceding the Feast of Purim, which commemorates the deliverance of the Jews from Haman.

291 That is, when Moses came down from the mountain with the first tablets, which he destroyed when he saw the Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf. The fast commemorates the destruction of the tablets.

292 Cf. 2 Kings 25:22–26. Gedaliah was a Judaeen appointed by Nebuchadnezzar to govern his

They have four feasts a year. The feast of unleavened bread is the day on which Moses brought the children of Israel out of Egypt. They carried their dough unfermented and ate it as unleavened bread. It is on the fifteenth of Nisān and lasts for seven days. Then there is a feast on the sixteenth of Ḥazīrān, the day on which the Torah was sent down to Moses; it is a great feast for them.<sup>293</sup> Then there is a feast of the first of Tishrīn; it is their New Year's Day. Then there is a feast on the fifteenth day of Tishrīn; it is the feast of Tabernacles. Its meaning is that God commanded Moses to command the children of Israel to build a trellis of palm leaves and branches. Therefore they dwell for eight days, making in their synagogues canopies of palm leaves and branches.

Their prayers are three: a prayer in the morning, a prayer at sunset, and a prayer after sunset. When one of them stands for prayer he puts his heels together, puts his right hand on his left shoulder, and his left hand on his right shoulder; with his head lowered, he makes five bows, without making prostration, then he makes a single prostration at the end. He gives praise with the Psalms of | David at the beginning of the prayers; in the sunset prayer he recites from the Torah. In their traditions and laws they put their reliance on the books of their scholars. These are the books that are called [...] <sup>294</sup> in Hebrew, which is the language that became theirs when they crossed the sea.<sup>295</sup> This is a picture of the Hebrew script. It is 27 letters.<sup>296</sup>

1:73

Their practice in their marriages is that they marry only with a guardian and two witnesses. The smallest bride-price for a virgin is two hundred dirhams, and for one not a virgin,<sup>297</sup> a hundred dirhams. There is no smaller price than

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newly conquered province. His assassination put an end to this last semblance of Jewish rule.

293 Hebrew *Shābū'ōt*, the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost), celebrated fifty days after Passover. The Arabic month name *Ḥazīrān* corresponds to Hebrew *Sōwān*.

294 Lacuna in the text.

295 Al-Ya'qūbī gives a common etymology of the adjective '*ibrānī*' (Hebrew) from the verb '*abara*, to cross. The etymology works in Arabic as well as in Hebrew.

296 What follows in M is curious, and one cannot be sure that it is what al-Ya'qūbī originally wrote. First, the 27 letters of the Arabic alphabet are written in their customary order. This is followed by what appear to be 11 exotic characters (sometimes one cannot determine whether a complex design is meant as one or two characters); these resemble nothing that one could call Hebrew. As for the figure of 27 for the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, which would make it equal to the Arabic alphabet, one can arrive at that number if one adds to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet the special shapes that 5 letters take in word-final position.

297 Arabic, *thayyib*, includes widows, divorcées, and any other women who are not virgins.

this. Divorce is allowed when they come to abhor one another, and it can only take place in the presence of witnesses.

Their practice in regard to slaughtered animals is not to eat what others slaughter. Whoever is in charge of slaughtering animals must be knowledgeable in the laws. Whenever he wants to slaughter an animal, he brings to the priest the knife he will use. If its edge meets with the priest's approval, he allows him to slaughter with it; if not, he commands him to sharpen it or bring another one. When he slaughters an animal, he does not bring it near a wall, lest it become agitated. When he finishes with it, he inspects its throat, and if he finds the epiglottis not foaming, and the slaughter properly done, it is not to be eaten until he inspects the lung. If he finds any defect in it, any disease, or split, or pustule, or tumor, the slaughtered animal is not to be eaten. If the lung is sound, he inspects the brain. If he finds any disease in it, it is not to be eaten. If the brain is sound, he inspects the heart. If he finds any disease in it, it is not to be eaten. If it is sound, [...].<sup>298</sup> The fat that is in the stomachs and the intestines one does not eat, nor the veins, but everything else one eats.

Their era, according to their reckoning, is from the destruction of Jerusalem; on this basis they reckon. Every day, they must remember the day on which Jerusalem was destroyed and how long it has been since that day.

### The Messiah, Jesus, the Son of Mary

- 1:74 Hannah, the wife of Amram, made a vow that if God gave her a child, she would dedicate it to God.<sup>299</sup> When she gave birth to Mary, she gave her to Zechariah son of Barachiah son of Yashū son of Naḥrā'il son of Sahlūn son of Arsū son of Shuwayl son of Ya'ūd son of Moses son of Amram, who was a priest at the altar.<sup>300</sup> Mary remained thus until, when she was seventeen years old, God sent the angel to her to give her a blameless child.<sup>301</sup> Of her story there took place

298 Lacuna in the text.

299 Cf. Qur'ān 2:35: "The wife of 'Imrān said, 'Lord, I have vowed to Thee, in dedication, what is within my womb.'" The following verses make it clear that "the wife of 'Imrān" is the mother of the Virgin Mary. In Christian tradition, Anne (Ḥannah is the Hebrew and Arabic form of the name), the mother of Mary, was married to a man named Joachim. The identification of her husband as 'Imrān (the same name as Amram, the father of Moses) comes from the Qur'ān.

300 The source of this genealogy for Zechariah is unknown. M omits "son of Barachiah." The vocalization and correct reading of the names is conjectural.

301 Cf. Qur'ān 19:19.

what God has told, until she became pregnant. When her days were complete, the labor pains came upon her, in the way of which God has spoken.<sup>302</sup> He has also described her situation and his, his speaking from beneath her, and his speaking in the cradle. His birth took place in a village called Bethlehem, one of the villages of Palestine, on Tuesday, the twenty-fourth of Kānūn 1.

Māshā'allāh the astrologer said: "The ascendant for the year in which the Messiah was born was in Libra 18°; Jupiter was in Virgo 31' [2° 30'] retrograde; Saturn was in Capricorn 16° 28'; the Sun was in Aries 1'; Venus was in Taurus 14°; Mars was in Gemini 21° [22'; the Moon was in Gemini 22°] 44'; Mercury was in Aries 4° 17' [59']".<sup>303</sup>

As for the authors of the Gospel, they do not say that he spoke in the cradle. They do say that Mary was betrothed to a man named Joseph, a descendant of David. | She conceived, and when the completion of her pregnancy drew near, he took her to Bethlehem. When she had given birth, he brought her back to Nazareth, in the hills of Galilee. On the eighth day, according to the law of Moses son of Amram, he circumcised him. The apostles gave accounts describing the Messiah and mentioning his circumstances. We have set down the report of each, one by one, and the description of him that they gave. 1:75

The apostles were twelve from the tribes of Jacob. They were: Simon son of Kan'ān, of the tribe of [...; Jacob] son of Zebedee, [...]; John son of Ḥābar son of Fālī, of the tribe of Zebulun; Philip, of the tribe of Asher; Matthew, of the tribe of Issachar son of Jacob; Sam'ā, of the tribe of Ephraim son of Jacob; Judah, of the tribe of Judah son of Jacob; Jacob, of the tribe of Joseph the son of Jacob; and Manasseh, of the tribe of Reuben son of Jacob. In addition to these there were seventy men. The four who wrote the Gospel were Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; two of these were of the twelve; two were not of their number.

As for Matthew, in his Gospel he spoke of the lineage of the Messiah Jesus, the son of David, the son of Abraham, working his way down until he ended with Joseph son of Jacob son of Matthan, after forty-two ancestors. Then he said: Joseph was the husband of Mary. The Messiah was born in Bethlehem, a village of Palestine. The king of Palestine at that time was Herod. Some of the Magi traveled to Bethlehem; | over their heads was a star by which they were guided, until they saw him and bowed down to him. Herod the king of Palestine wanted to kill the Messiah, but Joseph took him and his mother away to the land of Egypt. When Herod died, he brought him back and settled him in 1:76

302 Cf. Qur'ān 19:23–30.

303 This is the horoscope for the vernal equinox of that year. The figures are somewhat corrupted. See the horoscope as it appears in E. S. Kennedy & David Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, 44–47, 96–97; figures from this source appear in brackets above.

Nazareth, in the hills of Galilee. When the Messiah grew up and reached the age of twenty-nine, he went to John son of Zechariah, to be accepted as a follower, but John son of Zechariah said to him, "I am more in need of you than you are of me." The Messiah said to him, "Desist from this saying, for thus it is fitting that righteousness be fulfilled." So John desisted from it.

Jesus, with the aid of God's Spirit, went out into the desert and fasted for forty days. Satan approached him and said, "If you are now the son of God, command these stones to become bread." Jesus said, "Man does not live by bread alone, but by the word of God." Then he took him and brought him to the pinnacle of the temple. Satan said to him: "Throw yourself to the ground. If you are God's son, His angels will surround you." The Messiah said, "It is written: You shall not put God, your Lord, to the test." Then he said to Satan, "Depart, for I bow down to God and Him do I serve." So Satan left him and departed, and the angels of God came to him and began serving him.

Then his disciples came to him, and he began speaking to them in parables and in revelation without parables. The first part of the Gospel that he spoke, according to what is in the Gospel of Matthew, was: Blessed are the poor whose hearts are content with what is with their Lord; truly theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the hungry and thirsty in obedience to God. Blessed are the truthful in their speech, who relinquish lying, who are the salt of the earth and the light of the world. Do not kill. Do not anger anyone; appease whoever is angry at you. Be reconciled with your adversary. Do not commit adultery. Do not look at any other than your own wives. If | your right eye summons you to disloyalty, pluck it out in order to save your bodies. Do not divorce your wives except for immorality.<sup>304</sup> Do not swear by God, whether telling the truth or lying, either by His heavens or by His earth. Do not resist evil; rather, whoever strikes you on your right cheek, turn your left cheek to him; whoever wants to take away your shirt, give him your cloak, too; and whoever forces you for a mile, go with him for two miles. Whoever asks of you, give to him. Whoever asks you for a loan, lend to him, and do not deprive him.

You have heard that it is said, love your neighbor<sup>305</sup> and hate your enemy. But I say to you: Love your enemies, be kind to those who mistreat you, and do

304 Reading, with M, *rayba*; ed. Leiden *zanya*, adultery.

305 Arabic, *qarīb*, which normally means "near" (as an adjective) and "relative" (as a noun). However, since the Greek of Matthew 5:43 uses for "neighbor" the word *πληστον* which etymologically means "someone nearby," and the Syriac Gospels render this as *qarīb*, which means all of "near, neighbor, and relative," one cannot be sure whether "relative" or "neighbor" is intended in the Arabic.



good to those who hate you. If you love those who love you, what reward do you have?

Do not display your alms before men. Let your left hands not know what your right hands are doing. Do not make a show of your prayers before people. When you pray, go into your houses, lock your doors, and let no one hear you. When you pray, say: "Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, on earth as in heaven. Give us today our bread that is sufficient for us. Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. Do not bring us into a trial, O Lord, but deliver us from the Evil One, through Jesus Christ our Lord."<sup>306</sup>

Do not display your fasting to people, when you are fasting for God, your Lord, and do not alter your countenances, so that people will see you, for your Lord knows your situation.

Do not hoard treasures where the worm and devouring termite corrupt and where thieves dig in.<sup>307</sup> Rather, let your treasures be with your Lord, who is in heaven, where no worm goes, and no thief steals.

Do not worry | about your livelihood, or about what you will eat, or about what you will drink, or about what you will wear. Consider the birds of the heavens; they do not sow, they do not harvest, and they do not gather into houses, for God sustains them; and you are more precious to God than the birds. Do not worry about your children, for they are like you: as you were created, so were they created; and as you have been sustained, so have they been sustained. 1:78

Do not say to your brother, "Remove the speck from your eye," when there is a beam in your own eye. Do not look for people's faults and ignore your own faults. Do not give what is holy or pearls to swine, lest they trample it underfoot. [Ask] your Lord, and He will give to you. Seek Him, for you will find Him compassionate to you. Knock at His door, and He will open to you. As for the door, it is wide and the way is clear, and it brings people to ruin. How small is the door, and how narrow the way that leads people to safety!

Beware of the people of falsehood, who are like ravenous wolves. Just as you cannot pick grapes from thorns, or figs from colocynths, neither can you find a bad tree that bears good herbage, nor a good tree that bears bad fruit.

306 The Leiden editor removed the words "through Jesus Christ our Lord" from the text and placed them in a footnote. However, they are present in MSS M and C.

307 Arabic, *yahfirūn*, "dig," is evidence for the dependence of al-Ya'qūbī on Syriac mediation for the text of the Gospel. The Syriac of Matthew 6:19 has *pālshīn*, "break through," but the *pa'el* conjugation of the same root means "dig out, excavate." Cf. Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 1203.

Everyone who hears my words and understands them is like an intelligent man<sup>308</sup> who built his house on a strong, solid place. The rain came, the rivers flowed abundantly, and winds rose [...] <sup>309</sup> and the house fell.

At that time King Herod had arrested John and imprisoned him.<sup>310</sup> This was because Herod used to come to the wife of his brother Philip, and John forbade him to do so. Herod wanted to kill John, but he was fearful, because John was revered. Then his brother's wife told him to kill John. So he dispatched someone  
1:79 to the prison, who cut off John's head | and put it on a platter. John's disciples came, took his corpse, and buried it. They went to the Messiah and told him. He therefore went into desert country, and he commanded his companions not to inform anyone.

*The Gospel of Mark.* As for Mark, he says at the beginning of his Gospel: Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God. As it is written in the prophet Isaiah, "I will send my angel before your face, that I may prepare your way." John, the son of Zechariah, was baptizing with a baptism for repentance. His clothes were of camel's hair, and he bound up his loins with a leather cord. The Messiah came to him from Nazareth of Galilee, that he might baptize him in the Jordan. When he had baptized him, the Holy Spirit came out over the water like a dove, while a voice from heaven cried out, "You are my beloved Son; in you I delight."

Jesus returned to the hills of Galilee. There were some people fishing, among whom were Simon and Andrew. He said to them, "Follow me and I will make you fish for men." So they went with him. He went into a village and cured its sick and its lepers, and he opened the eyes of the blind there. People gathered around him, and he began to speak to them in parables and revelation, saying: "Truly I tell you, the tribe will not pass away until [...]. Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away."<sup>311</sup>

*The Gospel of Luke.* As for Luke, he says at the beginning of the Gospel: Because many people have been pleased to write down the stories and hap-

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308 One is tempted to amend the text's *halīm* (forbearing, patient, intelligent) to *hakīm* ("wise") to follow the Syriac text of Matthew 7:24. The two words are very similar in Arabic script.

309 A large chunk of text has fallen out by miscopying due to homeoteleuton. Cf. Matthew 7:24–27.

310 Al-Ya'qūbī jumps suddenly to a summary of Matthew 14.

311 Cf. Mark 13:30–31. The copyist has left out several words. Mark 13:30 reads: "Truly I tell you, this generation will not pass away until *all these things have taken place*." The choice of the Arabic word *qabila* (body of men, tribe)—the Greek original is γενεά ("generation")—can be explained through al-Ya'qūbī's dependence on Syriac mediation. The Peshitta renders γενεά as *sharbtā* (stock, race, family, tribe); hence the choice of *qabila*.

penings which we have known, I thought it incumbent upon me to write down something that I knew as it truly was.

In the days of King Herod there was a priest named Zechariah, a minister from the family of Abijah, and his wife, a descendant of Aaron named Elizabeth. Both of them were upright before God, carrying out His precepts, not falling short in obeying Him. They had no child. Elizabeth was | barren; Zechariah was sterile; both were elderly. While Zechariah was officiating at the incense offering, he entered the sanctuary, while the assembly of the people was outside of the sanctuary. The angel of the Lord appeared to Zechariah, standing to the right of the altar. Zechariah trembled when he saw him, and fear overwhelmed him. But the angel said to him: “Do not be afraid, Zechariah, for God has heard your prayers and answered your petition. He will give you a son, whom you shall name John.<sup>312</sup> In him you will have good fortune and joy. He will be great with God. He will not drink wine or strong drink. He will be filled with the Holy Spirit, even in his mother’s womb. He will turn to God many of the people of Israel. On him will descend the Spirit that descended upon the prophet Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to their sons, that they may become for God a perfect people.” 1:80

Zechariah said to the angel, “How can I know this, when I am an old man and my wife is elderly?” The angel said to him: “I am Gabriel, who stand in the presence of God. He has sent me to give you this good news. But be silent from this moment, not speaking, until the day on which this comes to pass, because you did not give credence and did not believe in my word, which will be fulfilled in its time.”

The people were standing, waiting for Zechariah, astonished at his lingering in the sanctuary. When he came out, he could not speak to them, and they knew and were certain that he had seen a vision in the sanctuary, for he gestured to them, but did not speak.

When the days of his service were complete, he went back to his home. Elizabeth, his wife, conceived. She remained hiding herself for five months, saying “This is what the Lord has done for me in the days of His regarding me, to blot out my disgrace among men.”

In the sixth month of the pregnancy of Zechariah’s wife, God sent the angel Gabriel to the hills of Galilee, to a city called Nazareth, to a young virgin betrothed | to a man named Joseph, of the family of David. Her name was Mary. The angel came into her presence and said to her, “Peace be with you, O full of 1:81

<sup>312</sup> Arabic, Yaḥyā, the usual Muslim form of the name. Al-Ya’qūbī also uses Yuḥannā, the Christian form of the name, as noted below.

grace, O blessed one among women!" When she saw him, she was frightened by his words, and began to think and to say, "What is this greeting?" The angel said: "Do not be afraid, Mary. You have found favor with God.<sup>313</sup> Truly you will conceive<sup>314</sup> and bear a son, and you will name him Jesus. He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord his God will give him the throne of David his father. He will rule over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there will be no end or interruption." Mary said to the angel, "How can this be, when no man has touched me?" The angel said to her: "The Holy Spirit will descend upon you. The one to be born from you is most holy; he will be called Son of God. Behold, your kinswoman Elizabeth is also pregnant with a son in her old age; and this is the sixth month for her who was called barren, for nothing is impossible for God." Mary said, "I am God's maidservant; let it be for me as you have said."

Mary went into Zechariah's house and greeted Elizabeth. When Zechariah's wife heard Mary's words, the babe in her womb became agitated. She was filled with the Holy Spirit and said to Mary: "Blessed are you among women. Truly, when the sound of your greeting came to my ears, the babe in my womb became agitated with a great joy."

Zechariah's wife Elizabeth bore a son. They circumcised him on the eighth day, and named him John.<sup>315</sup> Immediately his mouth was opened; he spoke, and blessed God.<sup>316</sup> Zechariah was filled with the Holy Spirit, and said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who has bestowed favor upon his people and set them free with salvation. He has raised up for us the horn of salvation from the house of David, as He spoke by the tongues of his holy prophets."

1:82 When Mary's days were complete, | Joseph took her up to the hills of Galilee, and she gave birth to her first-born son.<sup>317</sup> She wrapped him in rags and laid him

313 The manuscripts read *lāqayti wa-wāfayti*, "you have found and you have come into ..." but neither the Greek nor the Syriac has two parallel verbs at this point. It is best to take the doublet as originating in a copyist's uncertainty, faced with an unclear word, about which word was meant.

314 Arabic, *taqbalīna ḥublā*, "you will receive pregnancy," is hardly idiomatic Arabic, but it exactly reproduces the Syriac idiom used in the Peshitta, *tqabblīn baṭnā*.

315 Here al-Ya'qūbī uses the Christian form of the name, Yuhannā, rather than the Muslim form Yahyā.

316 The translation deliberately leaves the pronoun ambiguous, as it is in the Arabic. Luke 1:64 implies that the mouth of Zechariah, who had been mute, was opened. Al-Ya'qūbī implies that it was the infant John who spoke. Cf. Qur'ān 19:12, 29, where such a miracle is attributed both to the infant John and to the infant Jesus.

317 This locating of the birth of Jesus in Galilee, as against Luke's narrative of the birth

in a manger, because she had no place where the two were staying. [...] <sup>318</sup> The angel of the Lord came to them, and the glory of God shone on them, and they were very afraid of him. But the angel of the Lord said to them: “Do not be afraid or grieve. Truly, I give you good news of a great joy which will encompass the world.”

Then Luke traced the genealogy of the Messiah from Joseph back to Adam. <sup>319</sup>

When eight days had passed, they brought him to be circumcised, according to the law of Moses. They named him Jesus and circumcised him. They brought him to the temple, and they brought a sacrifice, a pair of pigeons and two fledgling doves, to offer in his behalf. A man named Simeon was there, one of the prophets. When they approached the altar to make the offering in his behalf, Simeon carried him and said, “My eyes have seen Your mercy, Lord, and so take me now.”

Every year his family would take him up to Jerusalem on the feast of Passover. He would serve the great men, and they marveled at him because of what they saw of his wisdom.

When the Messiah was thirty years old, he went into the temple on the Sabbath day. <sup>320</sup> He stood up to read, according to his custom, and the book of the prophet Isaiah was given to him. He opened the book and found written in it: <sup>321</sup> “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because of this He has chosen me and anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to announce salvation to the captives, and sight to the blind; to restore the broken, and announce pardon and forgiveness to the wrongdoer; <sup>322</sup> and to announce the year acceptable to the Lord.” Closing the book, he handed it to the attendant, stepped down, and took his seat. People marveled at what he had done, and they said, “Is this not Joseph’s son?”

*The Gospel of John.* As for the apostle John, he speaks at the beginning of his Gospel about the genealogy of the Messiah. Before everything was the Word, and that Word was with God, and God was the Word. It was before everything 1:83

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in Bethlehem, is curious. In M, the word for Galilee (*al-Jalil*) is undotted and could conceivably be read as al-Khalil, the Arabic name for Hebron; but Luke says nothing about Hebron; and Hebron, though in Judea, is not Bethlehem.

<sup>318</sup> Although the MSS show no gap, one must assume a lacuna involving a reference to the shepherds of Luke 2:8, to whom the angels mentioned in the next sentence speak.

<sup>319</sup> Luke 3:23–38.

<sup>320</sup> Luke 4:14–22. In Luke the incident is set in a synagogue in Nazareth, not in the temple.

<sup>321</sup> Isaiah 61:1–2, 40:7.

<sup>322</sup> Following M, *musī*[’]; ed. Leiden, *masbī* (captive, oppressed).

that was. In it was life, and the life is the light of man. That brightness was in the darkness, [but the darkness] did not comprehend it.

[There was a man] whom God had sent whose name was John. He came for witness, to bear witness to the light, so that people might be rightly guided<sup>323</sup> and believe by means of him. He was not the light. The light of truth has never ceased to shine and be visible in the world. [The world] was in his hand,<sup>324</sup> but the world did not recognize him. He came to his own, but his own did not accept him. But to those who accepted him and believed in him, God gave power to be called sons of God, those who believe in his name, he who has been born not of blood, nor of the desire of the flesh, nor of the lust of man, but of God. And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we saw its glory, a glory like the unique one who is of the Father, full of grace and justice.<sup>325</sup>

John bore witness to him and cried out and said: “He I said would come after me, having been before me, because he is more ancient than I. From his fullness is everything we have received: exceeding grace instead of the first grace. For the Torah was sent down through Moses, but truth and grace by Jesus the Messiah [...] the Word that has not ceased to be in the breast of its Father.”

1:84 This is what the four disciples, the authors of the Gospel, said about the genealogy of the Messiah. After that they gave an account of the reports about him: that he cured the sick and the lepers, made the crippled stand, and opened the eyes of the blind. He had a friend named | Lazarus in a village named Bethany in the vicinity of Jerusalem.<sup>326</sup> Lazarus died and was put into a cave, where he remained for four days. Then the Messiah came to the village, and two sisters of Lazarus came out and said to him, “Master, your friend Lazarus has died.” The Messiah grieved over him. “Where is his grave?” he asked, and they brought him to the cave. There was a stone over it. “Move the stone aside,” he said. They said, “He stinks after four days.” He approached the cave and said: “Lord, to You be praise. I know that You give everything, but I will speak for the sake the crowd standing here, that they may have faith and believe that You

323 Arabic, *li-yahtadiya l-nās*, a typically Qur’ānic phrase that al-Ya’qūbī inserts; it is not in the Greek or Syriac, which merely state, “so that all might believe through him.”

324 “[The world] was in his hand” ([...] *kāna fī yadihi*) involves a literal, albeit unidiomatic, rendering of the Syriac: *kul b-ʾidēh hwā* (all was/came-to-be through Him; literally, “by His hand”), which in turn exactly translates πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο (John 1:3).

325 This is another example of al-Ya’qūbī’s reliance on Syriac mediation. The Peshitta translates the Greek ἀλήθεια (truth) with the usual Syriac word for truth, *qushtā*. The Arabic translator, seeking to mirror the Syriac as closely as possible, has chosen the Arabic cognate *qist*, although it normally means justice, not truth.

326 Cf. John 11.

have sent me.” Then he said to Lazarus, “Arise.” And he arose, dragging the cloth that was on him, with his hands and feet bound. Some of the Jews were with them and believed in him, and they came to look at Lazarus and marveled at him. But the leaders of the Jews and their priests assembled and said, “We fear that he will corrupt our religion for us and the people will follow him.” Caiaphas, the chief priest, said to them, “That one man should die is better than that the entire nation should perish.” So they agreed to kill him.

The Messiah entered Jerusalem on a donkey, and his companions met him with palm fronds. Judas son of Simon was one of the Messiah's companions. The Messiah said to his companions, “One of you who are eating and drinking with me will deliver me up.” He meant Judas son of Simon. Then he began to give a testament to his companions. He said to them: “The hour has come for the Son of Man to depart to his Father. I am going where you cannot come with me. Keep my commandment, and the Paraclete will come to you to be with you a prophet.<sup>327</sup> When the Paraclete brings you the Spirit of truth and sincerity, he will be the one who gives testimony about me. I have spoken to you about this only so that | you will remember it when its time comes. Indeed, I have said it 1:85 to you. As for me, I am going to the one who sent me. When the Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you to all the truth, he will inform you of things far off, and he will praise me. In a little while you will not see me.”

Then the Messiah raised his eyes to heaven and said:<sup>328</sup> “The hour has come. I have glorified You on earth. I have accomplished the work that You commanded me to do.” Then he said, “O God, if I must drink this cup, make it easy for me; but not as I want it to be, but what You want, O Lord.”<sup>329</sup>

Then the Messiah went off with his disciples to the place in which he and his companions used to gather. Judas, one of the apostles, knew the place. When he saw the police looking for the Messiah, he led them on, along with the messengers of the priests who were with them, and showed them the place. The Messiah went out to them and said to them, “Whom do you want?” They said, “Jesus the Nazarene.” Jesus said to them, “I am he.” They fell back, then

327 The interpretation of the Paraclete as “a prophet,” (*nabīyyan*, following the reading of ed. Leiden), specifically the prophet Muḥammad, reflects an Islamic interpretation that goes back to Ibn Ishāq. However, M apparently should be read as *abadan* (forever), which would make the text an exact reflection of John 14:16: a Paraclete “to be with you forever.”

328 Cf. John 17.

329 Cf. Matthew 26:39, Mark 14:36, Luke 22:42. The combination of the Johannine glorification theme with the synoptic saying about the cup shows that al-Yaʿqūbī was working with a source that harmonized the accounts of the passion.

they returned. The Messiah said to them: "I am Jesus the Nazarene. If you want me, take me away, that the word may be fulfilled."

Simon Peter<sup>330</sup> had a sword with him. He unsheathed it and struck the slave of the chief priest, cutting off his right hand.<sup>331</sup> The Messiah said: "Simon, return the sword to its sheath. I will not refuse to drink the cup my Lord has given me." The police arrested the Messiah, bound him, and brought him to Caiaphas, the head of the Jews, who had advised that he should be killed. Simon Peter, who was walking behind him, went in with the servants. Someone said to him, "Are you one of the disciples of this Nazarene?" He said, "No."

1:86 When the Messiah was brought before the head of the Jews, the latter began to speak to him, but the Messiah gave him answers that he did not understand. | One of the police struck him on his cheeks. Then they took the Messiah away from Caiaphas to the Praetorium.<sup>332</sup> He<sup>333</sup> said to him, "Are you the king of the Jews?" The Messiah said to him, "Do you say this on your own, or have others told you of me?" And he began to speak to him, saying, "My kingdom is not [of] this world."

Then the police took a purple crown<sup>334</sup> and put it on his head, and they began striking him. Then they took him away with that crown on him. The chief priests said to him,<sup>335</sup> "Crucify him." Pilate said to them: "You take him and crucify him. As for me, I have found no cause against him." They said, "He must be crucified and killed because he said that he is the son of God." Then he brought him out and said to them, "You take him and crucify him." So they took the Messiah, brought him out, and made him carry the wooden beam on which they crucified him.

This is in the Gospel of John. As for Matthew, Mark, and Luke, they say that they put the wooden beam on which the Messiah was crucified on the neck of a Cyrenean man. They brought him to a place called the Skull, named *Īmākhālah* in Hebrew,<sup>336</sup> the place where he was crucified. Two others were crucified with him, one on one side and one on the other. Pilate wrote on a tablet: "This is Jesus the Nazarene, the king of the Jews." The chief priests said to him, "Write, 'Who

330 For "Peter," here and below, the Arabic has *aṣ-ṣafā*, the rock(s), a translation of the Syriac *kēpā*, reflected in Greek as Kēphas, and translated as Petros (Rock).

331 The language here reflects John 18:10–11; however, in the synoptics and in John, Peter cuts off an ear (Luke and John specify the right ear). Because the Syriac words for ear (*ʿednā*) and hand (*ʿidā*) are quite similar in script, a copyist's error may be involved.

332 The Leiden editor (I, 86, note a) suggests a lacuna in the text.

333 That is, Pilate.

334 Al-Yaʿqūbī's "purple crown" conflates the *purple* cloak and the *crown* of thorns of John 19:2.

335 That is, to Pilate.

336 The correct reading and the source of this name are a mystery.



said that he was the king of the Jews.” He said to them, “What I have written I have written.”

The police divided the Messiah's garments among themselves. Mary his mother, and Mary the daughter of | Clopas, and Mary Magdalene were standing 1:87 looking at him. He spoke to his mother from atop the beam of wood. The police took a sponge in which there was vinegar and brought it near his nose, but he loathed it. Then he gave up his spirit. They came to the two who were crucified with him and broke their legs. One of the police took a lance and thrust it into his side, and blood and water came out. Then one of the disciples spoke concerning him to Pilate, so that he took him down. He embalmed him with myrrh and aloes and wrapped him in linen cloths and perfume. There were gardens in that place, and in it was a new tomb. They put the Messiah in it. It was a Friday.

On Sunday, according to what the Christians say, Mary Magdalene came early to the tomb and did not find him. She went to Simon Peter and his companions and told them that he was not in the grave; so they went, but did not find him. Then Mary came a second time to the grave. She saw in the grave two men wearing white garments. They said to her, “Do not weep.” Then she turned around and saw the Messiah. He spoke to her and said: “Do not come near me, because I have not ascended to my Father. But go to my brothers, and say to them that I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.”

When it was evening on Sunday, he came to them and said to them: “Peace be with you. As my Father has sent me, so I send you. If you forgive the sins of anyone, they are forgiven.” They said, “The one speaking to us is a spirit and a ghost.” He said to them, “Look at the marks of the nails in my fingers, and at my right side.” Then he said to them, “Blessed are those who have not seen me, yet have believed in me.”

They brought him a piece of fish and he ate. He said to them: “If you believe in me, you will do what I do. | Truly, you will not put your hands on someone 1:88 sick without his being cured, and death will not harm him.” Then he was taken up from them. He was thirty-three years old.

This is what the authors of the Gospel say, and they differ with one another about all things. God, may He be glorified and exalted, has said: *They did not slay him, neither crucified him, only a likeness of that was shown to them. Those who are at variance concerning him surely are in doubt regarding him; they have no knowledge of him, except the following of surmise; and they slew him not of a certainty—no indeed; God raised him up to Him.*<sup>337</sup>

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337 Qur'ān 4:157–158.

When Jesus the Messiah was taken up, the apostles gathered in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives and made their way to an upper room. There were Peter, James, John, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, and James [...]. Simon stood up on the rock<sup>338</sup> and said, “Company of brothers, it was necessary that the scripture be fulfilled, in which the Holy Spirit foretold [...]”. They wanted to appoint a man by whom the twelve would be complete. They put forward Matthias and Barsabbas and said, “O God, show us whom we should choose.” It fell on Matthias. A mighty wind struck them, filling the upper room where they were, and they saw something like a tongue of fire and spoke in various tongues. They said to Peter, “What shall we do?” Peter said to them, “Arise, and be baptized, every man of you, in the name of the Messiah, and turn away from this perverse people.”<sup>339</sup>

1:89 Peter and John persisted. Whenever they entered the assembly,<sup>340</sup> they mentioned the matter of the Messiah, described his deeds, and called the people to worship him. The Jews rebuked them for this. They arrested and imprisoned them, but then they released them. They<sup>341</sup> said, “Let us choose seven men who hallow God and who remember His wisdom and His Messiah.” They chose Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, | Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolaus of Antioch. They called them forth, prayed over them, and consecrated them. They took up the task of describing the matter of the Messiah and calling the people to their religion.

338 Cf. Acts 1:12 ff. However, the origin of this detail is unclear. Perhaps it reflects some early Christian exegesis of Matthew 16:18–19.

339 Cf. Acts 2:38–40. Three points deserve notice. “Arise” (Arabic *qūmū*) could easily be a copyist’s error for *tūbū* (repent), exactly reflecting the Syriac translation’s *tūbā* and the Greek original lying behind it. The word that has been translated “be baptized,” appears to be *iʿmidū*, rather than the expected *iʿtamidū* (be baptized), but this may be a copyist’s error or a reflection of the form of Syriac *ʿmadā*. The Arabic word translated “people” (*qabila*), normally means “tribe,” but al-Yaʿqūbī’s source has already used it to render Syriac *sharbtā* (stock, race, family, tribe), the word used by the Syriac translation of Acts 2:40. M apparently reads *qibla*, “turn away from this perverse direction of prayer,” which, if it is more than a copyist’s error, might reflect a view that this moment in Christian history was analogous to the moment when Muḥammad in Medina ceased facing Jerusalem in prayer and turned instead toward Mecca and the Kaʿba. However, it is more likely that the original reading was *hādhihi l-qabilati l-muʿwajjati*, exactly reflecting Syriac *sharbtā hāde mʿaqqamtā* and the Greek original behind it (ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιάς ταύτης).

340 Arabic, *kanīsa*, the usual word for church, but also used for synagogue.

341 In the plural, not dual, in Arabic. Cf. Acts 6:2, where speakers are the twelve.

Paul was the most violent of men against them and most damaging to them.<sup>342</sup> He used to kill any of them whom he could, seeking them out in every place. He set out for Damascus to gather some people who were there. But he heard a voice calling to him, “Paul, how long will you persecute me?” He was so terrified that he could not see. Then Ananias came to him. He blessed him,<sup>343</sup> until he departed and his eyes were healed. He began to stand in the synagogues, making mention of the Messiah and hallowing him. The Jews therefore wanted to kill him. So he fled from them and joined the disciples in summoning the people and in speaking as they spoke. He displayed such renunciation of this world and scorn for it that the apostles all gave him precedence over themselves and made him their head.

He would rise up and speak, recalling the experience of the Israelites and the prophets. He would recall the matter of the Messiah and would say, “Let us turn to the Nations,<sup>344</sup> just as God said to the Messiah, ‘I have set you to be a light for the Nations, so that you should become a salvation to the corners of the earth.’”<sup>345</sup> Every one of them spoke in favor of his opinion. They said that a law ought to be kept<sup>346</sup> and that someone should be sent to every land to summon to this religion and to prohibit them from sacrificing to idols, from fornication, and from eating blood.

Paul left for Antioch with two men to establish the religion of baptism. Then Paul returned. He was arrested and taken to the king of Rome. He stood up and

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342 Cf. Acts 9.

343 Arabic, *qaddasa ‘alayhi*, “hallowed over him,” that is, hallowed God’s name over him, recited a blessing over him.

344 That is, the Gentiles. Syriac uses the singular of the word for nation (*‘ammā*) for the Jews, and its plural (*‘ammē*) for the Gentiles (the other nations).

345 Acts 13:46–47, quoting Isaiah 42:6, 49:6.

346 Cf. Acts 15 for the discussion of whether Gentile converts to Christianity were obligated to keep the law of Moses. Paul argued against imposing such an obligation. As a compromise, Gentile converts were obliged to keep a version of what Judaism called the Commandments of the Sons of Noah, usually given as seven commandments, but here summarized as three. Acts leaves the situation of Jewish Christians unclear. The text of al-Ya’qūbī is unclear and may be corrupt. The first problem is whether the verb “to keep” is active or passive: Does the text say, “that *he* (Paul?) should keep the/a law,” or “that the/a law should be kept”? Second, *nāmūs* (law) lacks the definite article, making it unclear whether the intended meaning is “a law” (consisting of the following three commandments) or “the law” (of Moses). It is even possible that a copyist has truncated the phrase *nāmūs Mūsā* (“the law of Moses,” as in Acts 15:5).

spoke, mentioning the matter of the Messiah. Some people made a pact to kill him for corrupting their religion and for mentioning the Messiah and hallowing him.

1:90

### The Kings of the Syrians

The first of the kings after the flood in the land of Babel were the kings of the Syrians.<sup>347</sup> The first of them who ruled and bound the crown on his head was Shūsān.<sup>348</sup> His reign was sixteen years. After him, his son Barbar<sup>349</sup> ruled twenty years. Then Samāshīr son of Alūl<sup>350</sup> ruled seven years. After him, his son ‘Amraqīm ruled ten years. Then his son Ahrīmūn ruled ten years. Then his son Samādān ruled ten years. Then his son Sabīr ruled eight years. Then Harīmūn ruled eighteen years. His son [Hūriyā]<sup>351</sup> ruled twenty-two years. Then Arūd and Ḥalḥābīs ruled, both of them, for twelve years.

347 Arabic, *mulūk al-suryāniyyīn*. What ethnic or political group al-Ya‘qūbī intended by *al-Suryāniyyīn* is unclear. Furthermore, the copyists have badly mangled the names in this and the following lists. Some help can be derived from the fact that the later historian al-Mas‘ūdī apparently relied on al-Ya‘qūbī’s work in writing *Murūj al-dhahab* (see 1:245 ff. [§ 509 ff.] of the latter work), and therefore the spellings found in al-Mas‘ūdī’s work can sometimes help establish the likely original reading of al-Ya‘qūbī—but not always, for the manuscripts of *Murūj al-dhahab* show tremendous variation. Charles Pellat, the editor of *Murūj*, discusses al-Mas‘ūdī’s treatment of the “Syrians” in his notes, *Murūj*, 6:374. He sees a list of the Seleucid rulers of Babylon as lying behind the names, implying that this list is out of place chronologically. For a table setting the lists in al-Ya‘qūbī alongside those in al-Mas‘ūdī and giving parallels to other lists from antiquity likely to have been available to both historians (particularly relevant are the lists in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius of Caesaria, d. 340), see the notes in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 7:598–601.

348 The vocalization of this name and of most names in this section is conjectural.

349 M Bārā or possibly Bīrā, corrected by ed. Leiden on the basis of al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:245 (§ 509).

350 Thus M; ed. Leiden, Asmāshīr son of Alūl; al-Mas‘ūdī, *ibid.*, Samāsīr son of Ūṭ.

351 No name appears in ms. M. Ed. Leiden supplied the name Hūriyā on the basis of al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:249 (§ 517).

### The Kings of Mosul and Nineveh

The first of them to rule was Bālūs, for thirty-two years.<sup>352</sup> Ninūs son of Bālūs ruled fifty-two years and built the city of Nineveh. Then a woman named Samīram<sup>353</sup> ruled forty years. Then Lāwusnasar ruled forty-five years. Then there ruled fifteen kings who have no chronology or stories.

### The Kings of Babel

The first of the kings of Babel after the Syrians was Nimrod the Mighty, who ruled sixty-nine years.<sup>354</sup> Kūdus ruled forty-three years. Arqū ruled ten | years. 1:91  
Būlus ruled sixty-two years. Then Samīram ruled forty-two years. Qūsamīs ruled sixty-nine years. Anyūs ruled thirty years. Līlāwus ruled twelve years. Aṭlūs ruled thirty-two years. Safarūs<sup>355</sup> ruled thirty years. Then Ḥāzim-Būs ruled thirty years. Then Saʿālūs ruled thirty years. Sabṭās ruled forty years. Asanṭarus ruled forty years. Damanūṭūs ruled forty-five years. Alʿarūs ruled thirty years. Almaqrandūs ruled fifty-two years. Qāra[b/n?]ūs ruled thirty years. Bābāwus ruled forty-five years. Sharsabā-Adūmūs ruled forty years. Dārāfūs ruled thirty-eight years. Lāwubanas ruled forty-five years. Faṭrīs ruled thirty years. Farṭāwus ruled twenty years. Afraṭā ruled sixty years. Qūlā ruled thirty-five years. Taʿlat-palasar<sup>356</sup> ruled thirty-five years. Asʿalūsarqam ruled fourteen years. Asraʿūn ruled seven years. Qīm-Ḥadūm<sup>357</sup> ruled three years. Fardūḥ ruled forty-seven years. Sanḥārīb ruled thirty-one years. Maʿrasā ruled thirty-three years. Bukht-Naṣṣar ruled forty-five years. Qarmūraj ruled one year. Saṭ-Safar ruled sixty years. Māsūsā ruled eight years. Maʿūsā ruled seven months. Dāryūsh ruled thirty-one years. Kasarjūs<sup>358</sup> ruled twenty years. Qarṭayān ruled seven months. Manaḥsamt ruled forty-one years. Saʿlas ruled seven | months. Dāryūsh,<sup>359</sup> the 1:92

352 Parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:252–253 (§ 520–521).

353 Sic M and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:252 (§ 520); ed. Leiden, Shamīram. She is better known by the Greek form of her name, Semiramis.

354 Parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:254–259 (§ 522–529).

355 Sic M; ed. Leiden, Safardus (vocalization uncertain).

356 So read by the Leiden editor and connected with Tiglat Pileser.

357 Sic M; ed. Leiden, Qīm-Ḥadūn.

358 Sic M; ed. Leiden, Kasar-Ḥūsh.

359 That is, Darius.

one whom Alexander killed, ruled nineteen years. Artaḥshāst<sup>360</sup> ruled twenty-seven years.

These kings were the kings of this world. They were the ones who erected buildings, acquired cities, constructed fortresses, raised palaces, dug [canals], planted trees, drew [water from wells, tilled] the land, extracted minerals, struck coins, fashioned and wore crowns, forged swords, took up weapons, made tools of iron, worked copper and lead, adopted measures and weights, mapped countries, determined climes, captured enemies, enslaved captives, employed prisons, described the seasons, named the months, spoke of the spheres, constellations, and planets, calculated, and made decisions according to what conjunction, separation, trine, quartile, and *mujāsadāt* indicate.<sup>361</sup>

### The Kings of India

Scholars have said that the first of the kings of India under whom they became united was Brahman, the king in whose time was the first house.<sup>362</sup> He was the first person who discoursed about the stars. From him was derived knowledge of them and the first book, which the Indians call the *Sindhind*, which means “Eon of Eons.”<sup>363</sup> From it were abridged the *Arjamhar*<sup>364</sup> and the *Almagest*.<sup>365</sup>

360 That is, Artaxerxes.

361 That is, they established the science of astrology. The Arabic terms used here are *ijtimāʿ* (conjunction of two bodies in the same sign of the zodiac), *iftirāq* (separation of two bodies from each other), *tathlīth* (trine, that is, separation of two bodies by one-third of the zodiac, 120 degrees), *tarbīʿ* (quartile, that is, separation of two bodies by one-fourth of the zodiac, that is, 90 degrees), and *mujāsadāt*, whose meaning is unclear.

362 Following M, *al-bayt al-awwal*. Ed. Leiden, following cod. Schefer, reads *al-badʿ al-awwal* (the first beginning), which is close to the parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:84 (§ 152), where Indian leaders are quoted as saying, “We were the people of the beginning (*al-badʿ*), and ours is the goal, the inception, and the conclusion.” Since al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdī draw on the some of the same sources for their treatment of India, the text of al-Masʿūdī can elucidate problems in the text of al-Yaʿqūbī. For a study of al-Masʿūdī’s treatment of India, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, “Al-Masʿūdī on the Kings of India.”

363 *Sindhind* reflects the Sanskrit title of the ancient astronomical treatise *Sūrya Siddhānta*. See Pellat’s note in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 6:397; S. Maqbul Ahmad, “Al-Masʿūdī and the Kings of India,” 100.

364 Sic M; ed. Leiden *al-Arjabhar*; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:85 (§ 153), *al-Arjabhad*. This refers to the Sanskrit *Aryabhaṭīya*, composed by Aryabhaṭa (b. 476 CE).

365 Arabic, *al-Majisṭī*, presumably reflecting Greek ἡ Μεγίστη Σύνταξις. Curiously, al-Yaʿqūbī (or his source) viewed Ptolemy’s treatise as an abridgement of an Indian treatise.

From the *Arjamhar* they abridged the *Arkand*,<sup>366</sup> and from the *Almagest* the book of Ptolemy. From this they then made abridgements, astronomical tables, and similar things, | such as computation and the invention of the nine Indian numerals from which can be derived all computation without limit.<sup>367</sup> They are 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9. The first of them, 1, is also 10 and 100 and 1,000 and 100,000 and 1,000,000 and 10,000,000 and 100,000,000, and so on forever. The second, 2, is also 20 and [200 and 2,000 and 20,]000 and 200,000 and 2,000,000—and one can compute upward similarly for all the nine numerals. However, the place of the unit is distinct from that of the ten, and the place of the ten is distinct from that of the hundred, and so on for each place. Whenever a place is empty of a number, a zero is set in it. Zero is a small circle. 1:93

They divided the world into seven climes.<sup>368</sup> *The first clime is India*. Its limit toward the east is the sea and the region of China, to Daybul<sup>369</sup> bordering the land of Iraq, to the gulf of the ocean that borders the land of India, to the land of the Ḥijāz. *The second clime is the Ḥijāz*. Its limit is this gulf, to Aden, to the land of Abyssinia bordering on the land of Egypt, to al-Thaʿlabiyya<sup>370</sup> bordering on the land of Iraq. *The third clime is Egypt*. Its limit is from what borders the land of Abyssinia, to the land of the Ḥijāz, to the Green Sea<sup>371</sup> bordering on the south, to the west, to the gulf that borders (the land of) the Romans,<sup>372</sup> to Naṣībīn<sup>373</sup>

366 S. Maqbul Ahmad identifies this as the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, composed by Brahmagupta in 665 CE.

367 Arabic *alladhī lā yudraku maʿrifatuhā*, literally, “whose knowledge cannot be overtaken.” This seems to be a way of stating that the system of numeration invented by the Indians (known to us as Arabic numerals) is in principle unbounded and capable of representing any number, however large.

368 Arabic *iqīm*, pl. *aqāīm*, “clime, climate,” or more generally, “region,” ultimately derived from Greek κλίμα. Technically, a zone bounded on the north and south by two parallels of latitude. See the article by A. Miquel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. İkīm.

369 Daybul was the ancient port of Sind, at the mouth of a creek to the west of the Indus River. It was the first city of Sind conquered by the Muslims. After flourishing for a time, it fell into ruin and its exact location is unknown. See the article by A. S. Bazmee Ansari in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Daybul (Dēbal or Dēwal).

370 Al-Thaʿlabiyya was a station on the pilgrimage road from al-Kūfa to Mecca. It lay in Najd, in the northeastern corner of present-day Saudi Arabia, near the Iraqi border. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Thaʿlabiyya.

371 Arabic, *al-Baḥr al-Akhḍar*, one of the names for the Atlantic Ocean. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Baḥr al-Muḥīt.

372 That is, Anatolia.

373 Classical Nisibis, modern spelling Nusaybin, a town in upper Mesopotamia on the Turkish side of the Turkish-Syrian border.

bordering on the land of Iraq. *The fourth clime is Iraq.* Its limit toward India is Daybul, and toward the Hījāz is al-Thaʿlabiyya, and toward Egypt and (the land of) the Romans is Naṣībīn, and toward the land of Khurāsān is the river of Balkh.<sup>374</sup> *The fifth clime is (the land of the) the Romans.* Its limit toward the land of Egypt is the gulf, and toward the West is the sea, and toward the Turks is Yājūj and Mājūj,<sup>375</sup> and toward the land of Iraq is Naṣībīn. *The sixth clime is Yājūj and Mājūj.* Its limit toward the West is the Turks, and toward | the Khazar<sup>376</sup> is the sea and deserts between it and the extremity of the north, and toward the east is the land of Naṣībīn, and toward Khurāsān is the river of Balkh. *The seventh clime is China.* Its limit toward the west is Yājūj and Mājūj, and toward the east is the sea, and toward India is the land of Kashmir, and toward Khurāsān is the river of Balkh.

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They said: Each of these climes is nine hundred *farsakhs* by the same.<sup>377</sup> It has been said that the diameter of the earth is 2,100 *farsakhs* and its diameter is 6,300 *farsakhs*.<sup>378</sup> They fixed this *farsakh* at 16,000 cubits. They mention that the *dhirāʿ* that surrounds the base of the circle of the stars, which is the sphere of the moon, is 125,664 *farsakhs*, and that its diameter from the limit of the beginning of Aries to the limit of the beginning of Libra is 40,000 *farsakhs*, measured by these *farsakhs* by which they measured the earth. The hours of the longest day in the first clime are 13 hours; in the second they are 13½ hours; in the third they are 14 hours; in the fourth they are 14½ hours; in the fifth they are 15 hours; in the sixth they are 15½ hours; and in the seventh they are 16 hours. Each city the measurements of the length of whose day is in this amount is the middle of the clime in which it is. Anything that is between these amounts

374 That is, the Oxus (Arabic Jayhūn, modern Amu Darya).

375 Yājūj and Mājūj (Gog and Magog) are mentioned in the Qurʾān as two peoples against whom Dhū l-Qarnayn (Alexander) built a wall. Later geographers located the wall somewhere in the Caucasus or to the east. See the article by E. van Donzel and Claudia Ott in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yādīūdī wa-Mādīūdī.

376 The Khazar were a nomadic people of the South Russian steppes. See the article by W. Barthold and P. B. Golden in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khazar.

377 Following M: *kullu iqlīmīn min hādhihi l-aqālīmī tisʿu mīʾati farsakhīn fī mithlihā*. Ed. Leiden has in place of *tisʿu mīʾati farsakhīn* the words *yasaʿu mīʾata farsakhīn* (encompasses a hundred farsakhs)—which is far too small a number. The *farsakh* originally was the distance that could be covered on foot in one hour, but in Islamic times it was a conventional measure fixed at 3 Arab miles (5.985 km = 3.719 miles). However, al-Yaʿqubī immediately makes it clear that the Indian unit, consisting of 16,000 cubits (*dhirāʿ*) was different from the Arab *farsakh*, which consisted of 12,000 cubits. See the article by W. Hinz in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Farsakh.

378 Literally, “its extension (*madd*) is ...” The computation assumes a value of 3 for  $\pi$ .



is of the clime to which it is closest in the amount of hours. Thus it comes about that the middle of the first clime is at a journey of approximately 30 nights from the equator, in the land of Yemen, the city of Saba', and what adjoins it on the east and west, and that is this side of Aden of Abyan<sup>379</sup> by a space of 10 days. The middle of the second clime is Mecca and what adjoins it from the east | to the west. The middle of the third clime is Alexandria and what adjoins it from the vicinity of Kufa and Basra on the east to the west. The middle of the fourth clime is Iṣfahān and what adjoins it of that which is on the same latitude from the east to the west. The middle of the fifth clime is in the nearest parts of the land of Marw and whatever adjoins it from east to west that is on the same latitude. The middle of the sixth clime is Bardha'a<sup>380</sup> and whatever adjoins it on the same latitude between the east and the west. The middle of the seventh clime is in the mountains of the Turks and whatever adjoins them on the same latitude between the east and the west. 1:95

The Indians said that God created the planets<sup>381</sup> in the first minute of Aries, and that was the first day of the world. Then He set them in motion from that position more swiftly than the blinking of an eye and gave each planet a known motion, so that in the number of days of the *sindhind* they all come to the very position where they were created, as they had been, as their first aspect; and then God will decree what He wishes. They said that all the world's days of the *sindhind*, from when the planets first revolved until they all come together in the (first) minute of Aries as they were on the day they were created, are 1,577,716,450,000 days.<sup>382</sup> In months this comes to 60,840,000,000 months.<sup>383</sup> | 1:96 In years it comes to 4,320,000,000 full years, in years according to the circuit of the sun.<sup>384</sup> The year is 365¼ days and 5 and 1/400 hours.<sup>385</sup>

379 Abyan is the district (*mikhlāf*) in which the port of Aden is located.

380 Bardha'a (Armenian Partav, modern Barda) is a town south of the Caucasus in the central part of modern Azerbaijan. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bardha'a.

381 Arabic *kawākib* (pl. of *kawkab*) includes, besides the planets of modern astronomy, the sun and the moon.

382 M conveniently writes the number in Indian (Arabic) notation in the margin. Houtsma, the Leiden editor, notes at this point: "I have given the following numbers as they are in the manuscripts, although the numbers of years, months, and days hardly agree with each other."

383 This translates into a month of 25.93 days.

384 This translates into a year of 14.08 months. However, if one divides the number of days by the number of years, one arrives at a year of approximately 365.2121 days, which is remarkably close to the modern figure of approximately 365.2422 days for a solar year.

385 Since the figures given by al-Ya'qūbī translate into a year of 365.2121 days, one can correct

Then the affairs of the kingdom became disturbed in India for a long time and there were sundry kingdoms in the country, with each group having a kingdom, until kings attacked them and they feared that weakness would overcome them. Being men of wisdom, knowledge, and intellect, exceeding in these things the measure of other nations, they decided to make one man king; and so they made Zārah<sup>386</sup> king. He was a man of great standing and exalted rank, and so his kingdom became great and his authority exalted. He marched to Babel and then beyond it to the kings of Israel. He was the one who attacked the children of Israel twenty years after the death of Solomon son of David. Rehoboam son of [Solomon son of] David was king at the time. The children of Israel cried out to God, and God gave death power over Zārah and his army, so he returned to his country.

Among their kings was Fūr.<sup>387</sup> He it was whose country Alexander attacked, having slain the king of the Persians and conquered the land of Iraq and the adjoining lands that were in the kingdom of Darius. This came to pass because Alexander wrote to Fūr, commanding him to become his obedient subject, but Fūr wrote back that he would march his armies against him. Alexander therefore took the initiative and went to Fūr's land. Fūr marched out against him and made war on him. Fūr brought out elephants, and Alexander was  
1:97 overwhelmed: | nothing could stand up to them. Then Alexander made statues of copper. He filled them with naphtha and sulfur, set them on fire inside, put them on wagons, dressed them with weapons, and positioned them in front of the ranks. When the two sides met, the men pushed them toward the elephants. As they drew near, the elephants attacked them with their trunks. They wrapped their trunks around the copper, which was ablaze and scorching hot, and turned back in panic, routing<sup>388</sup> and destroying the Indian troops. Alexander then challenged Fūr, the king of India, to single combat. The latter came forth, and Alexander killed him in single combat with his counterpart and plundered his camp.

[Among their kings was] Kayhan. He was a wise, clever, and cultivated man, and Alexander made him king after Fūr over all the land of India. Kayhan

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the last figure by assuming that the text should read: "365 days and ¼ day, that is, 5 and 1/400 hours." This works out nicely to approximately 365.2084 days.

386 Sic ed. Leiden, emending the MSS (M apparently reads Zarūh or Razūh) on the basis of the reading Zārah of ed. Leiden, 1:66. The emendation is uncertain, as the Zārah (Zerah) mentioned there is clearly a different person. The corresponding king in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:88 (§ 162), is named Zāmān (otherwise unknown).

387 Fūr is the Indian king Porus who was defeated by Alexander in 327 BCE.

388 Sic ed. Leiden (*tafillu*); M has *taqtulu* (killing).

practiced meditation.<sup>389</sup> He was the first to hold the doctrine of imagination<sup>390</sup> and that nature changes into what you imagine. Whatever you imagine will benefit it, will benefit it, though it be harmful. Kayhan would eat aconite, a deadly poison, and imagine that there were loads of ice on his heart, and the aconite would not harm him until its moisture had burned away. He was among the soundest of God's creatures in mind and the most retentive and intelligent of them.

One of their kings was Dabshalim.<sup>391</sup> He it was during whose reign the book *Kalīla and Dimna* was composed.<sup>392</sup> The person who composed it was Baydabā,<sup>393</sup> one of their wise men. He fashioned it | as parables which intelligent persons would heed and from which they would gain understanding and be instructed. Its first chapter is the chapter of the ruler to whom wicked men slander his intimate friends and companions, and how he should employ deliberateness and proof and not act hastily upon the word of slander. It is the chapter of the Lion and the Ox. The second chapter is the chapter of investigating matters, how their consequences take place, and the evil results to which envy, rashness, and guile lead. It is the chapter of the Investigation of Dimna's Case. The third chapter is the chapter of enemies: how one should guard against them, devices to deal with them, speech that earns enmity, how one should cozen one's enemies and then seize the opportunity to deal with them when it becomes possible, and how one should humble oneself before them until one can take one's revenge. It is the chapter of the Owls and the Crows. The fourth chapter is the chapter on consulting scholars, on seeking

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389 Following M, *ista'mala l-dhikr*; ed. Leiden reads *ista'mala l-fikr* (he practiced thinking). This is admittedly a speculative translation, but the following description of Kayhan's doctrine implies that the phrase has some sort of technical sense.

390 Arabic, *tawahhum*, literally, an imagining or supposing a thing to be so. Al-Ya'qūbī seems to be straining to find an Arabic word for a kind of philosophical idealism.

391 The historical identity of this king and the correct vocalization of the name cannot be established.

392 On the background of the book known in Arabic as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, see the article by C. Brockelmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. King Dabshalim and the philosopher Baydabā are mentioned in the introduction to Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

393 Since the time of de Sacy, who published a form of the Arabic translation of the text by Ibn al-Muqaffa', the name is usually transcribed as Bidbā or Bidpai. De Sacy speculated that the name in the Syriac and Arabic may reflect Sanskrit *Veidava* (reader of the Veda) or *vidva* (learned)—cf. Silvestre de Sacy, *Calila et Dimna*, 17, note 1. The oldest Syriac form is probably to be read as Bēdavag or Bīdwāg—see Schulthess, *Kalīla und Dimna*, notes 190 and 191.

1:99 help from people of good judgment and trustworthiness, and on disclosing matters to people of intellect. It is the chapter of Bilādh.<sup>394</sup> The fifth chapter is the chapter of favors: to whom they should be done, how ingratitude spoils them when they are misplaced or bestowed on the undeserving,<sup>395</sup> and how one can know how they can be bestowed on those who deserve them and will be grateful for them. It is the chapter of the Turtle, the Panther, the Monkey, and the Carpenter. The sixth chapter is the chapter of obtaining something, but losing it after having acquired it, and the inability to keep it after having gained it. It is the chapter of the Monkey and the Tortoise. The seventh chapter is the chapter of making a show of friendliness and flattering people of importance, being wary of their affection, and gaining the favor of the corrupt until one can rid oneself of the evil. It is the chapter of the Cat and the Rat. The eighth chapter is the chapter of the ruler's knowing his aides, relatives, and intimates; how he should render well-affected | those whom his harshness may have harmed and how he should obtain their assistance; how he should seek help in his affairs from people of modesty and affection; how he should examine the state of his aides and entourage and reward those who do good and punish those who do evil for their wickedness. It is the chapter of the Lion and the Jackal. The ninth chapter is the chapter of brothers and those who trust the soundness of their affection, the value of brothers, and the great benefit to be obtained from them and their aid in matters of adversity and in prosperity. It is the chapter of the Ring-Necked Dove. The tenth chapter is the chapter of seeking to benefit people at the price of harm to oneself and on pondering consequences. It is the chapter of the Lioness and the Horseman.

One of the Indian scholars has said that the people of a certain country<sup>396</sup> were being visited constantly by death, until their scholars perished and the kingdom weakened. When Hashrān became king, he sought someone to revive for him the laws of the religion of his ancestors, and so Qaflān, who was exceedingly clever, came to him and said to him: "Men are part of the animal kingdom; the animal kingdom is part of that which grows, and that which grows is composed of the four natures, which are fire, air, earth, and water. That which grows can be divided into three parts: plants, which have only growth; shellfish

394 Bilādh is the name of a wise counselor who foils a plot against his king, along with other examples of his wisdom and prudence.

395 The translation follows the emendation suggested by Landberg, 35: *wa-kayfa yufsiduhu sū'u l-shukr*. Ed. Leiden reads, *wa-kayfa yufsadu wa-sū'u l-shukr*, yielding, "and how (favors) are spoiled, and ingratitude when they are ..."

396 Ed. Leiden emends to read, "the people of the country [of India]," but M vocalizes as *ahla bilādin*, "people of a (certain) country."

and the like in the sea, which have growth and sense; and land animals, which have growth, sense, and movement. Animals are too small and insignificant for the Creator to govern; they are governed and changed by the celestial sphere.” The king said to him, “Show me a picture and proof for what you say.” So he invented the backgammon board<sup>397</sup> and said: “Men have agreed that the cycle of seasons is a year, the meaning of which is twelve months, whose meaning is the twelve signs of the zodiac; that the days of the month are thirty, meaning that each sign has thirty degrees; and that the days are seven, meaning the seven planets.” He made a representation of that. He devised a board analogous to the year. On it he set | twenty-four points,<sup>398</sup> the number of the hours of the night and day, with twelve points on each side, symbolizing the months of the year and the signs of the zodiac. He gave the game thirty counters,<sup>399</sup> to symbolize the days of the month and the degrees of the signs of the zodiac. He made the two dice to symbolize the night and the day. Each die had six sides, because six is a perfect number, having a half, a third, and a sixth. When each die was cast, it had seven points on its top and bottom: under the six was one, under the five was two, under the four was three—to symbolize the number of the days and the seven planets, namely, the sun, the moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Venus. Then he made it a contest between two players. He gave each a die and said, “Whichever player gets more of the seven points on top than his partner will begin.” Then the two dice were joined together for him, and he would throw; the counters would be moved according to whatever came up on the dice. He made this a representation of the good fortune that the deficient person obtains through what the celestial sphere bestows on him and of the deprivation that the prudent man suffers in accordance with what the celestial sphere bestows on him. When this became evident, the king accepted it, and it spread among the people of the kingdom; and so the people of India came to order their affairs in accordance with what the seven planets ordain.<sup>400</sup>

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397 Arabic, *nard*. Cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:88 (§ 161); see the article by F. Rosenthal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Nard*.

398 Arabic *bayt*, “house,” the long triangles, twelve on each side and of alternating colors, into which the backgammon board is divided.

399 Arabic, *kalb*, literally “dog,” possibly because each counter was originally shaped like a dog, but that is pure speculation and unlikely to be true, as chessmen, none of which took the form of a dog, are also called *kalb* below. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*, 2:489a.

400 At this point, M adds the following: *Completed with God's praise, help, grace, and beneficence is Part One*. This is followed by a centered title: *Here follows Part Two of the History of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Kātib*. Under this, another hand has added the author's full name—*Aḥmad*

Balhīt<sup>401</sup> became king when this religion had become dominant over the people of the kingdom. He had intelligence and knowledge. When he saw the condition of his people, it displeased him and distressed him. He asked whether there remained any man who held the religion of the Brahmins. People pointed to a man of intelligence and religion, and so he sent for him. When the man came to him, he honored him and raised his rank. Then he mentioned what had spread among the people of his kingdom. The man said, “O king, I will invent a compelling demonstration whereby the superiority of the prudent man and the inferiority of the deficient person may be known, and I will make it to be an image | of the difference between two men, to illustrate the superiority of the prudent over the deficient, the diligent over the negligent, the cautious over the rash, and the intelligent over the ignorant.” He invented chess (*shaṭranj*), which translated into Persian is *hasht ranj*—*hasht* means ‘eight’ and *ranj* means ‘side.’<sup>402</sup> He made it to be eight by eight, so that there were sixty-four squares, and gave it thirty-two pieces divided between two colors, each color having sixteen pieces. He divided the sixteen into six shapes: the king (*shāh*) was a shape, the advisor (*firz*) was a shape, the two elephants (*fil*) were a shape, the two rooks (*rukḥ*) were a shape, the two horses (*faras*) were a shape, and the foot soldiers (*bayādiq*) were a shape. This was derived from “the pair of the pair,” which is the best that exists in numeration: for if you divide sixty-four, its half is thirty-two, which is the number of all the pieces; if you halve thirty-two, its half is sixteen, which is the number of each player’s pieces; if you halve sixteen, its half is eight, which is the number of each player’s foot soldiers (pawns); if you halve eight, its half is four, which is the number of each player’s rooks and horses; and if you halve four, its half is two. It now has been divided into pairs, and there remains nothing in the division after the pairs except the one, each pair being divisible into units, a unit being neither a number

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*b. Abī Ya‘qūb b. Ja‘far b. Wāḥb b. Wādīḥ al-‘Abbāsī*—after which yet another hand has added a benediction, *May God have mercy upon him*. The next section begins: *In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, and His help we seek*.

401 C and M read Bahlīt, which Houtsma emended on the basis of al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:89 (§164).

402 The Persian should be read as *rang* (color). Although this derivation is plausible if one begins with the Arabic form of the word and adds one letter at the beginning, converting *sh.ṭ.r.n.g* into *h.sh.ṭ.r.n.g*, it is not the most obvious derivation of *shaṭranj*, which is thought to come from Sanskrit, *catur-aṅga* (having four ranks), referring to the four divisions of an army: infantry (pawns), cavalry (knights), elephants (the modern bishop), and chariots (the modern rook). The king and his vizier (modern queen) stood outside this number. See the article by F. Rosenthal in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shaṭrandj*.

nor counted, neither even nor odd, because the first odd number is three.<sup>403</sup> Then the wise man said: "Nothing is more serious than war, because in it the superiority of good management, judgment, prudence, caution, preparedness, shrewdness, wariness, bravery, fortitude, strength, endurance, and courage is demonstrated. The inferiority of anyone who lacks any of these things will become known, because failing to have them cannot | be excused and lack of them destroys lives. Ignorance permits the prohibited; abandonment of prudence leads to destruction of the kingdom; weakness of judgment brings ruin; negligence is the cause of defeat; lack of knowledge of preparedness leads to rout; lack of acquaintance with stratagems casts one into perdition; and abandoning caution is an opportunity for the enemy." He made it after the likeness of war, so that if one hit the mark one would win, and if one missed it one would perish. When the king saw the soundness of the demonstration, and the superiority of the wise man's wisdom became evident, and that he had hit the mark, had represented the matter well, and had clarified what had been obscure, he gathered the people of his kingdom and made known to them how God had removed their distress. He commanded them to set it up and ponder it. He said to them: "We know that there is no living creature in the world that speaks, thinks, laughs, and reasons except man. Man is the point around which everything in the world turns, for the Creator created the firmament and everything in it for man, that thereby he might know what he needs with regard to times and seasons. He likewise made subject to him all that is on the earth and all that God created in the depth of the sea, the air of the sky, and the summits of the mountains. When He made man the king of all He created, man divided it into three parts: one third he ate, one third he subjected to his use, and one third he killed. He ate the birds, the fish, and whatever herd animals and camels he wished; he subjected cattle, asses, and riding animals to his use; and he killed predators, snakes, and vermin. (God) set in him organs by which he might know, reason, perceive, and understand, and made some people superior to others in knowledge, intellect, and understanding."

1:102

Some Indian scholars have alleged that when Jūshir<sup>404</sup> daughter of Balhīt became queen, a rebel rebelled against her. Being an intelligent young woman,

403 Modern mathematics defines even numbers as those divisible by two and odd numbers as all the rest. The older tradition, going back to the Greeks, regarded one, the unit, as sui generis, neither even nor odd. This explains the statement that the first odd number is three.

404 Thus apparently in M, although the last two letters of the name are undotted and uncertain. In al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:90 (§ 167), Balhīt is succeeded by a man named Kūrush (not to be confused with the Arabic form of the name of Cyrus the Persian), not by his daughter.

1:103 she sent one of her sons—she had four children—but the rebel killed her son. | This distressed the people of her kingdom. Fearing to tell her the news, they gathered before one of their wise men—he was named Qaflān—a man of wisdom, cleverness, and good judgment—and they told him what had happened. He said, “Give me three days.” They did so, and he went apart to think. Then he said to one of his pupils, “Bring me a carpenter and wood of two different colors, white and black.” They brought a skilled carpenter and wood of two different colors, white and black. The wise man drew the figure of a chess board and commanded the carpenter, and he made it. Then he said to him, “Bring me a tanned hide.” He commanded him to draw sixty-four squares on it; he did so, and it was set aside. Then (the wise man and his pupil) played against each other until they understood the game and became proficient in it. Then he said to his pupil, “This is a war without loss of lives.” Then the people of the kingdom came to him, and he brought it out to them. When they saw it, they knew that it was a bit of wisdom that no one could arrive at. He began to play against his pupil, and the latter would suffer checkmate or defeat of his king. The queen was given a report about Qaflān, and she summoned him and commanded him to show her his wisdom. He produced his pupil with the chessboard and set it up between the pupil and himself. The two played, and one defeated the other [and said,] “Checkmate!” Taking notice and realizing what he meant,<sup>405</sup> she said to Qaflān, “Has my son been killed?” “You have said it,” he said. She said to her chamberlain, “Let the people in, that they may offer me condolence.” When she was finished, she summoned Qaflān and said to him, “Ask for whatever you need.” He said, “I ask that I be given wheat according to the number of the squares of the chessboard: that I be given one grain in the first square [...]”<sup>406</sup> and that it be doubled for me in the third square as against the second, and so on according to this formula until the last square.” She asked, “And what is the quantity of that?” She commanded the wheat to be brought, but before it was enough, all the wheat of the country was exhausted. Then the wheat was replaced by its value in money, until the money was exhausted. When it had become great, the wise man said: “I have no need of it. A little of this world suffices me.” Then she asked him  
1:104 about | the number of grains he had asked for. He said to her: “It will come to a number, and this is what is on the chessboard in the way of number:

405 Reading with M, *arādāhu*; ed. Leiden has *arādāhu* (what the two meant). The implication is clearer in Arabic, where the word for checkmate, *shāhmāt*, can be seen to be composed of two words that mean “the king (*shāh*) has died (*māt*).”

406 The words, “and two grains in the second,” have fallen out of the text. See Landberg, 35.



The number of the first row is 255.<sup>407</sup> The second is 32,768.<sup>408</sup> The third is 8,388,608. The fourth is 2,147,483,648. The fifth is 549,755,813,88[8]. The sixth is 140,737,488,355,328. The seventh is 36,028,[797],018,963,968. The eighth is 9,223,372,036,854,775,808. The total of everything on the eight rows of the chess board comes to 18,446,744,073,[7]09,551,615.”

Among their kings was Kūsh,<sup>409</sup> who was king during the time of Sindibād the wise. This Kūsh composed the book entitled, *The Cunning of Women*.<sup>410</sup> 1:105

The Indians are masters of wisdom and speculation; they excel mankind in every kind of wisdom. Their doctrine about the stars is the soundest of doctrines. Their book about it is the book of the *Sindhind*,<sup>411</sup> from which each science treated by the Greeks, the Persians, and others was derived. Their doctrine in medicine is the most ancient: theirs is the book on the subject [entitled] *Susrud*.<sup>412</sup> It deals with the symptoms of diseases, knowledge of their treatment, and the drugs for them. There are also the book *Shark*; the book *Nidāna* on the symptoms of 404 diseases and knowledge of them, without treatment; the book *Sindhishān*, whose title means “Image of Attainment”; a

407 That is, the *total* number of grains on all the squares of the first row is  $1 + 2 + 4 + 8 + 16 + 32 + 64 + 128 = 255$ .

408 This is the number of grains on square 16 of the chessboard (That is,  $128 \times 2^8$ ), and so on for squares 24, 32, 40, 48, 56, and 64, each of which will contain the number of grains on the square at the end of the previous row multiplied by a factor of  $2^8$  (256).

409 Apparently the same as Kūrush of al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:90 (§167), a reading with which Cod. Schefer agrees, according to the note of the Leiden editor.

410 This is the same book as the one that al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:90 (§167), refers to as *The Seven Viziers, the Teacher, the Young Man, and the King's Wife*. The book is a collection of tales with a frame story in which a young prince, commanded to keep silence for seven days by his teacher, the sage Sindibād (no relation to Sinbad the Sailor), “is accused by one of his father's wives of having attempted to seduce her; he is condemned to death, but the king's seven viziers take turns in delaying the execution from day to day, each telling a story designed to show the perfidy of women. Each evening, their work is undone by the guilty wife, who tells the king a story presenting the contrary case. After seven days the prince, permitted once more to speak, exculpates himself and then pardons his accuser.” (J.-P. Guillaume in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sindbād al-Ḥakīm). The book had apparently been translated into Arabic through Pahlavi by the time of al-Yaʿqūbī, as evidenced his giving it an Arabic title. The work was translated later into Persian, Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, and Spanish.

411 See note 363 above.

412 This refers to the *Suśruta Samhita*, a compendium of texts on Ayurvedic medicine and surgery attributed to the ancient physician Suśruta. See S. Maqbul Ahmad, “Al-Masʿūdī and the Kings of India,” 104, n. 3.

book on the disagreements between the Indians and the Greeks concerning the hot, the cold, the virtues of medicines, and division of the year; and a book on the names of drugs, (listing) each drug with ten names. They also have other books on medicine. They have many books of logic and philosophy, which are<sup>413</sup> the first principles of science. Among them is the book *Ṭūfā*<sup>414</sup> on the science of the definitions of logic, and the book *That Wherein the Philosophers of the Indians and Greeks Differ*. They have so many books that it would take too much time to mention them and too much space to list them.

1:106 The religion of the people of India is Brahmanism. | Among them there are idol worshippers. They have various kingdoms and separate kings because of the country's extent in length and width. The first of their kings of the part that borders on the lands that today are within the Abode of Islam is Dāniq.<sup>415</sup> He is a king of great rank, extensive kingdom, and much materiel. After him comes Rahmā,<sup>416</sup> who is greater in rank and more populous<sup>417</sup> in lands. He is located on one of the seas, and in his country there is gold and the like. Then comes the kingdom of Balharā.<sup>418</sup> Then comes al-Kumkam; from them comes teak, and they have extensive lands. Then comes the kingdom of al-Ṭāqā.<sup>419</sup> They are a people of white faces. Then comes the kingdom of Kanbāya.<sup>420</sup> Then come the kingdom of al-Ṭarsūl,<sup>421</sup> the kingdom of al-Mūsha,<sup>422</sup> and the kingdom of al-

413 Reading with M, *hiya*; ed. Leiden, *fī* (on).

414 Otherwise unknown. The reading is uncertain.

415 Otherwise unknown. The reading is uncertain.

416 As emended by the Leiden editor from MS "Wahm" on the basis of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:203 (§ 428). A possible reading would be Dharma, for Dharma-pāla, who ruled Bengal from 769–801 CE or later. See S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Al-Mas'ūdī on the Kings of India," 110.

417 Reading with M, *a'maru bilādan*; C and ed. Leiden read, *a'azzu bilādan* (more powerful in lands).

418 Balharā (or Balharay or Ballaharā) is the Arabic transcription of the Prakrit title Bal-laharāya (from Sanskrit Vallabha-rāja, "beloved king") of the kings of the Rashtrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan (c. 753–975 CE), with its capital at Mānyakheta (Arabic Mānkīr). See the article by S. Maqbul Ahmad in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Balharā.

419 The MSS read al-Zāfir (Arabic for "the victorious"), and the Leiden editor emended on the basis of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:203 (§ 428), to al-Ṭāfin, but a better reading appears to be al-Ṭāqā; see the index to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 7:439, and S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Al-Mas'ūdī and the Kings of India," 110.

420 Kanbāya is modern Cambay in Gujarat. See the article by S. Maqbul Ahmad in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khambāyat.

421 Otherwise unidentified; the reading is uncertain.

422 Otherwise unknown.

Māyid;<sup>423</sup> these kingdoms border China, and they make war on China. Then comes the kingdom of Sarandīb.<sup>424</sup> Then comes the kingdom of Qimār:<sup>425</sup> it is a kingdom of exalted status and great importance, and kings come to their king. Then comes the kingdom of al-Daybul.<sup>426</sup> Then comes al-Fārīt, and then the kingdom of al-Ṣaylamān.<sup>427</sup> In some [...] they have kingdoms that women govern.<sup>428</sup>

### The Ancient Greeks

The Ancient Greeks had sages who engaged in philosophy, and philosophers who engaged in other sorts of study.<sup>429</sup> Some of them discoursed on medicine; some of them discoursed on the true nature of things; some of them discoursed on calculation and numbers; some of them discoursed on the spheres and the stars; some of them discoursed on calculation and division;<sup>430</sup> some of them discussed geometry<sup>431</sup> and agronomy; some of them discussed alchemy and elixirs;<sup>432</sup> some of them discussed physiognomy; | and some of them discussed talismans and devices.<sup>433</sup> It is said that the first wise man to compose a book

1:107

423 Possibly to be read as Mābud, for Mahābhota, one of the Sanskrit names for Tibet. See the index to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 7:622.

424 That is, Ceylon. The Arabic form of the name (*Sarandīb*) comes ultimately from Sanskrit *Siṃhala* (Ceylon) + *dvīpa* (island). See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sarandīb.

425 Qimār stands for Khmer, the Khmer empire (modern Cambodia). See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qimār.

426 Sic ed. Leiden; M reads something like al-Dabilā (two undotted letters make the reading uncertain), which points to a different place than Daybul in Sind mentioned above.

427 Neither name can be identified, and the readings are uncertain.

428 Arabic, *wa-lahum fī ba'd mamālik yalīhā* [or *talīhā*, the initial letter is ambiguous] *al-nisā'*. As it stands, this is ungrammatical. One solution is to assume that a word has fallen out after *ba'd*, as indicated in the translation.

429 Arabic, *falāsifa mutakawwīr(ūn)*, the apparent reading of M and ed. Leiden. The dictionaries give no help; the translation, "philosophers who engaged in other sorts of study," is a conjecture based on the context. For an overall account of the passage of Greek science and philosophy into Arabic, see the article by Cristina D'Ancona in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Greek into Arabic.

430 Arabic, *qisma*, apparently referring to the division of stellar orbits.

431 Arabic, *handasa*, which includes geometry and surveying.

432 Arabic, *iksīrāt*. On the use of the term in Arabic medicine and alchemy, see the article by M. Ullmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Iksīr.

433 Arabic, *ālāt*, includes a variety of mechanical devices.

and codify a branch of learning was Hippocrates, son of Heraclides, son of Hippocrates.<sup>434</sup> On him the sages rely in medicine,<sup>435</sup> and to him they refer in knowledge. The following books are by him:

- (1) the Book of Aphorisms<sup>436</sup>
- (2) the Book of Countries, Waters, and Airs<sup>437</sup>
- (3) the Book of Barley-water<sup>438</sup>
- (4) the Book of Prognostic<sup>439</sup>
- (5) the Book of the Embryo<sup>440</sup>
- (6) the Book of the Elements<sup>441</sup>
- (7) the Book of Nutriment<sup>442</sup>

434 Here the MSS give a full form of the name: *'bqr't*, probably to be read as Abuqrāt, although the later Arabic form of the name, Buqrāt, also occurs in al-Ya'qūbī. In the MSS, the father's name has been corrupted to *mql̥yds*, not preceded by *bnu* (son of). For the biography—mostly fictional—of Hippocrates, see Wesley Smith, *The Hippocratic Tradition*; Jacques Jouanna, *Hippocrates*; Jody Rubin Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*. For a comprehensive Hippocratic bibliography see Gerhard Fichtner, *CORPUS HIPPOCRATICUM—Bibliographie der hippokratischen und pseudohippokratischen Werke* [henceforth: Fichtner, *Hippocr.*]. On the reception of the Hippocratic corpus in the Islamic world, see the article by A. Dietrich in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Buqrāt. On al-Ya'qūbī's record of the Hippocratic writings, see Martin Klamroth, "Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī," *ZDMG* 40 (1886): 189–203; cf. Manfred Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, III: *Medizin*, 23–30, 32–42.

435 Reading with M *fa-'alāyhi yu'awwīlu l-ḥukamā' fī l-ṭibb*. The first two words have been run together and miscopied in C.

436 Arabic, *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl* (The Book of Sections/Paragraphs/Chapters), corresponds to Greek Ἀφορισμοί.

437 Arabic, *Kitāb al-Buldān wa-l-miyāh wa-l-ahwīya*, corresponds to Greek Περί ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων, with the order of the three terms reversed.

438 Arabic, *Kitāb Mā' al-sha'ir*, corresponds to Greek Περί πτισάνης. The prominence of barley gruel is reflected in this alternative title for *Regimen in Acute Diseases* (Περί διαίτης ὀξέων).

439 Arabic, *Kitāb Taqdimat al-ma'rifa*, corresponds to Greek Προγνωστικόν.

440 Arabic, *Kitāb al-Janīn* (more common in the plural as *Kitāb al-Ajinna*), corresponds to Greek Περί γονῆς and Περί φύσιος παιδίου. See Fichtner, *Hippocr.*, nos. 45, 46; edited and translated by M. C. Lyons and J. N. Mattock as *Kitāb al-Ajinna li-Buqrāt*.

441 Arabic, *Kitāb al-Arkān*, corresponds to Greek Περί φύσιος ἀνθρώπου. The author's title for what is known in Greek as *On the Nature of Man* reflects the prominence given to the four elements in the opening discussion and in Galen's commentary.

442 Arabic *Kitāb al-Ghidhā'*, corresponds to Greek Περί τροφῆς. See Fichtner, *Hippocr.*, no. 61; edited and translated by J. N. Mattock as *Kitāb Buqrāt fī l-akhlāt* and *Kitāb al-Ghidhā' li-Buqrāt*.

- (8) the Book of Seven Months' Children<sup>443</sup>
- (9) the Book of Ailments of Women<sup>444</sup>
- (10) the Book of Epidemics.<sup>445</sup>

These are his most famous books, but there are many other books by him.<sup>446</sup> The books of Hippocrates that are indispensable for students of medicine to know are four: the *Book of Aphorisms*, the *Book of Prognostic*, the *Book of Airs and Times*, and the *Book of Barley Water*.<sup>447</sup>

As for the *Book of Aphorisms*,<sup>448</sup> it presents a pithy statement on every aspect of the discipline in fifty-seven chapters, which are called "instructions."<sup>449</sup>

443 Arabic, *Kitāb al-Asābī*, corresponds to Greek Περί ἐβδομάδων (On Children Born Seven Months After Conception). Arabic *asābī* should be understood as the plural of *subāʾī*, which is used in this sense (see Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:626b). See also Fichtner, *Hippocr.*, no. 58; cf. *idem*, *Corpus Galenicum*—Bibliographie der galenischen und pseudogalenischen Werke [henceforth: Fichtner, *Gal.*]. The Arabic version of Pseudo-Galen's commentary has been published with a German translation: Gotthelf Bergsträßer, *Pseudogaleni in Hippocratis De septimanis commentarium ab Hunaino q. f. Arabice versum*.

444 Arabic, *Kitāb Awjāʾ al-nisāʾ*, corresponds to Greek Γυναικεία. See Fichtner, *Hippocr.*, nos. 48, 49.

445 Arabic, *Abidhīmīyā*, transliterates the Greek Ἐπιδημιαί. See Fichtner, nos. 6, 16, 7, 17–20. Note that the later Arabic equivalent (*al-amrāḍ al-wāfida*) is not used here.

446 A canon of the ten most important titles from the Hippocratic corpus was also cited by Ibn al-Nadīm and Barhebraeus; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa mentions twelve; cf. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 27.

447 Al-Yaʿqūbī may have derived this notion of the ultimate Hippocratic "tetralogy" from Palladius's commentary on *Aphorisms* (fol. 2b; see note 449 below).

448 Fichtner, no. 13.

449 Arabic, *taʿlīmāt*, represents a Greek technical term such as *παῖσις* (discourse, lecture), or possibly *διδασκαλία* (instruction, elucidation), relating to the Alexandrian system of lecturing on authoritative texts. This would precisely fit Palladius, al-Yaʿqūbī's *Vorlage* in the following, as it does Palladius's Alexandrian fellow commentators (cf. especially, Leendert G. Westerink, *Stephanus of Athens: Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms*). Westerink (11, 11) surmises that Palladius's presumable student Stephanus, who qualified Hippocrates' exposition as *κεφαλαιώδη καὶ σύντομον διδασκαλίαν*, 'summary and concise in form' (ibid. 1, 32:3/33:3), covered the entire work in "sixty to seventy (daily) lectures," which does not seem to differ implausibly from Palladius's fifty-seven. The Arabic translation of Palladius's lost Greek original has not survived complete; a fragmented *unicum*, reaching as far as the eleventh "lecture," is supplemented by the secondary transmission, of which al-Yaʿqūbī is the most substantial witness (see Hinrich Biesterfeldt, "Palladius on the Hippocratic Aphorisms"; Caroline Magdelaine, "Le commentaire de Palladius sur les *Aphorismes* d'Hippocrate et les citations d'al-Yaʿqūbī"; Ullmann, *WGAÜ*, 52–55). Al-Yaʿqūbī preserved Palladius's disposition in fifty-seven chapters, suppressing his reference to and adoption of Galen's division into seven "sections," but for the sake of abridgment he limited himself

The first instruction [I, i]: on the art and its description.<sup>450</sup> Hippocrates says: Life is short, the art long; time is sharp, experiment is a hazard, and judgment difficult.<sup>451</sup>

The second instruction [I, iv]: on the kinds of food for the sick and the determination of its quantity. Hippocrates says: Light foods—very fine—are not (appropriate) either in chronic or in acute diseases. Again, foods that are light to an extreme degree are bad, just as repletion<sup>452</sup> carried to an extreme is bad.

The third instruction [I, viii–xi]: on the height of fever. Hippocrates says: One should (then) exercise restraint in food; an excess of it is harmful. In diseases that occur time after time, restraint should be exercised when they are at their height.

1:108 The fourth instruction [I, xii]: on the symptoms of diseases. Hippocrates says: The state of the disease is indicated | by any bodily excretion that appears in it. For example, someone with pleurisy: if an immediate expectoration appears from him from the commencement of the disease, his illness will be short; if it appears later, his illness will be long. (The state of the disease appears) also in things such as urine, feces, and sweat—whether in a fashion that can be judged to portend recovery or the contrary, or the shortness or length of diseases.

The fifth instruction [I, xiv]: Hippocrates says: Anything that is growing—that is, inspirited beings—has much innate heat and therefore needs much food; otherwise its body will waste away.<sup>453</sup>

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to the bare, uncommented initial aphorism of each “lecture.” His omission of the subsequent aphorisms may have been facilitated by their dismissive heading as “another aphorism” (*faṣl ākhar*). The translation renders al-Yaʿqūbī’s sometimes awkward or erroneous Arabic—even poorer than that of his sometimes infelicitous source al-Bīṭrīq—since the stages of corruption cannot be confidently delimited. For the original Greek, one can consult vol. 4 of the Loeb Library edition by W. H. S. Jones, *Hippocrates*. For Ḥunayn’s far superior Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*, see Ibn al-Nafīs, *Sharḥ Fuṣūl Buqrāt*, edited by Yūsuf Zaydān and Māhir ‘Abd al-Qādir.

450 Reading with M: *wa-ṣīfat-hā*; ed. Leiden, *wa-ṣīfuhā* “and its kind.”

451 On the history of Arabic commentaries on this aphorism, see Franz Rosenthal, “‘Life is Short, the Art is Long’: Arabic Commentaries on the First Hippocratic Aphorism.” Rosenthal argues that the translation of ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὀξύς, “time/opportunity is swift/urgent” (that is, in treating diseases, time is critical) may reflect a Syriac translation that rendered ὀξύς as *ḥarripā*, which in Syriac means both “sharp” and “swift.” Unfortunately, Arabic *ḥadid* means only “sharp,” so the translation cited by al-Yaʿqūbī is misleading. Later Arabic translations have *al-waqt ḍayyiq* (time is narrow/tight), which gives better sense.

452 Reading *al-māl*, rendering Greek πλῆρωσις, instead of the MSS *al-māʿ*(ʿ) (water), a copyist’s confusion.

453 The Arabic (*kullamā* [possibly to be read *kullu mā*] *nashaʿat* [written without the hamza]

The sixth instruction [I, xvi–xvii]: on what food should be fed to persons with fever. Hippocrates says: Humid diets are most appropriate for all persons with fever, especially for children and for others who are accustomed to that diet—for some once and for some twice, or more or less, or time after time. Give due consideration to the season, the habit, the country, and the age.

The seventh instruction [I, xx]: on knowledge of the proper moment. Hippocrates says: Concerning (an illness) that is turning toward recovery or one that has already turned toward recovery, it should not be moved,<sup>454</sup> neither should anything new be attempted, either by purgatives or by anything else that might exacerbate it.

The eighth instruction [II, i–ii]: on sleep. Hippocrates says: In any illness, if sleep brings pain, the patient will die; but if sleep is beneficial, he is not going to die. If sleep counteracts delirium, that is good.

The ninth instruction [II, ix]: on the administering of purgatives. Hippocrates says: Whoever wants to purge bodies, should cleanse<sup>455</sup> them beforehand, namely by melting the coarse chyme that is in them.

The tenth instruction [II, xv]: on feces. Hippocrates says: If pain occurs in the body<sup>456</sup> or rashes<sup>457</sup> erupt on the body, the feces should thereupon be inspected. If they are bilious, the entire body is diseased; if they are like the feces of the healthy, | ample food (may be given).

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*ya'nī dhawāt al-arwāḥ fa-huwa ...*) is grammatically problematic, and a gloss seems to have entered the text as an attempt to explain the shift from a verb that implies a plural subject to a singular pronoun. “Inspired beings” renders the Arabic *dhawāt al-arwāḥ*, which appears to hark back, by way of misunderstanding, to I, xiii. In the Palladius MS, “whatever is growing” is correctly explained with reference to the three kingdoms of life. The aphorism in the original Greek contrasts patients who are still growing, and so require much food, with those who have ceased to grow. One is tempted to translate: “As long as an inspired being is growing, it has much innate heat and needs much food ...”

454 Arabic, *yanbaghī an lā yuḥarraka*, perhaps, “it should not be agitated,” rendering Greek κινεῖν. As Jones, *Hippocrates*, 4:115, notes: “Κινεῖν often means to administer a purge, an enema, or an emetic.”

455 Arabic, *yanbaghī li-man arāda tanqiyat al-ajsād an yunaqqiyahā qabla dhālika*. Although the Arabic uses a derivative of the verb *naqqā* twice, the translation—“purge” and “cleanse”—has been varied to avoid awkward repetition.

456 Arabic, *al-jasad*; possibly a corruption for an original reading of *al-ḥalq* (the throat), which would agree with the Greek φάρυγξ.

457 Following the apparent reading of M, *ḥazāzāt*, a term designating a variety of skin rashes. Ed. Leiden emends C *ḥarāzāt* (otherwise unattested) to *khurājāt* (blisters, abscesses).

The eleventh instruction [II, xix]: Hippocrates says: [Prognoses are uncertain]<sup>458</sup> in acute diseases because such diseases sometimes rapidly affect the brain, the heart, or the liver, so that the patient succumbs; but sometimes they rapidly subside, so that the patient recovers.

The twelfth instruction [II, xxiii–xxiv]: on judgment concerning recovery. Hippocrates says: Recovery in acute diseases is to be judged in fourteen days, and the eleventh of them is to be observed.<sup>459</sup>

The thirteenth instruction [II, xxix]: Hippocrates says: If at the beginning of diseases you see fit to move something,<sup>460</sup> do it; but if the disease advances, it is better to refrain. That is to say: if you see an occasion for treatment, do it before the disease advances.

The fourteenth instruction [II, xxxiii]: on knowing benign and pernicious diseases. Hippocrates says: In every disease, the soundness of the patient's intellect is good; his acceptance of what is appointed<sup>461</sup> is good and the opposite bad—that is to say, what the patient feels in the brain and the stomach.

The fifteenth instruction [II, xliii]: on those who have been strangled.<sup>462</sup> Hippocrates says: Those who are strangled but released before they die: if foam appears in their mouths, they will not recover.

The sixteenth instruction [II, xlviii]: on exercise to trim the body and exertion. Hippocrates says: In every moving of the body, if it begins to tire and then you let it rest where you are, the tiredness will not hurt it.

The seventeenth instruction [III, i]: on the changing of the seasons. Hippocrates says: The changing of the seasons [generates illness, especially]<sup>463</sup> from severe cold and heat and the like—that is to say, the changing of the seasons of time, which are the parts of the year.

458 Several words appear to have fallen out of the text, although there is no gap in the mss. The translation follows the emendation proposed by the Leiden editor.

459 Reading with M, *wa-yutāba'u l-aḥada 'ashara lahu*, which corresponds exactly to the Greek, θεωρητῇ δὲ ἡ ἐνδεκάτη; ed. Leiden banishes the phrase to a footnote, as C has only the first two words, which Houtsma read as *wa-sābi' al-aḥad*, "and the seventh of the one," which makes no sense.

460 "Move" in the sense of administering a purge, enema, or an emetic.

461 "What is appointed" (Arabic, *mā yuqḍā*) corresponds to Greek τὰς προσφοράς (things presented; in medical usage, specifically food).

462 Arabic, *al-makhnūqīn*: perhaps to be translated as "those who have been hanged," as in the Greek.

463 The bracketed words have been added conjecturally by the Leiden editor.



The eighteenth instruction [III, vi]: on sweating. Hippocrates says: When summer is like spring,<sup>464</sup> one should expect copious sweating in any fever that occurs. 1:110

The nineteenth instruction [III, xi]: on the seasons. Hippocrates says: If the winter is dry and lacking humidity and its winds are northerly, (and) the spring is rainy and its winds southerly, in summer there will inevitably be acute fevers, ophthalmia, and dysentery. This will occur mostly in women [and those]<sup>465</sup> whose nature is humid.

The twentieth instruction [III, xv–xvi]: on forecasting the years. Hippocrates says: A dry year is more pestilential<sup>466</sup> than a rainy humid one; overall (the latter produces) long fevers, loose bowels, putrescent ulcers,<sup>467</sup> insanity, apoplexy, and quinsy.<sup>468</sup> As for the diseases of dry years, they are ulceration in the lung, eye and joint pain, strangury, and excretion from abscess of the intestines.<sup>469</sup>

The twenty-first instruction [III, xviii]: on the diseases of the seasons and the ages. Hippocrates says: Concerning the seasons, according to the diseases that occur: in spring and early summer, adolescents and those near them in age are healthy and their good condition is better than that of others; in summer and part of autumn, old men are in better condition; in the remainder of autumn and in winter, people of middle age are in better condition.

The twenty-second instruction [III, xxiv]: on the diseases that strike man and begin with children. Hippocrates says: The diseases that strike | young children are ulcer, catarrh, insomnia, anxiety, swelling in the navel, and moist discharges of the ear. 1:111

The twenty-third instruction [III, xxvi–xxviii]: Hippocrates says: The diseases that strike older children are tonsillitis, asthma, calculi, broad worms, long worms, worms like vinegar worms,<sup>470</sup> warts, induration of the epidermis,

464 Emending the MSS *al-zamān* (the time) to *al-qayṣ* (the summer). The Arabic text contains a gloss to explain that the word *ṣayf*, which usually means “summer,” here means the same as the more common word for spring, *rabīʿ*.

465 Added by the Leiden editor, who also emends manuscript *fī al-shitāʿ*(ʿ) (in winter) to *fī al-nisāʿ* (in women).

466 So in the Arabic (*awbaʿ*); the Greek says the opposite, ὑγιαίνότεροι. One can only speculate about whether the reversal was caused by misunderstanding of a text read aloud or by corruption of the Greek *Vorlage*.

467 Emending the unintelligible MS reading (*qurūḥ maymāsataʿ*) to *qurūḥ mutamāshiya*.

468 Following the emendation proposed by the Leiden editor: *dhabḥa* for MS *dīna*.

469 MS *ikhṭilāf min khurāj al-aʿfāj*, which, without *khurāj* (abscess), would be equivalent to the Greek, which reads “dysentery.”

470 Arabic, *dūd al-khall*, “vinegar worms” (*Turbatrix aceti*). The Greek has ἀσχαρίδες, taken

scrofula, and other eruptions. Those who are older and on the point of puberty are affected [by the preceding diseases and] by other diseases.<sup>471</sup> They can be judged to have recovered at the end of forty days; in some diseases at the end of seven months; in some at the end of seventy days;<sup>472</sup> and in some when they are on the verge of puberty. All diseases that [do not] leave boys by the time of puberty and girls by the time they first menstruate are diseases that will last a long time.

The twenty-fourth instruction [IV, i]: on knowing what purgatives can be given to pregnant women. Hippocrates says: Pregnant women can be given such medication at four months; however, their treatment should be avoided before that, due to the smallness of the child, and beyond that, due to its largeness.

The twenty-fifth instruction [IV, iv]: Hippocrates says: What is above should be purged in summer, and what is below in winter—meaning, what is above the lungs<sup>473</sup> and the stomach, and what is lower than the yellow bile and lower than the crude humor<sup>474</sup> and its like.

The twenty-sixth instruction [IV, xiii]: on elaterium.<sup>475</sup> Hippocrates says: When purgatives and hellebore are taken, the bodies of those whose purge from above does not come easily should be humidified with copious food before the purge.

1:112 The twenty-seventh instruction [IV, xxi]: on spontaneous evacuation. Hippocrates says: When evacuation comes spontaneously as though it were black blood, | whether with fever or without fever, it is an evil evacuation. If it is a multicolored evacuation, changing from wholesome colors to unwholesome ones, that is also an evil evacuation. If the first comes through a purgative, it is better; and (if) a multicolored (evacuation is so caused), there is nothing wrong with it.

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to refer to a parasitic intestinal roundworm that causes the disease called ascariasis; cf. Ullmann, *WGAÜ*, 140, s.v. ἀσκαρίς.

471 The bracketed addition is based on the Greek. The Arabic, *amr ākhar* (another thing) can be explained as a copyist's omission of two letters. Read, *amr[āq u]khar*, (other diseases).

472 Sic, *sab'īna yawman*. One would expect "seven years," following the Greek.

473 Reading, *al-r'atayn*, which appears to be indicated by M, rather than ed. Leiden, *al-ra's* (the head).

474 Arabic, *al-khām* (undotted in M).

475 Arabic, *dhū l-mashī*, translated as "elaterium," a cathartic obtained from the juice of the squirting cucumber (*Ecballium elaterium*), following Klamroth's suggestion ("Auszüge," I, 200). The Greek here refers only to hellebores, which the Arabic mentions specifically as *kharbaq* in the next sentence. See Stephanus in Aphorismos, II, 244:1–11.

The twenty-eighth instruction [IV, xxvii]: on discharge from whatever source. Hippocrates says: Every person with fever is subject to evacuation because abundant discharge of blood relaxes the liver; then coction takes place correctly.<sup>476</sup>

The twenty-ninth instruction [IV, xxxvi]: on sweating. Hippocrates says: Sweating in those with fever is good if it occurs on the third, fifth, [seventh, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth,] seventeenth, twenty-first, [twenty-seventh,] thirty-first, or thirty-fourth day, because it relieves the patient.<sup>477</sup> Sweating on other days portends pain, lengthy illness, and relapse.

The thirtieth instruction [IV, xliii]: on persistent fevers. [Hippocrates says: Persistent fevers] that do not break, but intensify on the third day, are likely to lead to perishing; those that break, in whatever fashion, are less likely to lead to perishing.

The thirty-first instruction [IV, xlviii]: on the signs of death. Hippocrates says: Persistent fevers that do not break—if the outside of the body is cold, while the inside is burning hot, and the patient suffers thirst—are signs of death.

The thirty-second instruction [IV, lvii]: on spasm and tetanus. Hippocrates says: Anyone stricken with spasm or tetanus who subsequently gets fever, his disease will be loosed.

The thirty-third instruction [IV, lxv]: Hippocrates says: Anyone with fever who then is stricken with intense heat in the abdomen and pain in the heart, that is bad.

The thirty-fourth instruction [IV, lxxiii]: Hippocrates says: Anyone who has fever and then his hypochondria swell and rise | and a rumbling appears in his abdomen, and, along with this, pain strikes him in his loins and he does not get relief by passing wind or copious urination, or he gets relief by evacuation—such a person will perish.

1:113

The thirty-fifth instruction [V, i]: on taking hellebore. Hippocrates says: Anyone stricken with spasm from copious evacuation upon taking hellebore is going to die.

476 Coction (Arabic *nadj*, for Greek πένσις) is the body's processing of food in such a way that the humors are in balance. The translation is based on reading, with ed. Leiden, *thumma yastaqīmu l-nadj*, but correcting the printed *tastaqīmu*. M has *lam yastaqīm* (sic) *al-nadj*, which is ungrammatical, but could be corrected to mean "coction has not taken place correctly."

477 The bracketed additions are from the Greek. The MSS show no lacuna. The first omission is a clear case of homeoteleuton.

The thirty-sixth instruction [v, ix]: on ulcerations in the lung and wasting in the lung. [Hippocrates says]: That occurs at ages eighteen to thirty-five.

The thirty-seventh instruction [v, xvi–xvii]: on hot and cold water. Hippocrates says: Hot water taken constantly makes the flesh flabby, destroys the strength of the nerves, numbs the mind,<sup>478</sup> provokes nosebleed, and weakens the soul;<sup>479</sup> if that persists, the person will die. Cold water brings on tetanus and melasma, as well as shivers and fever.

The thirty-eighth instruction [v, xxii]: on the knowledge of waters. Hippocrates says: Hot water furthers the coction of pus, but not in every ulcer. There are many signs of the coction of pus: namely, softness of skin and shrinking of swelling. Whenever hot water acts in this way, it takes away pain, calms shivering, spasm, and tetanus, and relieves headache.

The thirty-ninth instruction [v, xxviii]: on women's matters. Hippocrates says: Aromatic vapors promote menstruation in women and are useful for it and for many other conditions, except that they provoke pain in the head and headache.

The fortieth instruction [v, xxxix]: Hippocrates says: Any woman who is neither pregnant nor nursing, but finds milk in her breasts: that is an indication that her menstrual blood has been obstructed.

The forty-first instruction [v, xlvi]: Hippocrates says: Male children mostly develop on the right side of the womb; females on the left.

1:114 The forty-second instruction [v, lv]: Hippocrates says: Pregnant women who are stricken with fever and in whom it persists | without a known cause that has become evident: that is a sign of perishing; they will abort and perish.

The forty-third instruction [v, lxiv]: Hippocrates says: Give milk<sup>480</sup> to him who complains of his head and who suffers thirst; also to him who suffers discharge of yellow bile and has acute fever, and to him who discharges copious

478 Reading, *al-'aql*, (to agree with Greek γνώμης νάρκωσιν) for MSS and ed. Leiden *al-'adal* (the muscles).

479 Or, "the breathing." The Arabic can be read either as *al-nafs* (the soul) or as *al-nafas* (the breathing). The Greek, λειποθυμίας (fainting), suggests the former.

480 Following ed. Leiden, *a'ti l-laban*. The spelling in M suggests the reading *u'tiya* (has been given), which does not fit the context (a present tense would be expected). Furthermore, the Greek gives the opposite advice: "To give milk to sufferers from headache is bad." The Greek contrasts this with the benefit from giving milk to "cases of consumption when there is no very high fever." One is therefore tempted to amend *a'ti* (give) to *lā yu'tā* (is not given). The strange reading of M gives some support to the assumption of such textual corruption.

blood. It is appropriate to be given to him who suffers wasting and ulceration in his lung, if he is not very feverish. It is also given to him whose fever is mild, lukewarm, and chronic, as long as he does not have any of the symptoms we have mentioned and his body is very lean.

The forty-fourth instruction [VI, i]: on lientery.<sup>481</sup> Hippocrates says: Anyone who is stricken with lientery for a long time and then develops acid belching that he did not have before: that is a good sign. It is an illness which may have three causes: weakness of the stomach, phlegm moistening the stomach, or an ulcer in the stomach.

The forty-fifth instruction [VI, x]: Hippocrates says: If pus or water flows from the nose, ears, or mouth of someone who is stricken with pain in the head and intense throbbing, his pain will be loosened.

The forty-sixth instruction [VI, xviii]: Hippocrates says: Anyone who suffers a deep wound<sup>482</sup> in the bladder, the brain, the heart, the diaphragm, any of the small intestines, the stomach, or the liver: all of this is deadly.

The forty-seventh instruction [VI, xxiii]: Hippocrates says: Anyone stricken with lengthy and persistent anxiety and despondency: it will lead to atrabiliousness.<sup>483</sup>

The forty-eighth instruction [VI, xxxi]: Hippocrates says: Drinking wine neat, a hot poultice, venesection, and taking a purgative make eye pain disappear.

The forty-ninth instruction [VI, xxxviii]: Hippocrates says: It is better to leave every incurable cancerous eruption alone, | for such patients perish quickly if treated, but survive for a time if not treated. 1:115

The fiftieth instruction [VI, xlv]: Hippocrates says: From an eruption that swells<sup>484</sup> for a year or more, bones will inevitably become detached and their traces will remain like scabs.<sup>485</sup>

481 Arabic, *zalaq al-am'ā'* (slipperiness of the bowels, pl. *azlāq al-am'ā'*, corresponding to Greek λειεντερ(α): a variety of diarrhea in which food is excreted partially or wholly undigested.

482 Arabic, *inqiṭā'*, normally means "blockage," but corresponds here to the Greek διακοπέντι (for someone who has received a gash, a deep wound). The translation mirrors the original sense. For other examples of forms of Arabic *inqaṭa'* translating the passive of Greek διακόπτω, see Ullmann, *WGAÜ*, Supplement Band I, 272.

483 Arabic, *al-mirra al-sawdā'* (black bile), an excess of which was thought to produce melancholy. Atrabilious is simply the Latin translation of melancholy.

484 Reading with ed. Leiden, *yantū*; M (apparently) *yanbū* (is remote), which does not fit the context.

485 Arabic, *jarab*, scabbiness, mange, scabies.

The fifty-first instruction [VI, liii]: Hippocrates says: Loss of mind<sup>486</sup> that comes together with laughter is preferable; loss of mind together with sadness and frowning is not preferable.

The fifty-second instruction [VII, i]: Hippocrates says: In acute diseases, if the extremities are cold, that is bad.

The fifty-third instruction [VII, xvii]: Hippocrates says: Anyone in whose liver an eruption develops and then it is followed by hiccoughing—that is bad.

The fifty-fourth instruction [VII, xxxi]: Hippocrates says: Anyone with fever in whose urine there is coarse deposit like grainy flour—that is an indication that his disease will be long.

The fifty-fifth instruction [VII, xxxvii]: Hippocrates says: Whoever vomits blood without being stricken with being overcome [by fever],<sup>487</sup> will find deliverance; but if being overcome by fever seizes him, that is noxious, and he should be treated with every kind of styptic—that is, astringent medicines.

The fifty-sixth instruction [VII, xlv–xlv]: Hippocrates says: If a patient vomiting purulent matter is cauterized, and the purulence comes out white and clean, the patient will recover; but if the purulence comes out fetid and dirty, the patient will perish. If he has a suppurating abscess in his liver, is cauterized, and the purulence comes out clean and white, he will recover, because the purulence is in the membrane of the liver; but if the purulence comes out like olive water,<sup>488</sup> such a patient will perish.

The fifty-seventh instruction [VII, xlv]: Hippocrates says: Sneezing occurs from the head when the brain is warm or cold, or when the space between the  
1:116 brain and its membrane becomes humid and fills up; | that air is evacuated and makes a noise because its exit is through a narrow passage.

These are the chapters of the *Book of Aphorisms*.

As for his *Book of Prognostic*,<sup>489</sup> it consists of three sections: twenty instructions.<sup>490</sup>

486 Arabic, *dhahāb al-ʿaql*, corresponds to Greek παραφροσύνη (deliriums).

487 Arabic, *ghayra an tuṣībahu ghalaba*. The sense is uncertain. The Greek has ἀνε πυρετοῦ (without fever). The easiest solution is to assume that the original reading here, as later in the paragraph, was *ghalabat hummā* (being overcome by fever).

488 Arabic, *māʾ al-zaytūn*. The Greek has ἀμόργη (dregs of pressed olives), which is how the Arabic phrase probably should be understood.

489 Fichtner, *Hippocrat.*, no. 3.

490 In the following, references (section: page, line) will be to Bengt Alexanderson, *Die Hippokratische Schrift Prognostikon—Überlieferung und Text*. The Alexandrian Stephanus, without regard to the original author's twenty-five topical paragraphs, adhered to Galen's division of the work into three sections (Fichtner, *Gal.*, no. 109) and subdivided these

The first:<sup>491</sup> Hippocrates tells how it behooves the physician to take up prognosis; for he it is who informs the patients of what they have, what they had previously, the outcome of what they have, and what the patients have neglected to mention; also the severity of diseases and their causes,<sup>492</sup> whether they develop out of the distemper of the body or something else, and other such things.

The second instruction:<sup>493</sup> In it he tells how it behooves the physician to examine acute diseases closely, how he should examine patients' faces, whether they resemble the faces of the healthy, the signs on faces that indicate death, and other such things.

The third instruction:<sup>494</sup> In it he says: If the patients have three or four days with their faces in the condition of the faces of the healthy, and so forth, one should think well about the signs and symptoms, according to what has been mentioned previously, and about the signs of the eyes, the eyelashes, and the nose; as well as about the patient's reclining for rest and how it should be handled, and about those of his symptoms that portend death.

The fourth instruction:<sup>495</sup> He describes the patient's legs and their states; how the patient reclines for rest; the gnashing of teeth during fever and what it indicates; whether the patient has a sore that developed during his illness or

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into, respectively, fourteen, eleven, and five "lectures" (πράξεις), as numbered by the editor (see John M. Duffy, *Stephanus the Philosopher: a Commentary on the Prognosticon of Hippocrates*). Al-Ya'qūbī gives a rough abstract, omitting to mark the three sections of what originally may have resembled Stephanus's lecture course, even though the pretended division of the course into merely twenty, in places rather illogically divided, installments instead of Stephanus's thirty would seem to point to a superficial redactor of al-Ya'qūbī's exemplar to begin with. Its text, preserved, according to Klamroth (*ZDMG* 40, p. 201), in MS Gotha 1900, merits closer inspection, because it may antedate Hunayn's version (Klamroth, *ibid.*, 203–233). The numbering of Galen's and Stephanus's lemmata, respectively, has been included for comparison (see Hermann Diels, Johannes Mewaldt, Joseph Heeg, edd., *Galenī In Hippocratis Prorrheticum I commentaria III, De comate secundum Hippocratem, In Hippocratis Prognosticum commentaria III*, 195–378).

491 1:193, 1A; Gal. I 2; Steph. I, ii–iii, followed by 1:194, 4A; Gal. I 4; Steph. I, iii–iv.

492 The text is uncertain. The manuscripts insert *wa-an* (and that) before "their strength and their causes." The Leiden editor notes that one could either assume that the word *ya'rifa* (he should know) has dropped out ("and that [he should know] their strength and their causes") or that something has dropped out after "their strength and their causes."

493 2:194, 10A; Gal. I 5; Steph. I, v.

494 2:195, 9A; Gal. I (8–)9, 10(–12?); Steph. I, vi; followed by 3:197, 4A; Gal. I 13; Steph. I, viii.

495 3:197, 9A; Gal. I 13f.; Steph. I, viii; followed by 3:198, 6A; Gal. I 21; Steph. I, viii; followed by 3:198, 9–4:199, 1A; Gal. I 22f.; Steph. I, ix.

previously, and what it indicates; and he describes the hands, their restlessness, and what they indicate thereby.

1:117 The fifth instruction:<sup>496</sup> He mentions frequent fast breathing and what it indicates. He mentions the best kind of perspiration in acute diseases, good perspiration, cold perspiration, and noxious perspiration. | He also mentions that perspiration occurs either because of the body's weakness or because of a persistent sore.

The sixth instruction:<sup>497</sup> He mentions the good health of the hypochondrium, and when it is not healthy; the throbbing of its blood vessels, and what is indicated by that; and swellings that are in the side of the hypochondrium. He also gives information about these swellings and what may befall them.

The seventh instruction:<sup>498</sup> In it he mentions abscesses: how they should be examined when they become chronic, how their dimensions should be described, what is discharged from them, and how it should be discharged.

The eighth instruction:<sup>499</sup> In it he mentions dropsy: that which accompanies acute diseases, that which occurs from expectoration,<sup>500</sup> and that which occurs from the liver. (He also mentions) such concomitant symptoms as afflict those with dropsy and the signs that indicate death: blackening of the fingers and the feet and similar signs.

The ninth instruction:<sup>501</sup> He mentions the retraction of the testicles and penis. He also mentions slumber and sleep and how they ought to be, and the feces and how they ought to be.

The tenth instruction:<sup>502</sup> In it he mentions the feces, how they ought to emerge and their causes; how the abdomen should be in every illness; and the colors of the feces that indicate death and other things. He also describes flatulence, stomach rumblings, and the like.

496 5:199, 6A; Gal. I 24; Steph. I, x; followed by 6:200, 1A; Gal. I 26; Steph. I, xi; followed by 6:200, 7A, and Gal. I 26 (p. 241:18).

497 7:200, 8A; Gal. I 27–29; Steph. I, xii.

498 7:202, 8A; Gal. I 30 ff.; Steph. I, xiii–xiv.

499 8:203, 8A; Gal. II 1–9; Steph. II, i–ii; followed by 9:204, 14A. In MS Gotha 1900, the second discourse begins here as well.

500 Arabic, *buzāq*. The Greek has ἀπὸ τῶν χενεώνων (from the flanks). Considering the poor quality of the text, the Arabic might echo a later passage where non-productive coughing is mentioned (8:204, 4 f. A; Gal. II 3 [p. 262:14 f.]; Steph. II, ii, p. 156:22 ff.).

501 9:205, 8A; Gal. II 10; followed by 10:205, 9A; Gal. II 11 f.; Steph. II, iii; followed by 11:206, 3A; Gal. II 13; Steph. II, iv.

502 11:206, 3A; Gal. II 14–25; Steph. II, iv cont'd.; followed by 11:206, 14A; followed by 11:207, 1A; Steph. II, v.



The eleventh instruction:<sup>503</sup> He gives information about healthy urine, then about urine when it is altered and about the kinds of sediments of the urine coming from the bladder.

The twelfth instruction:<sup>504</sup> In it he mentions vomiting and its reasons; and mucus and how it is coughed up, what its mixture is, and its color. He mentions sneezing in all illnesses that have to do with the lung, such as portends death, and such as foreshadows resolution of the illness.

The thirteenth instruction:<sup>505</sup> In it he describes expectoration in diseases of the lung and its color, together with the colors of expectorations. He also mentions in it the urine, the feces, and the perspiration and what | each one of them indicates. 1:118

The fourteenth instruction:<sup>506</sup> He mentions suppurating abscesses, the times at which they split open, and how [...].<sup>507</sup> He describes everything that is discharged from them and their occurrence in every human being.

The fifteenth instruction:<sup>508</sup> He mentions the abscesses that grow close to the ears, what produces that in the bodies of those who have lung diseases, and what the indications of that are like; also the abscesses that develop on the legs of those who have an illness, as well as the consequences that they incur.

The sixteenth instruction:<sup>509</sup> He mentions those bad pains that cause a loss of reason.<sup>510</sup> He also mentions fevers and their attendant circumstances on each of their days.

The seventeenth instruction:<sup>511</sup> He mentions prognosis in prolonged, grave, acute diseases. He mentions quartan fevers, the consequences that those afflicted with them incur because of them, and the days on which they occur. He mentions pains that occur in the temples and the forehead, as well as earache and the consequences that patients incur.

503 12:208, 4A; Gal. II 26–37; Steph. II, vi–vii.

504 13:210, 4A; Gal. II 38–49; Steph. II, viii; followed by 14:210, 12A; followed by 14:211, 8A.

505 14: 211, 13A; Gal. II 50–52; Steph. II, ix; followed by 15:212, 11A.

506 15:213, 14A; Gal. II 53–63; Steph. II, x.

507 Something apparently has fallen out of the text, although the MSS show no lacuna.

508 18:217, 4A; Gal. II 64–66; followed by 18:218, 5A; Gal. II 67 ff.; Steph. II, xi.

509 19:219, 6A; Gal. III 1 ff.; Steph. III, i; followed by 20:220, 10A. In MS Gotha 1900, this instruction still belongs to the second discourse.

510 Galen rejects this interpretation of ἡν τῶν φρενῶν ἀπτῶνται in III 1 (pp. 324:11–325:8), whereas Stephanus does mention mental disorder as a complication in the present context (238:9 f.).

511 20:220, 10A; Gal. III 6–19; Steph. III, i cont'd; followed by 20:220, 11A; followed by 21:222, 11 and 22:223, 6A.

The eighteenth instruction:<sup>512</sup> He mentions suffocating throat aches, redness in the neck and chest, expectoration,<sup>513</sup> and the signs of perishing that come over the patient because of this. He mentions the causes of a rasping throat and sores that occur [...]; and a painful ache in the joints. He mentions abscesses that break out in young people and something on the circumstances that attend on fever.

The nineteenth instruction:<sup>514</sup> In it he mentions fever and heartburn, and he mentioned the days in which the fever extends, together with the pains that occur during the fever.

The twentieth instruction:<sup>515</sup> He tells how anyone who wants to master prognosis should become acquainted with what is brought on by diseases that do not cease causing pain and how it can be known; as well as information  
1:119 about the elements,<sup>516</sup> symptoms, the parts | of the year, and the circumstances of countries.

These then are the instructions of the *Book of Prognostic* by Hippocrates.

As for his *Book of Airs, Times, Waters, and Cities*:<sup>517</sup> He gives information

512 23:224, 6A; Gal. III (20–)21–25; Steph. III, ii cont’d–iii; followed by 23:226, 3A; Gal. III 26 f.; followed by 24:227, 1 f. A; Gal. III 28; followed by 24:227, 2 f. A; Gal. III 29 ff.

513 Reading with M, *al-naft̥h*; emended in ed. Leiden to *al-thaq̥b* (lancing), corresponding to Greek ἀποσχεζέσθαι.

514 24:227, 14 f. A; Gal. III 35 ff.; Steph. III, iv.

515 25:230, 5A; Gal. III 42; Steph. III, v.

516 Arabic, *al-arkān*, lacks basis in the Greek. Stephanus’ sole reference to “elements”—remote, intermediate and proximate—as subjects of the Hippocratic work occurs in the introduction to his commentary (32:1–10). If the MS of Galen’s commentary on *Airs* is correct (see below for reference), in *Prognostic* Hippocrates speaks of “elements” (*ustuqussāt*) from which to derive prognosis (5:1 f.). Possibly a reader’s gloss was incorporated here into the text.

517 Fichtner, no. 2; for the Greek text and German translation, see Hans Diller, *Hippocratis De aere locis aquis* [henceforth: DIL]; for the Arabic, with English translation, see John N. Mattock and Malcolm C. Lyons, eds., *Kitāb Buqrāt̥ fī ‘l-amrād̥ al-bilād̥iyya* [henceforth: M & L]. Galen’s commentary, from which the Hippocratic text could be recovered, served as exemplar of the Arabic translation of *Airs*; see M & L, pp. xi, xxxv, and here below, notes, and especially p. xx (al-Ya’qūbī’s belated reference to Galen’s commentary might indicate the defective condition of his exemplar[s]). Galen’s work, lost in Greek, is extant in a unique Arabic manuscript (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ṭal’at, ṭibb 550) and in subsequent—abridged or fragmentary—Hebrew and Latin versions; see Abraham Wasserstein, *Galen’s commentary on the Hippocratic treatise Airs, Waters, Places in the Hebrew translation of Solomon ha-Me’ati*. A facsimile of the Cairo MS has been published by Fuat Sezgin et al. as *Galen’s commentary on the Hippocratic treatise On airs, waters, places* (Περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων) in *Arabic translation* [henceforth: Galen]. A critical edition is being prepared

on the diseases, both those that are peculiar (to a region) and those that are universal, those that are uniform and those that are diverse, which their inhabitants contract, with solid definitions and clear indications.<sup>518</sup>

The first chapter:<sup>519</sup> He says that whoever wishes to pursue medicine honestly<sup>520</sup> should first examine the seasons of the year and what occurs in them, as they do not resemble each other, but are contrary to each other, and they may also differ in their changing in themselves.<sup>521</sup>

The second chapter:<sup>522</sup> He says that in years when the seasons maintain their balance and normal states,<sup>523</sup> the illnesses that occur are caused by them<sup>524</sup>

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by Gotthard Strohmaier for *Corpus medicorum graecorum*; cf. Strohmaier, "Galen's not uncritical commentary on Hippocrates' *Airs, Waters, Places*," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 47 (2004):1–9.

518 This last qualifying phrase, which also appears in the Arabic of Palladius's commentary on *Aphorisms* (fol. 1b), indicates the derivation of the entire heading from an earlier editor or translator of Hippocratic works.

519 The numbering indicates that the Hippocratic lemmata have been reconstituted from Galen's commentary, where the actual beginning of *Airs* counts as the second chapter, following Galen's introduction. Overall, Galen groups lemmata together in chapters by subject, whereas al-Ya'qūbī's text counts each Hippocratic lemma as a new chapter. While al-Ya'qūbī's version is basically identical with M & L's "first," older, version (i), his chapter headings derive from an intermediary reworking; references are given here to both versions.

520 Arabic, *ṣādiqan*, may have originated by permutation from *qāṣidan*, the reading in M & L and Galen, which more accurately renders Greek ὁρθῶς (properly).

521 Arabic, *fī nqilābihā bi-dhātihā* (*bi-dhātihā fī nqilābihā*, Galen, p. 6:6). The likely meaning is that the seasons not only differ from each other, but within each season there may be sudden changes. The Greek is somewhat different, but ultimately means the same thing: "For the seasons are not at all alike, but differ widely both in themselves and at their changes." (Trans. Jones, *Hippocrates*, 1:71.)

522 Here Galen's commentary has intruded on the Hippocratic text; see M & L, pp. xi, 2. Evidently, in al-Ya'qūbī's exemplar Galen's express attribution of *Aph.* 111 8 to Hippocrates (p. 7:8–11) was taken to refer to *Airs* instead. The Arabic version owes much to Galen's periphrastic explanation of this as well as the following aphorism (ed. Kühn, xvii B, pp. 575 f.). Considering the precision of Hunayn's wording in *Aph.* 111 8 (*apud* Ibn an-Nafīs, p. 223), it seems impossible to attribute al-Ya'qūbī's rendering to him as well.

523 Arabic, *marājī'ihā* (pl. of *marjī'*, the place or state to which something returns); but perhaps a miscopying (by addition of one letter) of *mizājihā* (their temperament); M & L, 31/6; Galen, p. 7:9.

524 The text is uncertain. The translation follows the apparent reading of M and C: *takūnu sababahā* (they [viz. the seasons] are their cause). The Leiden editor emended *sababahā* to *shabīhan* (similar), which is grammatically impossible.

and develop regularly, not contrariwise or doubtfully,<sup>525</sup> but in seasons with frequent changes, illnesses occur unequally and irregularly, and their resolution is difficult and intractable.

The third chapter:<sup>526</sup> He says that in hot and cold winds that are general, bodies are subject to alteration.

The fourth chapter: He says that the physician should think about the virtues of waters, as they are different in taste and weight, and differ greatly in virtue.

The fifth chapter:<sup>527</sup> He speaks about waters and what they are like, whether stagnant and soft, hard and flowing from rocky heights, or brackish and slow in coction.<sup>528</sup>

The sixth chapter: He says that the physician should think about the terrain, whether it is bare and arid, wooded and well-watered, depressed and stifling, or elevated and cold.<sup>529</sup>

1:120 The seventh chapter:<sup>530</sup> He said that he should keep in mind the diet of the people: in what things they delight, whether in much drink and food and love of ease, or in love of work and of food; he should examine | every one of these things in each country.

The eighth chapter:<sup>531</sup> He said that if any part of the season and the year passes, the physician will be expert in every common illness [that occurs to the people of the given city in winter and in summer, and in every particular illness] that occurs to everyone of its people due to changes in their diet.<sup>532</sup>

525 Arabic, *mushabbaha* (l. *mushtabiha*?) for *mutabayyina* (distinct); M & L, 3:2.

526 In the Galen MS (p. 8:9 f.), this lemma goes unmarked; al-Ya'qūbī omits its last qualification, "(general and) peculiar to a country" (M & L, 5:1/9).

527 One lemma has been omitted before this one (DIL, 1,9–13/24:10–15; M & L, 5:5–7:3; Galen, p. 9:8–13).

528 M reads, *māliḥa raṭibat al-naḍj* (salty, moist of coction). The translation emends *raṭibat* (moist) to *baṭīyyat* (slow) on the basis of Hippocrates and Galen (M & L, 7:5 ff., and Galen, p. 10:1–5).

529 The translation "depressed and stifling" follows a conjectural restoration (*aw kānat ghā'ira ghamīma*) based on Galen, p. 10:3f (cf. M & L, 7:7 ff.). The Arabic version in M & L expresses a series of contrasts, expressed as "if it is AB or CD; or if it is EF or GH." In MS C of al-Ya'qūbī, the pair EF has been corrupted to *aw 'āmira aw 'āmira* (or populated/cultivated or populated/cultivated), which gives no sense. MS M apparently reads *ghā'ira* (sunk/depressed). The original reading may have been *ghā'ira ḥarra* (depressed [and] hot).

530 M & L, 7:9/16–9:3/11; Galen, 11:1 ff.

531 M & L, 11:5–8; Galen, 11:6 ff. Al-Ya'qūbī skips the lemma preceding this one (DIL, 2,1–7/26:5–10; M & L, 9:4/12–11:4/12; Galen, p. 11:5–11).

532 The bracketed material has been restored on the basis of M & L. Note that al-Ya'qūbī's exemplar agrees with M & L's version *i* against *ii*.

The ninth chapter:<sup>533</sup> He said that when illnesses do not come from corruption of the air, (illness) will not settle on the inhabitants of a given city altogether but will be sporadic.<sup>534</sup> When the physician thinks about this kind of matter and these things and gains adequate knowledge of how the seasons are going to be, his knowledge will likely be correct, for the science of the stars is no small part of the science of medicine.<sup>535</sup>

As for his *Book of Airs and Countries*, it is a description of the countries, their waters and their properties.<sup>536</sup>

The first discourse<sup>537</sup> is on cities, of which there are four kinds: the first is in the direction of the equator,<sup>538</sup> the second in the direction of the Farqadān,<sup>539</sup> the third faces the sunrise, and the fourth faces the sunset. Concerning the first he said:<sup>540</sup> Every city situated facing the hot winds—those between the winter sunrise and its sunset<sup>541</sup>—they blow towards it constantly, whereas it is [sheltered] as against the Farqadān.<sup>542</sup> The waters of such a city are copious

533 M & L, 13:1/10–15:1/10; Galen, 12:6–13.

534 Again by carelessness, a Hippocratic reference (*De diaeta in morbis acutis*, 2:14) from Galen's commentary has been incorporated into the text of *Airs*.

535 Al-Ya'qūbī's text only roughly approximates the Greek; cf. DIL, 2,10–15/26:13–17, 26:18 f., as well as M & L, 13:9 f./17 f.

536 This renewed introduction of *Airs* must have derived from a reader's gloss copied into the text; note the variant title, especially *al-buldān* (countries) for *al-amṣār* (cities). The reference to content also points to the opening paragraph of a recension depending on Galen's commentary, which is divided into four discourses (*maqālāt*, see Galen, pp. 2:2, 35:2, 62:10, 95:2).

537 The numbering reflects a different exemplar than in the preceding section.

538 That is, south in the northern hemisphere.

539 That is, the north. Al-Farqadān (The Two Calves) is the Arabic name for the stars that form the end of the bowl of the Little Dipper; their Arabic-derived English names are Pherkad (γ Ursae Minoris) and Kochab (β Ursae Minoris).

540 DIL, 3,2/26:23; M & L, 15:3/11; Galen, p. 13:3.

541 Since in the northern hemisphere the sun rises and sets in winter to the south of due east and due west, this is a way of designating winds that blow from the south. In the Mediterranean, these would be hot winds coming from Africa.

542 The English follows Houtsma's emendation of *al-istiwā'* (the equator) to *al-shatwī* (wintry) and addition of *al-shams* (the sun), to agree with the Greek text. However, the text can be translated without emendation: "midway between the rising of the equinox and its setting," i.e., midway between the sun's equinoctial rising and its setting. Unfortunately, this applies equally to due north and to due south, and so Houtsma's emendation is probably justified. On the other hand, both M & L and Galen read *al-istiwā'*, which suggests an even earlier corruption; see Diller, 26:24 f. + app. For Houtsma's addition of *fi kinn* or *mastūra*, cf. 15:4 f./12 f., and M & L, app.; Galen, p. 13:2–5.

and hot;<sup>543</sup> they become warm in summer and cool in winter. The heads of the inhabitants of such a city are moist and phlegmatic; their innards evacuate copiously and continually. The women of these people<sup>544</sup> are constantly ill and sickly on account of their copious menstruation, and they do not conceive,<sup>545</sup> not because of their natural disposition, but because of their illnesses; but if they do become pregnant, they miscarry in most cases. [Their children]<sup>546</sup> are afflicted with tetanus, asthma, and the [sacred] disease.<sup>547</sup> Their men are subject to diarrhea, bloody dysentery, the illness that is called ague,<sup>548</sup> prolonged fever in winter and at night,<sup>549</sup> and hemorrhoids in the anus. They are also sub-  
 1:121 ject | to blazing fever, acute illnesses, and prolonged ophthalmia. When they reach fifty, they become subject to fluxes from the brain, and this brings on hemiplegia, which occurs in all countries.

The city that is toward the north wind: He said:<sup>550</sup> Every city situated facing the direction of the cold winds, namely what is near the direction of the summer sunrise and sunset,<sup>551</sup> these winds are its endemic winds, whereas it

543 Sic. The Greek has ὑφαλα (brackish).

544 Reading with M, *wa-nisā' hā'ulā'i l-nās*.

545 Emending MS *lā yusqīna* (they do not miscarry), as suggested by Houtsma, to *lā yaḥbalna*. MS *yusqīna* may well be a misreading of *yashtamilna*, M & L, 17:6 (*yaslamna*, *ibid.* 15, and Galen, p. 16:2, obviously also misread).

546 As M stands, the sentence makes grammatical sense: “and tetanus, asthma, and the disease affect them” (viz., the women, with the pronoun “them” being feminine plural). The translation follows the emendation proposed in ed. Leiden on the basis of the Greek (M & L, 17:8f./17f.; Galen, p. 17:7f; see DIL, 3,16f./28:10 ff.), adding the words for “as for their children” and changing the gender of the pronoun.

547 The addition of “sacred” has been made on the same basis; the Hippocratic author’s skepticism about such popular notions about epilepsy has been lost in the Arabic. On the Hippocratic monograph *Περὶ Ἱερῆς Νούσου* (On the Sacred Disease), see Fichtner, no. 32.

548 The Arabic transliterates the Greek term ἡπιάλος (M & L, 20, n. 2).

549 The Arabic, *wa-laylīyya* (and nocturnal, or, and at night) is due to the translator’s misconstruing Greek ἐπινυκτίδας as an attribute of “fevers,” rather than as a separate syndrome (“pustules most painful at night”).

550 DIL, 4/28:24; M & L, 21:9/17; Galen, p. 20:5. This introductory sentence again confirms the derivation of al-Ya’qūbī’s exemplar from a commentary, rather than from the Hippocratic text directly.

551 Emending MSS *wa-l-qutbayn* (and the poles) to *al-qayzīyyayn*, on the basis of the Greek (“between the summer setting and the summer rising of the sun”); cf. M & L, 23:1; Galen, p. 20:6; and DIL, 4:2/28:25f. Since in the northern hemisphere the sun rises and sets in summer to the north of due east and due west, this is a way of designating winds that blow from the north.

is protected from the hot winds. Its waters are hard,<sup>552</sup> slow in coction, and mostly sweet. Most of the inhabitants of this city are strong and powerful; their legs<sup>553</sup> necessarily tend toward thinness; their abdomens are firm;<sup>554</sup> their heads hard, dry, and tough; and they develop hernia. Their ailments are pleurisy, acute diseases, and copious purulence. Their veins are liable to tear. They eat much. They are not quickly subject to ophthalmia, but if they do fall ill with it, their eyes rupture. When they reach the age of thirty, they are much afflicted by nosebleed. They are not subject to the sacred diseases,<sup>555</sup> but if they do occur, they are severe. Their lives are long, and their dispositions wild, neither sedate nor quiet. Their women are liable to be sterile because of the water's coldness and hardness, and that is because menstruation often is not as it should be. When they do conceive, childbirth is difficult for them, but they do not miscarry. Their children's nourishment is meager because of the milk's frigidity, and they<sup>556</sup> are subject to tetanus and lung pain.<sup>557</sup> Boys are subject to dropsy in the testicles, but when they grow up it disappears. They are slow to reach puberty.

The city situated toward the winds from the place of summer and winter sunrise:<sup>558</sup> Hippocrates said: Every city situated toward the rising of the sun is healthier than one situated toward the Farqadān<sup>559</sup> or one situated | toward the hot winds; the heat and the cold are less there and easier to bear, and the illnesses of its people are few. Water sources that face the direction of sunrise are bright, luminous, pure, of fragrant odor, and soft, because the air there is not thick, and the sun prevents it from becoming thick.<sup>560</sup> The appearance of the city's inhabitants is of good coloring, luminous, and bright; their men's voices are clear and sharp; and they [do not] become angry quickly.<sup>561</sup> Its plants

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552 Arabic, *yābisa*, which normally means "dry," can also mean "hard," which would agree with the Greek σκληρά.

553 An addition from Galen's commentary; see DIL, 4,6/30:4; M & L, 23:7/13 f.; Galen, p. 22:7,9.

554 Another case of abridgment: M & L, 23:8 f./15, and Galen, p. 22:13 f., preserve the differentiation of lower and upper abdomen (DIL, 4,7 f./30:5 f.).

555 Arabic, *al-asqām al-kāhiniyya* (the priestly diseases, i.e., epilepsy) is an attempt to render Greek τὰ ἱερὰ νοσεύματα.

556 That is, the women, as the gender of the Arabic pronoun makes clear.

557 An unspecific translation of φθίσις (consumption).

558 That is, winds that come from the general direction of the east, whether from the northeast, east, or southeast. For the Greek, see DIL, 5/32:6; M & L, 35:2/10; Galen, p. 28:8.

559 That is, the north.

560 This may mean that exposure to the morning sun quickly burns off any mist.

561 Another case of omitted negation, shared with Hippocrates MS D; see M & L, 39:2/11 f.; Galen, p. 30:5.

and grasses are stronger and healthier. In its nature and shape it resembles the season of spring in slightness of heat and cold. Its illnesses are few and mild, and its women conceive often and give birth without difficulty.

The fourth city, which faces the sunset, is sheltered from easterly winds, but hot winds and cold winds blow towards it from the direction of the Far-qadān.<sup>562</sup> It therefore has many diseases. Its waters are neither clean nor clear; the reason for this is the air at dawn, because the dawns of this city are very prolonged, the sun not shining there at its first rising, but only when it reaches a certain elevation and height. Cold winds blow there in summer. Its men are sallow and sickly, subject to every manner of disease,<sup>563</sup> and their voices are hoarse. Their daytime in the days of autumn is noxious because of its much changing.<sup>564</sup>

This is the first chapter, on the four (kinds of) cities.

The second discourse is on waters, which are of four kinds.<sup>565</sup> The first of them are stagnant waters like marshes,<sup>566</sup> which do not flow; the second are upwelling springs; the third are waters that come from rain, and the fourth waters that come from snow. Hippocrates said:<sup>567</sup> Exposed bodies of water,  
 1:123 level with the face of the earth, which | do not flow, while the rains that fall on them remain with them and do not move, and the sun continually shines on them and heats them—such waters therefore are noxious and colorless<sup>568</sup> and generate bile. In winter they are cold, frozen, turbid, phlegmatic; they bestow hoarseness and inflammation of the spleen on those who drink from them. Their innards are coarse and cause their clavicles and faces to become lean and emaciated.<sup>569</sup> Such people eat a great deal, and it raises their thirst and craving for drink. Disease attends on them in winter and spring; in summer

562 DIL, 6/32:25; M & L, 41:4/12; Galen, p. 32:5.

563 Following the apparent, partially vocalized reading of M, *ta'tarīhim al-amrād kulluhā*; ed. Leiden conjectures *taḍīru bihim* (all the diseases harm them), which involves somewhat unidiomatic construction of this Arabic verb with a preposition.

564 The sense of the Greek is that in such cities there is an unhealthy difference between the morning and afternoon weather.

565 The reference to a fourfold division is from Galen's commentary, see p. 35:10 f.

566 Arabic, *lā-baṭā'iḥ*: the word used to designate the marshes of the lower Tigris-Euphrates system.

567 DIL, 34:19; M & L, 47:6/13; Galen, p. 36:4.

568 Arabic, *lā lawna lahā*: a mistranslation of Greek ἄχροα, which here means “ill-colored,” not “uncolored.”

569 The manuscript *t.n.fḥ.hā* gives little sense; the best solution is to assume that two letters have been transposed and read *tunihfuhā* (emaciates them).



they are subject to dropsy, dysentery, and prolonged chronic quartan fever. Their young people are subject to lung pains<sup>570</sup> and ailments that addle their minds.<sup>571</sup> The old men are subject to ardent fever, which is called<sup>572</sup> “burning,” due to the dryness<sup>573</sup> of their innards. Their women are subject to various kinds of swellings on account of white phlegm; it is hard for them to conceive, and they give birth only with difficulty. Their children are big,<sup>574</sup> but when they are weaned,<sup>575</sup> they lose weight and become thin. The young children are subject to hernia, and the men to sickness and ulcers in their legs.<sup>576</sup> Lifespans are not long in such a city, and old age overcomes them quickly in the course of the seasons.<sup>577</sup> Women sometimes are affected by what they imagine to be pregnancy, but then it comes to naught.

The water of springs that flow from certain rocks is bad because it is hard.<sup>578</sup> Springs that well up from hot ground and from ground with deposits of iron, copper, silver, gold, sulphur, alum, pitch, or natron all well up only because of the intensity | of the heat; and so there are no beneficial and salubrious waters from these soils: most of them are hard, and from them and their consumption come difficulty of urination and constipation. Waters that flow from high places and earthy hills are the best and healthiest waters. They are sweet<sup>579</sup> and do not require much admixture of wine; in winter they are hot, and in summer cold.

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570 The Greek has περιπνευμονίαι (pneumonia).

571 Arabic, *asqām tukhaththiru ‘uqūlahum* (ailments that coagulate their minds) renders Greek πανιώδεια νοσήματα (illnesses attended by delirium).

572 Sic M, *tadullu ‘alā*, but the reading is probably corrupt. The translation follows the reading of M & L, 53:7, *tud’ā* ... (which is called ...).

573 Or, “hardness,” Arabic *yubs*.

574 That is, at birth. The Greek has ἔμβρυα, translated more accurately in M & L, 55:2/10, as *ajinnatuhunna*.

575 Arabic, *‘uzilū*; apparently corrupted from *ghudhū*, “are fed”; cf. M & L, 55:2/11.

576 Arabic, *saqam wa-qurūḥ fi sūqihim*. As the text stands, this looks like a hendiadys for “an ulcerating sickness in their legs,” but it may have been corrupted from the reading preserved in M & L, 55:4 f./12 f.: “the ailment that is called *qirsūs*”—i.e., varicose veins, from Greek κίρσος (cf. DIL, 7,30/36:18).

577 The Arabic *fi ḍimni l-azmān* (in the inside of the seasons) is awkward; *ḍ.m.n* could easily have arisen from a misreading of *mamarr* (passage, cf. M & L 55:7/16), giving better sense, as translated here. The Greek has “they age before the appointed time” (DIL, 7,31 f./36:20).

578 DIL, 7,35/36:24; M & L, 57:6/14; Galen, p. 43:–9. Read *hāsiya* (M. *hāshiya*).

579 Emending MSS *hārra* (hot) to *hulwa* (sweet) as suggested by ed. Leiden, following the Greek (M & L, 59:14; Galen, p. 45:10).

Such is the condition of the waters that flow from underground springs. The best of them are those that flow from the horizon of the sun,<sup>580</sup> especially the summer sunrise, as they are limpid, bright, and fragrant. Any water that is salty, slow of coction, and hard is not beneficial to those who drink of it without need, although some constitutions and ailments sometimes have benefited from it. Any waters whose taste tends to salinity are bad and noxious. The water of any spring that faces the sunrise is best; next come those springs that come up from between the horizon of the summer sunrise and summer sunset—the most excellent of them are those which are inclined toward the sunrise, then (those) toward (what is) between the winter and summer sunsets. The worst are such springs as are in the direction of the south. As for such springs as descend toward the horizon of winter sunrise and winter sunset: those of them which are in the direction of the south are very bad, but those of them which are in the direction of the north are better. Light, clear waters are beneficial to anyone who has hard viscera, but harmful to anyone who has soft, supple, and phlegmatic viscera. [... Anyone who maintains] that saline waters loosen the bowels has erred.<sup>581</sup>

1:125 Rainwater is light and sweet. The sun | carries off the finer, lighter parts of the water and causes the water to ascend from rivers, seas, and humid places.<sup>582</sup> Rainwater therefore becomes foul and malodorous because it has been gathered by diverse winds,<sup>583</sup> and so it has become quicker to turn foul and altered. For the moisture that the sun dries up is of sundry kinds; it remains suspended in the air, but when all of it is gathered and rolled together by opposing winds meeting head-on, it then pours down, especially when the

580 Arabic, *min ufuq al-shams*; this might mean “from the direction of the sun,” or perhaps one should read *min ufuq [sharq] al-shams* (from the horizon of the rising of the sun), as M & L, 61:1/10; Galen, p. 46:9.

581 A sentence has apparently been omitted. The Greek points out that because “harsh waters ... contract most of these organs and dry them up,” they are appropriate for those who have “soft, moist, and phlegmatic digestive organs.” Hippocrates notes that this contradicts the common belief about saline waters being “laxative.” See M & L, 67:2 f./10 ff.; Galen, p. 50:3 ff and p. 51:7 f; and DIL, 7,62–72 /38:22–40:6.

582 DIL, 8,2/40:8; M & L, 69:3/10; Galen, p. 52:8 f.

583 Arabic, *riyāḥ*. One is tempted to emend the MSS reading to something meaning “places” (e.g., *mawāḍiʿ*, as in the previous sentence). Although this would be logical, the reading “winds” seems to have arisen from al-Yaʿqūbī’s abbreviation of his source, which goes on to discuss how a variety of contrary winds differentiate the sublimated mist. Cf. M & L, 71:7/16; Galen, p. 54:8; and DIL, 8,19/40:24 f.

proportion<sup>584</sup> is as it should be. Most often this happens when a gathering of clouds, having solidified, is met and rent by another wind and when another cloud presses upon the first cloud and cuts it; the moisture then descends because of its weight, the winds rend it,<sup>585</sup> and copious<sup>586</sup> rains result. Such waters are the most excellent of waters, except that<sup>587</sup> they are liable to have a bad odor and that whoever drinks of them is subject to hoarseness, coughing, and heaviness of voice. Moreover, when they are boiled, boiling does not benefit them at all.<sup>588</sup>

As for waters that come from snow and ice:<sup>589</sup> all of them are bad, for once they have been frozen, they do not return to their first nature: whatever in the water is light, sweet, pure, and clean escapes from freezing and flies away,<sup>590</sup> and whatever is murky remains unaffected. This is known by the following: If water be poured into a vessel in the days of winter, measured to a known measure, and set under the sky, it will freeze. If it then be set in the sun until it melts, and that water be measured, it will be found to have diminished noticeably. That is the sign that the fine part of water evaporates and does not undergo freezing and that [the coarse part] does not evaporate and does not depart.<sup>591</sup> Thus the water of snow [and ice]<sup>592</sup> is the worst of waters.

When people drink diverse waters,<sup>593</sup> they are subject to strangury, stones in the bladder, pain in the loins, pain | in the haunches, and hernia in the testicles, especially when they drink water from rivers that are fed by large rivers or by a

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584 Arabic, *muqāyasa* (measurement, proportion). One is tempted to emend to *manāfis* (air passages), as in M & L, 75:1/10, Galen, p. 55:7, but the Arabic deviates from the Greek: “where it happens to become most compressed” (cf. M & L, 76, n.; DIL, 8,28/42:6 f.).

585 The sentence has been tentatively restored on the basis of the two versions and annotation in M & L, 75:4 ff./13 ff. and 76, n. 6.

586 Arabic, *sābigha*, may be a corruption of *mutatābi’a* (successive), as in M & L, 75:6/15; Galen p. 55:3; cf. DIL, 8,34/42:12 DIL.

587 Here the loss of a negation and abridgment have again reversed the intended meaning; such waters should not be foul-smelling, but if they exceptionally are, the named disorders ensue; see M & L, 75:8 ff./16 ff.; Galen, p. 56:7 ff; and cf. DIL, 8,34–37/42:12 ff.

588 This sentence, also in 77:1 f./11 M & L, is a dittography of the first in Galen’s following commentary, p. 56:4 f.; cf. M & L, 78, n. 1; and DIL, 8,36 f./42:14.

589 DIL, 8,37/42:15; M & L, 77:5/12; Galen, p. 57:8.

590 Emending *tāba* (is/becomes fragrant) to *tāra*, as suggested by the Leiden editor; cf. M & L, 77:8.

591 The lacuna is supplied from M & L, 79:6/14.

592 Restored on the basis of M & L, 79:8/16.

593 DIL, 9,2/44:4; M & L, 81:2/9; Galen, p. 58:9.

lake into which various and sundry streams feed, because some of it is sweet, some saline, some alum-laden,<sup>594</sup> and part is water of a stream from hot places. When it is drunk, ailments occur.<sup>595</sup> Bad milk generates stones in the bladders of nursing infants, whereas women are not afflicted by stones because their urethra is wide.

The third discourse<sup>596</sup> is on the seasons: when they are unwholesome or wholesome. Hippocrates said:<sup>597</sup> If the rising and setting<sup>598</sup> of the stars is as it should be, and there is much water in the autumn and little in winter, with the sunshine not being (too) much or the cold above measure, so that their waters are balanced in the spring and in the summer, they (viz., the seasons) are wholesome and salubrious, and the air is salubrious, too. But when the winter is dry and northerly, and the spring very rainy and southerly, people in summer will be subject to fever,<sup>599</sup> ophthalmia, and, anyone with a humid disposition, dysentery. However, when at the time of the rising of the star called “the Dog,” which is Sirius, there is much rain and wintry weather and the winds blow according to their asterisms,<sup>600</sup> they will ward off ailments, and it may be hoped that the autumn will be salubrious. But if that is not the case, there will be death among children and women, but rarely among old men; whoever escapes, will be subject to quartan fever, which sometimes will turn into dropsy. When the winter is southerly and rainy, and the spring dry and northerly, pregnant women will miscarry in the springtime; if they do give birth, 1:127 their children will be sickly, either dying | in short order or living feebly. As for everyone else, some will be subject to dysentery and dry ophthalmia, and some to fluxes from the head to the lung. Phlegmatics and women will be subject to dysentery. The bilious [...], while the elderly]<sup>601</sup> will be subject to fluxes because

594 Emending *al-shatwī* (wintry) to *al-shabbī*, following ed. Leiden; cf. M & L, 83:2/9; Galen, p. 58:8; DIL, 9,8/44:10.

595 Severe cutting has taken place here (cf. M & L, 85:2/11–89:3/11), and the conclusion of the paragraph is similarly abrupt (ibid. 89:4/12–91:5/14).

596 M & L, 91:6; Galen, p. 62.

597 DIL, 10:2/46:18; M & L, 93:1/11; Galen, p. 67:7.

598 Emending *ghayruhā* (other than it/them) to *ghuyūbuhā*, as in M & L, 93:1/11, Galen, p. 68:8.

599 Emending *al-ḥarr* (the heat) to *al-ḥummā*; cf. M & L, 93:9/17.

600 Arabic, *alā anwā'ihā* (according to their *anwā'*), that is, seasonably. The Arabs divided the year into twenty-eight periods (*anwā'*, pl. of *naw'*), each marked by a pair of stars, one of which made its first appearance as a morning star in the east at the beginning of the period, while the other made its last appearance as an evening star at the same time.

601 For the lacuna, see M & L, 101:2 ff./9–12, where the missing text reads: “Those that are

of the tenuousness of their skin and the withering of their nerves;<sup>602</sup> sometimes they will die suddenly, and sometimes their right side will become palsied.<sup>603</sup>

Such cities as face the sunrise, whose winds are wholesome and waters sweet,<sup>604</sup> are rarely harmed by alteration of the air; but every city whose people drink warm<sup>605</sup> swamp water, that is not situated toward the east, and whose winds are not wholesome—its people will be harmed by alteration of the air. If the summer is dry generally, diseases will depart quickly; if it is rainy, diseases will last long; if someone gets an ulcer in these ailments, or lientery,<sup>606</sup> or dropsy, he will perish. When summer is rainy and southerly, and the autumn likewise, the winter will be dry and unhealthy; phlegmatics and old men of forty years will come down with a fever called *al-qawsūs*,<sup>607</sup> cholericus will come down with pleurisy and pneumonia. When the summer is dry and southerly and the autumn rainy and northerly, people (in winter) will be subject to [head]<sup>608</sup> pain, cough, hoarseness, and colds, and some of them to consumption. When the summer is dry and northerly, and there is no rain at the rise of Sirius, it benefits phlegmatics and those of humid disposition, but it harms the bilious and sometimes brings them to melancholy.

Much change comes about at the turning of the sun: the summer turning brings more change than | the winter one, and the autumnal turning brings 1:128 more change than the spring one.<sup>609</sup>

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bilious [will] suffer from dry ophthalmia, because their bodies are overcome by heat and dryness. The elderly ...”

602 The Greek refers to veins, rather than sinews. Cf. M & L, 101:4/23; Galen, p. 81:10 ff.; DIL, 10,36/50:2.

603 Literally “dry up”; see M & L, 102, n. 4; DIL, 10,37/50:3.

604 The manuscripts read *ghā’ira* (sinking into the ground), which makes no sense. The Greek speaks of “cities that use good waters.” The translation emends to ‘*adhbatan*’; cf. M & L, 103:5/13.

605 Arabic, *sākhinan*; perhaps to be emended to *sibākhiyyan* (from salt marshes); cf. M & L, as 103:7/15.

606 Understand [*istirkhā’*] *al-baṭn* ([looseness of] the belly), as M & L, 105:6/15; cf. Galen, p. 83: -4f; DIL, 10,51/50:16.

607 The sentence can be restored on the basis of M & L, 105:9/18–107:3/12 and Galen, p. 84: -6 ff.; cf. DIL, 10,53–56/50:18 ff. The transliterated Greek term *καῦσος* means “ardent/burning fever.”

608 Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the Greek; cf. M & L, 107:7/15.

609 For this paragraph, cf. DIL, 11,5/52:19; M & L, 113:2/8; Galen, p. 91:6. *Taşarruf* (turning) appears to comprise both solstice and equinox; the MSS have an otiose second *al-shatawī* (winter) which, if not merely an instance of dittography, may have originally read *al-istiwā’ī* (equinoctial); see DIL, 52:20 + app.

Every country whose seasons change a great deal will not be flat; in it there will be tall, high, towering mountains. But every country whose seasons change only a little will be flat.<sup>610</sup>

Hippocrates then mentions people's differing forms with regard to their states and the equilibrium of their constitution and the reason why some resemble others; it is by agreement with the season and the rising places (of the sun). He mentions the state of men and women with regard to the multitude or fewness of their children, what causes procreation, and what blocks it.<sup>611</sup>

They say that the inhabitants of high, level, well-watered places will have pleasing forms and stout bodies, their dispositions will tend toward mildness and gentleness, and they will not be people of boldness and courage.<sup>612</sup> Whoever inhabits a poor, arid, infertile country where the temperament of the air is not well-balanced will have hard<sup>613</sup> forms, their coloring will tend toward sallowness or to blackness, their dispositions will be bad, their anger intense, and their natures will be at variance with each other; for by difference of seasons comes difference of dispositions, and, after the seasons in the lands, comes sustenance by waters, because man's sustenance, after the lands, comes from them.<sup>614</sup>

After that, Hippocrates discusses the winds and their blowing and those that blow from place to place, dividing them into four divisions. He says that wind is caused by air getting whirled about; its arising comes only from a collision of particles of air.<sup>615</sup>

610 Cf. DIL, 13,6/56:19; M & L, 123:13; Galen, p. 103:8. This sentence, probably a marginal correction in the exemplar, was mistakenly entered here instead of in its proper place further on, but in al-Ya'qūbī's exemplar, the entire fourth discourse of Galen's commentary, covering sections 12–24 of *Airs*, appears to have been severely damaged and disordered.

611 The paragraph summarizes most of Galen's fourth discourse (DIL, 54–78; M & L, 117–157; Galen, pp. 95–143).

612 DIL, 24,21/80:5; M & L, 157:8; Galen, p. 143:3.

613 Arabic, *jāsiya* (hard, dry, solid), the reading of the MSS; ed. Leiden emends unnecessarily to *khāshina* (harsh, rough, coarse).

614 This is the apparent sense of the text in the MSS. On the basis of DIL, 24,27–33/80:11–82:1; M & L, 159:5–10; and Galen, pp. 143:1 ff, 146:2 ff, one can restore the text provisionally to read: "For by difference of seasons comes difference of dispositions; then, after the seasons, it comes by (difference of) lands, because man's sustenance comes from them; and, after (difference of lands), it comes by (difference of) waters."

615 Galen's detailed appendix at the end of his commentary, p. 150 ff., is here reduced to a single sentence, corresponding to p. 152:8 f.; its logical place would seem to be at the end of the "second chapter" of the first discourse (p. 91), where Galen's commentary is omitted (cf. also p. 29, where a blank has been left for the intended diagram). Al-Ya'qūbī's next

These are the subjects of Hippocrates' *Book of Airs and Seasons*, on which Galen wrote a commentary; he explicated what Hippocrates meant section by section and point by point.

These then are those of Hippocrates's books that are relied upon and | 1:129 referred to, and these are their subjects.<sup>616</sup> Galen wrote commentaries on them and explicated everything to which he devoted a section and opinion that he held; he clarified his words and interpreted and elucidated his ideas.

As for the *Book of Barley Water*:<sup>617</sup> In it he mentions the acute diseases that are called pain of the side and of the lung,<sup>618</sup> frenzy,<sup>619</sup> and burning fever. He told how barley water was to be taken, the days on which it was to be taken, how it was to be administered, the times at which it should be taken, the times at which it was prohibited, and what diet should go with it. He also mentioned the kinds<sup>620</sup> of acute illnesses and burning diseases and discussed every type of them.

As for his book which he names the *Book of Elements*:<sup>621</sup> The meaning of "elements"—the four natures—is heat, wetness, cold, and dryness, as well as the "elements" of the body,<sup>622</sup> namely nerves, veins, bones, skin, and

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sentence is more difficult to situate; a single Hippocratic parallel has been found in "On Winds" (*De flatibus*): "Wind is the air's flux and flow" (*Œuvres Complètes d'Hippocrate*, ed. Littré, 3,6/VI 94:4).

616 This paragraph should follow the next, since *Barley Water* completes the above-mentioned tetralogy of essential Hippocratic treatises.

617 Fichtner, no. 4; for an Arabic version with English translation, see M. C. Lyons, *Kitāb Buqrāt fī tadbīr al-amrāq al-ḥādda*. The title indicates the prominence of barley gruel in the first section, whereas the following two genuine sections discuss various other treatments of acute diseases. Al-Ya'qūbī gives a summary of the first section only, although his "types of acute diseases" might reflect subsequent chapters.

618 That is, pleurisy and pneumonia.

619 Arabic, *bīrsām*, like "frenzy," initially referred to an affection of the diaphragm and then the chest, either of which was thought to entail mental derangement.

620 The original reading of M appears to have been *ḍurūban* (kinds). A later hand (or the same copyist) has corrected the reading by changing the "b" into an "f," apparently to give the reading *ṣunūfan* (types), the plural of the word *ṣinf* that occurs in the next line, but neglected to remove the dot of the "b" or change the beginning of the word, yielding the strange reading *surūfan*, which Houtsma emended to *ṣunūfan*.

621 Arabic, *Kitāb al-Arkān*: Fichtner, no. 25; edited and translated by J. N. Mattock & M. C. Lyons as *Kitāb Buqrāt fī ṭabī'at al-insān*.

622 The title "Elements," as well as the precedence given to the notion of the four elemental qualities (although fundamental to this treatise) would seem to derive, rather than from the Hippocratic text itself, from Galen's commentary (Fichtner, *Gal.*, no. 90; Johannes

blood.<sup>623</sup> By these elements the world subsists. Hippocrates said that if bodies were a single thing, pains would never reach them; however, they consist of diverse things and separate natures some of which are harmful to others.<sup>624</sup> Since the nature of man and the other animals turns out to be of this description, by necessity man cannot be a single thing in himself. Similarly, only by wetness, dryness, heat, and cold do the other natures subsist.<sup>625</sup> He discourses on this in lucid language.

Hippocrates had disciples who interpreted his books; some of them produced books and attributed them to him in acknowledgment of his learning and merit. One of them was Dioscorides, the author of the *Book of Trees and Herbs*.<sup>626</sup> He composed a book on the benefits of trees, illustrated each tree with a picture, and mentioned what the tree was good for. Another of them was Archigenes, the author of the *Compendium*, which contains a description of the body.<sup>627</sup>

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Mewaldt, ed., *Galenī In Hippocratis De natura hominis commentaria III*). In Galen's introduction, his opening citation of Hippocratic "elements" (p. 3:4) may have been misconstrued as reference to the present text; then, after an historical review of natural philosophy including reference to the four elements air, fire, earth and water (p. 6:1 f.), Galen succinctly states the subject of the first part of *On the Nature of Man* to be the four elemental qualities together with the humors composed of them. In the Hippocratic text itself, not only is human "nature" mentioned in the very opening sentence, but air, fire, water, earth figure in the introductory argument against the "monism" of natural philosophers; blood, bile, and phlegm recur frequently after their first mention in rebutting the author's medical opponents (M & L, 1:4, 6 f., 15 ff., 2:15 f.; cf. 1:1, 3 f., 11 f.; 2:1 ff., Jacques Jouanna, *Hippocratis De natura hominis*, 164:3–6, 13, 166:12 ff.).

623 One would expect a reference here to the four humors (blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm; cf. M & L, 3:2 ff.; Jouanna, 2,4–8/166:15–168:2; Mewaldt, 20:4–19; cf. also M & L, 6:1 ff.; Jouanna, 4,1 ff./172:13 f.; Mewaldt, 32:10 ff.). The text as it stands may have resulted from the intrusion of a marginal gloss intended to restore a lacuna (cf. Mewaldt, 30:1–9).

624 Accepting the Leiden editor's correction of *wa-ṭabī'a musā'ida muḍirr ba'ḍuhā bi-ba'ḍ*. Because the meaning of the MSS *ṭabī'a musā'ida* (a helping/accompanying nature) is unclear, the Leiden editor emended to read *ṭabā'ī' mutabā'ida* (mutually separate/distinct/antagonistic natures).

625 This appears to paraphrase M & L, 5:13 f. (Jouanna, 3,16 f./172:9 f.), taking into account Galen's commentary, Mewaldt, 30:19 ff. (through 31:17).

626 Pedanius Dioscorides (1st century BCE) produced an illustrated catalogue of materia medica that became the basis of Islamic pharmacology. See the article by C. E. Dubler in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Diyuskuridis; Leigh Chipman in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Dioscorides; M. Klamroth, "Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī, II," *ZDMG* 40 (1886): 613–614.

627 Archigenes of Apamea was a physician who practiced in Rome in the reign of Trajan (late



But the wisest sage after him, the one who took the most interest in medicine and who had the best understanding of the part of Hippocrates's writings on which he commented, was Galen, notwithstanding the distance in years between them, for there was a long time between them.<sup>628</sup> Nevertheless, Galen appears to be, as it were, the immediate successor of Hippocrates in wisdom and his second in knowledge. He wrote commentaries on his books and produced many of the books on medicine that are commonly relied on and referred to: he was a philosopher, logician, and sage.

The first of Galen's books is the book, *On the Sects of Medicine that Differ from Each Other in Kind*<sup>629</sup>—namely, the sect of opinion, reflection, and inference,<sup>630</sup> the second sect, that of experiences,<sup>631</sup> and the third sect, that of methods.<sup>632</sup>

A book, *On Food*.<sup>633</sup>

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1st and early 2nd centuries CE). Only fragments of his works have been preserved. See the article by Jerry Stannard in *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 1:212–213.

628 Galen (b. c. 129 CE in Pergamum, d. after 200 CE in Rome) lived more than five centuries after Hippocrates. The pioneering study of al-Ya'qūbī's treatment of Galen and its sources was done by M. Klamroth, "Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī, II," *ZDMG* 40 (1886): 614–638. An overview of the history of Galen's works in Arabic may be found in Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 3:68–140. A summary of the latest research on the reception of Galen's works in Arabic, with a discussion of al-Ya'qūbī's importance and a bibliography of Arabic translations, may be found in the article by Véronique Boudon-Millot in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Galen.

629 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 4: "De sectis ad eos, qui introducuntur" (Περὶ αἱρέσεων τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις); Klamroth, op. cit., 615–616. For an English translation and introduction to the issues discussed in this treatise, see *Galen: Three Treatises on the Nature of Science*, trans. Richard Walzer and Michael Frede.

630 Arabic, *al-ra'y wa-l-fikr wa-l-qiyās*, a way of referring to the rationalist or theoretical school of medicine (often called dogmatist), which held that only on the basis of a theoretical understanding of the nature and functioning of the body could the physician prescribe proper treatment.

631 Arabic, *tajārib*, a way of referring to the school of empiricism, which held that only on the basis of experience could the physician determine effective treatment, because an adequate theory of disease was either unobtainable or irrelevant.

632 Arabic, *hiyal* (pl. of *hīla*), a way of referring to the school that came to be called methodist, which subsumed all illnesses under a small number of "generalities," manifest symptoms that could be treated without reference to underlying causes.

633 Arabic, *Fī l-ṭa'ām*. The second word in the title may have resulted from a miscopying of *Fī l-ʿizām* (On Bones). The two words differ only in the order of two letters and the presence or absence of a single dot over the Arabic letter. The latter is Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 12: "De ossibus ad tirones" (Περὶ ὀστέων τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις); Klamroth, op. cit., 618.

A book, *On the Pulse of the Veins*.<sup>634</sup>

A book, *On the Anatomy of the Nerves*.<sup>635</sup>

A book, *On the Anatomy of the Veins and the Arteries*.<sup>636</sup>

Two discourses, *On the Causes of Respiration*.<sup>637</sup>

Four discourses, *On the Voice*.<sup>638</sup>

A book, *On the Uses of the Parts of the Body* (seventeen discourses).<sup>639</sup>

A book, *On the Anatomy of the Womb*.<sup>640</sup>

A book, *On the Signs of [the Diseases of] the Eye*.<sup>641</sup>

A book, *On the Medicine of the Empiricists*.<sup>642</sup>

Three discourses, *On the Motion of the Lungs and the Chest*.<sup>643</sup>

The *Great Book of Anatomy*, in fifteen discourses.<sup>644</sup> The first discourse is on the muscles and ligaments<sup>645</sup> in the arms; the second is on the muscles in the legs; the third is on the nerves, veins, and arteries in the arms and legs;

634 Probably to be identified as “De pulsibus ad tirones” (Περὶ τῶν σφυγμῶν τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις), Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 61; Klamroth, op. cit., 616.

635 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 14: “De nervorum dissectione” (Περὶ νευρῶν ἀνατομῆς βιβλίον); Klamroth, op. cit., 618.

636 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 13: “De venarum arteriarumque dissectione” (Περὶ φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν ἀνατομῆς); Klamroth, op. cit., 618.

637 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 20: “De causis respirationis” (Περὶ τῶν τῆς ἀναπνοῆς αἰτιῶν); Klamroth, op. cit., 622. Note that the Arabic title, *Fī ‘ilal al-tanaffūs*, could also be translated as “On the Maladies of Respiration.”

638 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 358: “De voce” (Περὶ φωνῆς); Klamroth, op. cit., 622.

639 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 17, 18: “De usu partium” (Περὶ χρείας τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ σώματι μορίων λόγος); Klamroth, op. cit., 623.

640 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 16: “De uteri dissectione” (Περὶ μήτρας ἀνατομῆς βιβλίον); Klamroth, op. cit., 623.

641 Arabic, *Fī ‘alāmāt al-‘ayn*, perhaps to be identified with *Fī dalāl il ‘ilal al-‘ayn* (On the Signs of the Diseases of the Eye). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 275: “De morbis oculorum et eorum curis” (Περὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παθῶν); Klamroth, op. cit., 623.

642 Arabic, *Fī ṭibb aṣḥāb al-tajārib*, is perhaps to be identified with *Kitāb al-Tajriba al-ṭibbiyya* (The Book of Medical Empiricism). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 235: “De experientia medica,” also known as “Sermo contra empiricos medicos” (Περὶ τῆς ἱατρικῆς ἐμπειρίας); Klamroth, op. cit., 623.

643 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 280: “De motu thoracis et pulmonis” (Περὶ θώρακος καὶ πνεύμονος κινήσεως); Klamroth, op. cit., 623–624.

644 Arabic, *Kitāb al-Tashrīḥ al-kabīr*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 11: “De anatomicis administrationibus” (Περὶ ἀνατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων); Klamroth, op. cit., 624–625. Translation: Galen’s *On Anatomical Procedures*, trans. Charles Singer (London: Oxford University Press, 1956). Note that *Discourses* (Books) 10–15 survive only in Arabic, not in the original Greek.

645 Emending manuscript *ruṭbāt* (humors) to *ribātāt*.

the fourth is on the muscles that move the cheeks and lips and the muscles that move the lower jaw toward the head, toward the neck, and toward the shoulders; the fifth discourse is on the muscles of the chest, the muscles on the sides of the back, and the muscles of the spinal column; | the sixth discourse is on the alimentary organs, namely the intestines, the stomach, the liver, the spleen, the kidneys, the bladder, the gall bladder, and the like; the seventh discourse is on the anatomy of the heart; the eighth discourse is on the parts of the chest; the ninth discourse is on the anatomy of the brain;<sup>646</sup> the tenth discourse is on the anatomy of the eyes, the tongue, the esophagus, and what connects to it; the eleventh discourse is on the larynx, the bone connected to it, and the nerves under it; the twelfth discourse is on the anatomy of the organs of procreation, namely the seminal organs, the womb, and the penis; the thirteenth discourse is on the anatomy of the blood vessels that pulsate, namely the arteries, and the blood vessels that do not pulsate; the fourteenth discourse is on the [nerves] that originate from the brain; and the fifteenth discourse is on the nerves that originate in the spine. 1:131

There is another *Book of Anatomy* by him in several discourses.<sup>647</sup> In them he mentions the skin; the hair; the nails; the flesh; the fat; the flesh of the face; the membranes that cover some organs, such as the pericardium; the stomach; the kidneys; the liver; the peritonea; the muscle separating the thorax from the abdomen; the ducts; the pulsating blood vessels; phlebotomy;<sup>648</sup> whence the blood vessels begin; the urine ducts between the kidneys and the bladder to the penis; its duct from the bladder to the navel in the embryo; the gall bladder; the pores;<sup>649</sup> the nostrils; the ducts that come out of the ears; the trachea, what originates from it, and what originates in the lung; the milk-containing vessels in the breast; the other secretions in the body that are contained in vessels; any humors and secretions<sup>650</sup> in any vessels; the cranial sutures, adhesion, and so forth; | the sutures in the face; the lower jaw, with its perforations and adhesion; the teeth; the bone at the top the trachea and what attaches on either side; 1:132

646 The MSS read *al-fi'ūd* (the heart), miscopied from *al-dimāgh* (the brain), which corresponds to the content of the ninth discourse.

647 Apparently a reference to a work by Galen that has not survived. Klamroth (op. cit., 625) identifies it as *Epitome of the Anatomical Books of Marinus* (Τῶν Μαρίνου βιβλίων ἀνατομικῶν ἐπιτομή); Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 371.

648 Arabic, *faṣḍ al-'urūq*; emended by the Leiden editor from the manuscript's *faṣl al-'urūq* (the division of veins).

649 Reading, with the MSS, *masāmm*; ed. Leiden emends to *mashāmm* (noses).

650 Reading the undotted word as *mufraqha*; ed. Leiden, *mufarra'a* (branched).

the broad bone at the base of the spine;<sup>651</sup> the thigh; the ribs; the shoulder blades; the shoulders; the clavicles; the upper arm; the forearm;<sup>652</sup> the bones of the palm; the fingers; the thigh bone; the base of the neck; that which is on the knee; the shank bone; the bones of the foot; the connection of the skull with the membranes on the brain; all the nerves that originate on the face; the muscles in the temples; the muscles by which chewing takes place; the muscles that move the cheeks and lips; the tongue and the muscles that move it; and the muscles that move the eyes. He mentions the mouth, the lips, the tongue, the gums, the uvula, the epiglottis, the tonsils, the nose, the nostrils, the ears, the neck and its muscles, the muscle over the ribs,<sup>653</sup> [the muscle] under the clavicle, the nature of the neck, and the muscles of the diaphragm and the forearm. He pronounces a discourse about dissection. This is his purpose in it.

*Two Discourses on the Causes of Respiration.*<sup>654</sup>

A book, *The Natural Faculties*, on the actions of the soul.<sup>655</sup>

A discourse, *On Urination from the Blood.*<sup>656</sup>

A discourse, *On Laxative Medicines.*<sup>657</sup>

A book that he titled, *The Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato.*<sup>658</sup> It is about the faculties of the rational soul, these being imagination, ratiocination, and memory (he says that the brain is the place of origin of the nerves, the heart the place of origin of the pulsating blood vessels, and the liver the place of origin of the nonpulsating blood vessels); and about the faculties by which the body subsists, in ten discourses.

*The Uses of the Parts of the Body*, in seventeen discourses.<sup>659</sup>

651 Reading with M, *al-qaṭan*, (the pelvis); ed. Leiden has *al-baṭn* (the stomach).

652 Emending MSS *sāq* (leg) to *sā'id*, as suggested by Klamroth, op. cit., 626.

653 Emending MSS *al-aṣābī'* (the fingers) to *al-aḍllā'*.

654 This appears to be a copyist's mistake, as the book has already been listed above.

655 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 10: "De facultatibus naturalibus" (Περὶ δυνάμεων φυσικῶν). The words "on the actions of the soul" are not part of the title but come from Galen's introduction to the work, in which he states his intention to compose a further book "on the actions of the soul." See Klamroth, op. cit., 617–618.

656 This title does not correspond to any of Galen's works on urination. See Klamroth, op. cit., 629.

657 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 75: "De purgantium medicamentorum facultate" (Περὶ τῆς τῶν καθαιρόντων φαρμάκων δυνάμεως); Klamroth, op. cit., 629.

658 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 33: "De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis libri ix" (Περὶ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων θ'); Klamroth, op. cit., 629–630.

659 Previously listed; see above, 1:130.

*The Book of the Elements*,<sup>660</sup> in which he says that the hot, the cold, the moist, and the dry are elements common to all bodies that | admit of generation and corruption; that the elements are earth, fire, air, and water; that the elements of the human body are blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile; and that an element is the ultimate part of the thing of which it is an element. 1133

*The Book of the Temperaments*, consisting of three discourses on the classification of the temperaments of men's bodies.<sup>661</sup>

*The Excellent Composition of the Body*.<sup>662</sup>

*Bodily Vigor*.<sup>663</sup>

*The Bad Temperament That Is Not Balanced*.<sup>664</sup>

*The Powers of Compounded Medicines*.<sup>665</sup>

*Medicines That Are Easy to Procure*.<sup>666</sup>

A book, *The Preservation of the Healthy*.<sup>667</sup>

A book, *On Foods*.<sup>668</sup>

A book, *On Good and Bad Chyme*.<sup>669</sup>

A book, *On the Thinning Diet*.<sup>670</sup>

660 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 5: "De elementis secundum Hippocratem libri II" (Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων β'); Klamroth, op. cit., 617.

661 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 9: "De temperamentis libri III" (Περὶ κράσεων βιβλία γ'); Klamroth, op. cit., 617.

662 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 25: "De optima corporis nostri constitutione" (Περὶ ἀρίστης κατασκευῆς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν); Klamroth, op. cit., 630.

663 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 26: "De bono habitu" (Περὶ εὐεξίας); Klamroth, op. cit., 630.

664 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 58: "De inaequali intemperie" (Περὶ ἀνωμαλίου δυσκρασίας βιβλίον); Klamroth, op. cit., 630.

665 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 80–82; Klamroth, op. cit., 630–631 This apparently refers to two works combined into one: "De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos" and "De compositione medicamentorum per genera" (Περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμάκων τῶν κατὰ τόπους and Περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμάκων τῶν κατὰ γένη).

666 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 86: "De remediis parabilibus libri III" (Περὶ εὐπορίστων βιβλίον γ'). The wording in Arabic of the title is merely a way of referring to simple, uncompounded drugs. See Klamroth, op. cit., 631.

667 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 37: "De sanitate tuenda libri VI" (Υγιεινῶν λόγοι στ'); Klamroth, op. cit., 622.

668 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 38: "De alimentorum facultatibus libri III" (Περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεως λόγοι γ'); Klamroth, op. cit., 631.

669 That is, which foods produce good chyme (the partially digested food in the stomach) and which produce bad chyme. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 39: "De probis pravisque alimentorum siccis" (Περὶ εὐχυμίας καὶ καχοχυμίας τροφῶν); Klamroth, op. cit., 632.

670 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 349: "De victu attenuante" (Περὶ λεπτυνούσης διαίτης); Klamroth, op. cit., 632.

A discourse, *On the Classification of Diseases*.<sup>671</sup>

A discourse, *On the Causes of Diseases*.

A discourse, *On the Classification of Symptoms*.<sup>672</sup>

A discourse, *On Unnatural Thickening*.<sup>673</sup>

A discourse, *On Plethora*.<sup>674</sup>

Two discourses, *On the Classification of Fevers*.<sup>675</sup>

*Internal Diseases*.<sup>676</sup>

A book, *On the Stages of Diseases*.<sup>677</sup>

A book, *On Shortness of Breath*.<sup>678</sup>

A book, *On Crises*.<sup>679</sup>

A book, *On the Pulse of the Blood Vessels, Recognizing Each of the Types of Pulse, the Efficient Causes of the Types of Pulse, and Prognosis* (in sixteen discourses).<sup>680</sup>

671 This and the following two titles refer to a compendium of four originally independent treatises by Galen amalgamated into one work by the Alexandrians. Al-Ya'qūbī mentions only three titles. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 42–47; Klamroth, op. cit., 618–619.

672 Reading with M, *fi taṣnīf al-a'rād*; in C the last word was miscopied as *al-amrād* (diseases), leading the Leiden editor to bracket the title as a dittography.

673 A treatise on tumors. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 57: “De tumoribus praeter naturam” (Περὶ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν ὄγκων βιβλίον); Klamroth, op. cit., 632.

674 A treatise on excess of humors. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 53: “De plenitudine” (Περὶ πλήθους βιβλίον); Klamroth, op. cit., 632.

675 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 48: “De differentiis febrium libri 11” (Περὶ διαφορᾶς πυρετῶν βιβλία β'); Klamroth, op. cit., 620.

676 In the MSS it is not clear whether this is the title of a separate book: the word for “book” or “discourse” does not precede it, but it also is not preceded by the word “and,” which would be needed to make it part of the preceding title. The Leiden editor supplied “and,” implying that it was part of the title of the previous book, but no such composite title of a work by Galen is known. It is better to follow Klamroth, op. cit., 619–620, who saw this as a reference to a separate book on the diagnosis of diseases of the internal organs. Cf. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 60: “De locis affectis libri vi” (Περὶ τῶν πεπονθότων τόπων βιβλία).

677 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 49: “De morborum temporibus” (Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καιρῶν βιβλίον); Klamroth, op. cit., 632.

678 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 59: “De difficultate respirationis libri 111” (Περὶ δυσπνοίας βιβλία γ'); Klamroth, op. cit., 633.

679 That is, of fevers. The Arabic term used here, *buhṛān*, is borrowed from Syriac. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 67: “De crisis libri 111” (Περὶ κρίσεων βιβλία γ'); Klamroth, op. cit., 621.

680 Al-Ya'qūbī lumps together the titles of four originally separate books on the subject of the pulse, each in four “discourses” (thus the total of sixteen). In fact, Galen himself prepared

A book, *On the Method of Healing*—a book in which he explained the way of curing all diseases.<sup>681</sup> In this branch, he followed it with:

A discourse, *On Mediating Causes*—that is, the proximate causes that mediate between the remote cause and the disease.<sup>682</sup>

A discourse, *On Urination from the Blood in the Body*.<sup>683</sup>

A book, *On the Sect of the Methodists*.<sup>684</sup>

A discourse, *On Consumption*.<sup>685</sup>

A discourse, *On the Treatment of an Epileptic Child*.<sup>686</sup>

A discourse, *On Hippocrates' Regimen for Acute Diseases*.<sup>687</sup>

A discourse, *On Phlebotomy*.<sup>688</sup>

He commented on Hippocrates' books section by section and point by point, and he explained the import of each.



The leading sage who followed Hippocrates was Socrates, the leader of the sages and the first to express his wisdom as what was memorized from him and 1134

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a "synopsis" of the sixteen "discourses," and this may be what al-Ya'qūbī is referring to. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 62–65, 66; Klamroth, op. cit., 616, 620.

681 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 69: "Methodi medendi libri XIV" (Θεραπευτικής μεθόδου βιβλία ιδ'); Klamroth, op. cit., 621–622.

682 A lost work; Klamroth, op. cit., 633, gives the title as Περὶ τῶν συνεκτικῶν (αἰτιῶν). The translation "disease" follows Klamroth's suggested emendation of MSS *al-marīd* (the patient) to *al-maraḍ*. In this footnote and the next, no Latin equivalent is given for the Greek title, presumably because the work was lost.

683 This repeats a title listed above (1132), with the additional words, "From the Body." Again, the book cannot be identified with any of Galen's works on urination.

684 A lost work. Klamroth, op. cit., 633 (Μεθοδικῆς αἰρέσεως στ').

685 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 56: "De marcore" (Περὶ μαρρασμοῦ βιβλίον); Klamroth, op. cit., 633.

686 For *yurṣa'* (epileptic) the MSS read *yurḍi'* (nursing), clearly a mistake, as it refers to no known work by Galen. The copyist's mistake was the result of the transposition of two letters and the addition of a diacritical dot. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 77: "Puero epileptico consilium" (Τῷ ἐπιληπτικῷ παιδὶ ὑποθήκη); Klamroth, op. cit., 633.

687 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 118: "De victus ratione in morbis acutis ex Hippocratis sententia" (Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἱπποκράτην διαίτης ἐπὶ τῶν ὀξέων νοσημάτων); Klamroth, op. cit., 634.

688 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 125: "De venae sectione" (Περὶ φλεβοτομίας), but cf. no. 71–73 for other works by Galen on the subject; Klamroth, op. cit., 634, notes that Galen himself may have collected three of his works on the subject under one title.

heard from him.<sup>689</sup> It has been related that Timaeus said to him, “Teacher, why do you not record your wisdom for us in books?”<sup>690</sup> Socrates said: “Timaeus, how you trust the skins of dead beasts and how suspicious you are of living, eternal substances! How have you hoped for knowledge from the mine of ignorance and despaired of it from the element of the intellect?”<sup>691</sup> Then his disciple Epictetus<sup>692</sup> said to him, “Why do you not dictate to me a book that shall remain forever after you?” He replied, “Wisdom does not need the skins of sheep.” One of his disciples said, “Why do you not provide us with a book of your wisdom by which we may guide<sup>693</sup> our minds?” Socrates said to him, “Do not be so eager to record wisdom on sheepskins that that becomes more persuasive to you than your own knowledge and tongue.” When it came time for him to die, his disciples asked him to provide them with wisdom to which they might refer. So he spoke to them about the dispositions of the soul.<sup>694</sup> Then he spoke to them about the firmament, saying that it was spherical; he had already been given poison to drink, and then he died.

After him came Pythagoras. He was the first to speak of numbers, arithmetic, and geometry. He established the musical modes and constructed the lute. He lived at the time of a king named Augustus, from whom he fled but who pursued him. Pythagoras therefore set sail on the sea and reached a temple on an island, but the king set the temple afire while Pythagoras was in it. Pythagoras had a disciple named Archimedes who constructed burning-mirrors, and he burned the enemy’s ships at sea.

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689 That is, who transmitted his teachings orally and, as the next sentence states, wrote no books. Whether Socrates was really the first Greek “sage” to eschew writing is not the issue.

690 Arabic, *maṣāḥif* (pl. of *muṣḥaf*) normally refers to codices rather than rolls. It may be used here instead of the more common *kutub* (books) to suggest a process of collecting texts originally to be found on separate sheets.

691 The translation makes three emendations in the text on the basis of the parallel in the Arabic collection of sayings of the Greek philosophers edited and translated by Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation*, 97, 298: *kayfa rajawta* (MSS *wujūd*) *al-‘ilm* (MSS *al-mu‘allim*) *min ma’din al-jahl wa-ayista* (MSS *wa-l-sabab*) *minhu min ‘unṣur al-‘aql*. The original text makes some sense: “How can the teacher be found from the source of ignorance, when the means of access to him is from the element of the intellect?”

692 The reading of the name is conjectural. Another suggested reading is “Theaetetus.”

693 Emending the MSS *t/n.s.b.r* (possibly to be read *nasburu* or *tasburu*, “that we/you may probe”) to *nusayyiru*. The first letter of the Arabic is undotted, so the pronoun may be either “we” or “you.”

694 Arabic *akhlāq al-nafs*, the regular way of saying “ethics.”



Among them was Apollonius the Carpenter, who is called “the orphan.”<sup>695</sup> He was the master of talismans, who made a talisman for everything.

Among them was Diogenes,<sup>696</sup> | the master of geometry, division, and the 1:135  
various sorts of philosophy. He used to be called “Diogenes the Dog.”<sup>697</sup> Someone asked him, “Why have you been called ‘the dog’?” He said, “Because I growl at knaves, wag my tail at good men, and live in the streets.”

Among them was Philo, the master of mechanics.<sup>698</sup> These are motions that take place because of water: such as the form that is constructed and then the water moves it without any part of it being set in motion, causing it to leave one place and setting it down in another; and devices set in motion by water without being moved, and then it comes out and swallows them, and again it comes out and then swiftly moves away.<sup>699</sup> He has designs of such objects that can be constructed and that work.

Among them was Polemon, the author of the *Physiognomy* and of a book in which he explained what physiognomy indicates with regard to facial features, voices, and constitution and gave proof of that.<sup>700</sup>

695 Arabic, Balīnūs al-Najjār (the name is slightly miscopied in the mss). Al-Ya‘qūbī has lumped together two men who shared the name Apollonius (the confusion almost certainly was present already in his source). The first, the mathematician Apollonius of Perge in Pamphylia (c. 200 BCE), is usually identified in the Arabic sources as al-Najjār (“the Carpenter,” although no convincing explanation for the epithet has been found); the second, Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia (1st century CE) was famous as a master of talismans. See the article by M. Plessner in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Balīnūs; Gotthard Strohmaier in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Apollonius of Tyana.

696 The mss read *Ūjānis* here, but, because the name is written as *Dīyūjānis* in the next sentence, the first name may be a scribal error. However, because Diogenes the Cynic was not known as a geometrician, another name, now unrecoverable, may lie behind *Ūjānis*. On the fame, in Arabic literature, of Diogenes the Cynic (c. 405–320 BCE) see the article by Oliver Overwien in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Diogenes.

697 “The Dog” in Greek is ὁ κύων. The English term “cynic” is derived from its stem (κυν-).

698 The name has been miscopied so that it resembles the next name in the list, that of Polemon; however, the description makes it clear that the person intended is Philo (Arabic, Fīlūn) of Byzantium (3rd century BCE), the author of a book on hydraulic devices. See the article by H. G. Farmer in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Urghan.

699 The meaning of the sentence is unclear.

700 Arabic, Afīmūn: Antonius Polemon (c. 88–144 CE) the author of a book on physiognomy preserved only in Arabic translation. See the article by J. J. Witkam in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Afīmūn. The text of al-Ya‘qūbī, as it stands, implies reference to two books but could easily be emended to read *wa-huwa kitāb*, “which is a book.”

Among them was Democritus.<sup>701</sup> He was the one who claimed that the world was composed of motes.<sup>702</sup> He wrote a book on the characteristics of animals and such of them as agree with the characteristics of man.

Among them was Plato, who was a disciple of Socrates.<sup>703</sup> He was the one who spoke of the soul and its attributes, even as Hippocrates spoke of the body and its attributes. He said that the soul has three powers: one of them is in the brain, and by it cognition and deliberation come to pass; the second is in the heart, and by it anger and courage come to pass; and the third is in the liver, and by it desire and love come to pass. Then he went on to discuss the psychic spirit,<sup>704</sup> until he had described all the members, after which he mentioned that which benefits the soul and that which corrupts it. He said: "Every defect is opposed to the deliverance of the soul, so you should not account only life as good but also a good death; you should account life and death as good."

1:136 Among them was Euclid, the author of the Book of Euclid on computation.<sup>705</sup> The interpretation | of "Euclid," according to Ptolemy, is "key."<sup>706</sup> The book is an introduction to the knowledge of computation and the key to the science of the book *Almagest*<sup>707</sup> on the stars: the knowledge of the chords subtended by the arcs of the segments of the circles that are the orbits of the

701 The scribe has distorted the name to Dīmraṭīs. This is Democritus of Abdera (c. 460–370 BCE), who formulated an atomic theory of the material universe.

702 Arabic, *habā'* (motes, particles of dust suspended in air). On the echoes of Democritus' atomism in Islamic theology, see J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 3:314 (note 42).

703 For a general discussion of the reception of Plato's writings in Arabic, see the article by R. Walzer in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Aflāṭūn. See also Dimitri Gutas, "Platon–Tradition arabe," in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* (Paris, 2012), 5/1: 845–863.

704 Arabic, *al-rūḥ al-nafsānīyya* (the psychic spirit). The meaning of the Arabic phrase is unclear. One would expect it to mean something like "the embodied spirit." The passages in Plato to which al-Ya'qūbī is referring are *Timaeus* 42D and following, which discusses how the immortal soul is implanted in a human body, and 69A and following, which discusses the location of various powers of the soul in different parts of the human body.

705 For a discussion of al-Ya'qūbī's account of Euclid, see M. Klamroth, "Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī, IV," *ZDMG* 42 (1888): 3–9; to which one should add Klamroth's earlier article, "Ueber den arabischen Euklid," *ZDMG* 35 (1881): 270–326. On the reception in the Islamic world of Euclid's work generally, see the article by Sonja Brentjes and Greg De Young in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Euclid.

706 Ptolemy's fanciful derivation of Euclid's name (Εὐκλείδης) from κλείς, κλειδός (key), emphasizes that knowledge of geometry is the *key* to knowledge of astronomy, the science of the orbits of the planets. In fact, Euclid's name is a patronymic derived from an adjective meaning "of good repute" (εὐκλής or εὐκλειος).

707 On the derivation of this Arabic title (more properly, *al-Mijisti*) for Ptolemy's great work, the Μεγάλη σύνταξις, see the article by M. Plessner in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baṭlamīyūs.

planets—[these the astronomers call *kurđajāt*<sup>708</sup>—in order to determine the path of the stars]<sup>709</sup> in latitude and longitude, their speeding up and slowing down, their forward and retrograde motions, their orientality and occidentality, the projections of their rays; as well as knowledge of the hours of the night and the day, the rising places of the signs of the zodiac and how this differs in the climes of the earth, the calculation of conjunction and opposition, eclipses of the sun and the moon, and how the view of all parts of the sky differs from the (different) horizons of the earth.

Euclid's book consists of thirteen discourses, and in these thirteen discourses there are four hundred and fifty-two figures, each with proof and explanation; which, when the student of the science of computation understands, every chapter of computation will become easy and open to him. He begins by mentioning the means by which the science is brought near and by acquaintance with which that which is to be known is comprehended.<sup>710</sup> These are proposition (*khabar*), example (*mithāl*), contradiction (*khulf*), arrangement (*tartīb*), distinction (*faṣl*), demonstration (*burhān*), and completion (*tamām*). The proposition (*khabar*) is the statement prefaced to the whole before the explanation. The example (*mithāl*) is a picture of the figures about which something is proposed and by means of whose description one is guided to the meaning of the proposition. Contradiction (*khulf*) is the contrary of the example and a reduction of the proposition to what is impossible. Arrangement (*tartīb*) is the making of the construction whose stages have been agreed upon in the science. Distinction (*faṣl*) is the distinction between the possible and the impossible proposition. Demonstration (*burhān*) is proof that the proposition has been verified. The completion (*tamām*) is the completion of the knowledge of what was to be known.<sup>711</sup>

The first discourse is about the point, which has no part, and the line, | which 1:137  
is a length without breadth. It consists of forty-seven theorems.<sup>712</sup>

708 The derivation of the word and its meaning are uncertain. See Klamroth, *ZDMG* 42, 4, for a discussion of the possibilities, the most likely of which are “degrees” and “signs of the zodiac.”

709 The bracketed words were supplied by the Leiden editor from MS Leiden 399.

710 The following outline of the methods and stages of a typical Euclidean proof is unclear. The translation is not always certain.

711 As Klamroth has noted, this is simply a reference to the formula closing each proposition or theorem in Euclid, namely “what was to be done (or demonstrated) has been done (or demonstrated),” often abbreviated Q.E.D. (*quod erat demonstrandum*).

712 Literally, “47 figures,” but since each proposition or theorem normally contained one figure, “figure” and “theorem” may be used interchangeably. In fact, the Greek text of Book

The second discourse is about any plane figure having parallel sides and right angles, contained by the two lines that contain the right angle. It consists of fourteen<sup>713</sup> theorems.

The third discourse is about equal circles, those whose diameters are equal, the lines that go out from their centers to their circumferences, and the line that touches the circle, passing by it but not cutting it. It consists of thirty-five theorems.<sup>714</sup>

The fourth discourse: When a figure is within a figure and the angles of the inner figure touch the sides of the outer figure.<sup>715</sup> It consists of sixteen theorems.

The fifth discourse is about the part, which is the lesser magnitude in relation to the greater magnitude, when it measures it.<sup>716</sup> It consists of twenty-five theorems.

The sixth discourse is about similar<sup>717</sup> figures, which are figures in which the angles of each figure are equal to the angles of the other figure, while the sides that contain the equal angles [are proportional]; and figures with corresponding sides whose sides are proportional. It consists of thirty-two theorems.

The seventh discourse is about the (number) one; the even number, which can be divided into two equal parts; the odd number, which can[not] be divided into two equal parts and exceeds an even number by one; the number that is called even-times-even, which is that which every even number measures by a number of times whose number is even;<sup>718</sup> the number that is called [even]-times-odd, which is that which every even number measures by a number of times whose number is odd;<sup>719</sup> the number that is called odd-times-odd,

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One contains 48 theorems. As the last two are closely related, al-Ya'qūbī's source may have numbered them as one.

713 The MSS read forty-four (*arba'a wa-arba'un*), which must be a scribal error for *arba'ata ashara* (fourteen), the actual number of propositions in Book II.

714 The Greek text of Book III contains 37 theorems. Klamroth, "Ueber den arabischen Euklid," 270, 273, found that in some Arabic translations theorems 11 and 12 of the book were combined and one theorem was missing.

715 The text may be corrupt. If one deletes the "and" and supplies one word, the sentence makes more sense: "When a figure is [inscribed] within a figure, the angles of the inner figure touch the sides of the outer figure."

716 Following the emendation suggested by the Leiden editor.

717 Emending MSS *mutasāwiya* (equal) to *mutashābiha*.

718 This is a complicated way of saying "an even multiple of an even number."

719 That is, an odd multiple of an even number.

which is that which every odd number measures by a number of times whose number is odd;<sup>720</sup> the number that is called prime, which is that which | can be measured only by (the number) one; numbers each of which is prime to the other, being such as have no common number other than one that can measure them all;<sup>721</sup> the composite number, which can be measured by another number; numbers each of which is composite to the other, being such as can be measured by another number common to them; the number multiplied by another number, which is that which is redoubled<sup>722</sup> as many times as there are units in the number by which it is multiplied and the result is another number; the square number, which is the result of multiplying a number by itself [and is contained by two equal numbers; the cubic number, which is the result of multiplying the number by itself]<sup>723</sup> and then by itself and is contained by three equal numbers; the plane number, which is that contained by two numbers; the solid number, which is that contained by three numbers; the perfect number, which is one that is equal to all its parts;<sup>724</sup> proportional numbers, which are numbers such that in the first of them there are as many multiples of the second as in the third there are multiples of the fourth; similar plane and solid numbers are [those] whose sides are proportional. This discourse consists of thirty-nine theorems.

The eighth discourse is about numbers that follow each [other in proportion]<sup>725</sup> and the two extremes are prime to each other. It consists of twenty-five theorems.<sup>726</sup>

The ninth discourse is about multiplying similar plane numbers and the square number that results from multiplying the number by the number; the numbers that measure each other; the cubic number times the cubic number; the result of multiplying the cube by a number that is not cubic; the square that results from proportional numbers that follow each other; how | the cube results; what results from proportional numbers, from the solid, the square, the plane, and from numbers that measure each other; how even numbers are subtracted from even numbers, odd numbers from odd numbers, even

<sup>720</sup> That is, an odd multiple of an odd number.

<sup>721</sup> That is, numbers that have no common factor.

<sup>722</sup> That is, added to itself.

<sup>723</sup> The bracketed text was supplied by the Leiden editor. The omission was the result of the occurrence of similar endings in neighboring words (homoeoteleuton).

<sup>724</sup> That is, an integer that is equal to the sum of its factors, excluding itself, such as 6 ( $1 + 2 + 3 = 6$ ) or 28 ( $1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14 = 28$ ).

<sup>725</sup> Supplied on the basis of the Greek text; see Klamroth, *op. cit.*, 8.

<sup>726</sup> "27" in the Greek.

numbers from odd numbers, and odd numbers from even numbers. It consists of thirty-eight theorems.

The tenth discourse is about the lines that have a single common measure that measures them all, called commensurable, [and those] that do not [have] a single common measure that measures them all; and the commensurable lines [whose squares have] a single area that is a measure for them that measures them. It consists of one hundred and four theorems.<sup>727</sup>

The eleventh discourse is about the solid, which has length, thickness, and surface.<sup>728</sup> It consists of forty-one theorems.<sup>729</sup>

The twelfth discourse is about the surface of similar polygons, whose value each to the other in circles is as the number of the squares that are from the diameters of the circles.<sup>730</sup> It consists of fifteen theorems.<sup>731</sup>

The thirteenth discourse, the last of Euclid's discourses, is about a line that is divided according to a mean and two extremes.<sup>732</sup> It consists of twenty-one theorems.<sup>733</sup>

By the same Euclid is the book *On Appearances and Their Difference Due to the Points of Emission from the Eyes and the Visual Rays*.<sup>734</sup> In it he says:

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727 "115" in the Greek.

728 The text may be defective, or the first two definitions of Book 11 have been clumsily stitched together: 1. A solid is that which has length, breadth, and depth. 2. The extremity of a solid is a surface.

729 "39" in the Greek.

730 The Greek of Book 12, Proposition 1 may be translated: "Similar polygons (inscribed) in circles are to one another as the squares (constructed) on the diameters."

731 "18" in the Greek.

732 This is the beginning of Book 13, Proposition 1: If a straight line is cut in extreme and mean ratio, then the square on the greater piece, added to half of the whole, is five times the square on the half.

733 "18" in the Greek.

734 Al-Ya'qūbī gives the title as *Fī l-manāẓir wa-ikhtilāfihā min makhārij al-'uyūn wa-l-shu'ā'* (On Appearances/Aspects and Their Difference/Variation Due to the Points of Emission from the Eyes and the Visual Rays). The work is usually known simply as *Optics* (Ὀπτικά). The modern reader should bear in mind that Euclid explained—or was understood by his earliest Arabic translators as having explained—visual phenomena not by the eye's reception of light but by the eye's emission of bundles of "visual rays" that served as its instrument in vision. On the controversy in Arabic science about the existence of such rays, see the article by A. I. Sabra in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Manāẓir. The surviving manuscripts of the several Arabic translations give the title of the work either as *Kitāb al-Manāẓir* (The Book of Aspects) or as *Ikhtilāf al-manāẓir* (The Difference of Aspects). On the problem of al-Ya'qūbī's long version of the title, see *The Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics* (*Kitāb Uqlidis*

“The rays<sup>735</sup> issue from the eye in straight lines, and afterward paths of infinite multitude are produced. The objects on which the rays fall are seen, and those on which they do not fall are not seen.” He illustrates this with various figures<sup>736</sup> by means of which he explains the point of emission of the view and how it differs. The number of theorems by means of which he explains this is sixty-four.<sup>737</sup>

Among them was Nicomachus, the Pythagorean sage. He was the one who was named “Victor | at the Competition,”<sup>738</sup> and he was Aristotle’s father.<sup>739</sup> By him is the *Book of Arithmetic*,<sup>740</sup> in which he proposed to elucidate the numbers and mentioned what the philosophers before him had said. Nicomachus said: “The ancients, those who first developed science and become accomplished in it—Pythagoras was the first of them—gave a definition, saying that the meaning of philosophy was ‘wisdom’ and that its name was derived from it.<sup>741</sup> They said that wisdom was the true knowledge of the things that endure.” In the introduction to the book he elaborated on the topic of wisdom, its excellence, and what the sages had said about the value of science. Then he opened his book by saying: “All the things in this world whose order has been well arranged in nature are only by number. Reasoning verifies our doctrine that number serves as the pattern that is followed, it being in its entirety intelligible in its perfection. As for these things to which the category of quantity applies—and they

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*fī ikhtilāf al-manāẓir*), ed. and trans. Elaheh Kheirandish, esp. 2:2 ff. Klamroth, “Ja’qūbī’s Auszüge,” 9, is a useful older discussion of the passage.

735 Arabic, *shu’ā’*, can be interpreted either as a singular (ray) or as a collective (bundle of rays). In Euclid’s theory, these rays form a cone with its apex at the eye.

736 Or “theorems,” as each theorem normally contains one illustrative diagram.

737 All the Arabic translations of the *Optics* consist of four definitions and 64 propositions; this contrasts with the seven definitions and 58 propositions of the Greek; see Kheirandish, op. cit., 2:xix.

738 “Victor at the Competition” (*al-Qāhir ‘inda l-mufāḍala*) is the literal meaning of the Greek name Νικόμαχος.

739 This confusion of the mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa (c. 60–120 CE) with Aristotle’s father, Nicomachus of Stageira (lived c. 375 BCE), arises from the identity of their names.

740 Arabic, *Kitāb al-Arithmāṭiqī*, transliterates the Greek title rather than translating it into Arabic. Klamroth, “Ja’qūbī’s Auszüge,” 9–16, discusses the passage.

741 The Greek reads, “They defined philosophy to be *the love of* wisdom.” In fact, the manuscripts of al-Ya’qūbī seem to be disturbed at this point. They actually read, “they said that philosophy, with it (*ma’ahā*) is wisdom.” The Leiden editor emended *ma’ahā* (with it) to *ma’nāhā* (its meaning), in order to produce a meaningful text, but the text may originally have had something like *maḥabbat al-ḥikma* (love of wisdom), which would exactly translate the Greek.

are different—the number inherent in these things must necessarily be harmoniously composed and quantified in itself, not because of something else; for everything harmoniously composed can be only from things necessarily differing and from things that exist. As for things that do not exist, they cannot be harmoniously composed; neither can things that exist but are incommensurable. Compounded things are composed only of differing, commensurable things; for if it is not different, it is one, not needing to be made harmonious; and if it is incommensurable, it is not related; and if it is not related, it can  
 1:141 only be mutually contrary, with no harmonious unity occurring. | And number is among these things.<sup>742</sup> For in it there are two different, yet commensurable and related sorts, the even and the odd, and their being brought into an inter-related harmony according their difference has no ending.”

The first discourse of the *Arithmetic* is in chapters, one of which is the definitions of number. Number divides into two divisions, one of which is called the odd, the other the even. The odd divides into three divisions: an uncompounded prime, which is that which can be measured by no number;<sup>743</sup> such as seven and eleven; second, a compounded number, one that has a number (that can measure it), such as nine and fifteen;<sup>744</sup> third, a number that is compounded by its nature but upon being related to another compounded number is prime—numbers such that each of them has a number that can measure it, but the two upon comparison have no common number, such as nine to twenty-five. The even divides into three divisions: the even of the even, which is that which can be divided into evens down to the unit, such as sixty-four;<sup>745</sup> the even of the odd, which is that which can be divided a single time into halves but then ceases (to be so divisible), such as fourteen and eighteen; and the even of the even and the odd, which is that which can be divided into halves more than once but does not reach the unit.<sup>746</sup> He discoursed on this extensively.

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742 That is, among the things that can be brought together into harmonious relations.

743 In more modern language: a number that can be evenly divided by no other number (treating 1 not as a “number” but as a special category, called “monad”), excluding the trivial case that every number can be divided by itself.

744 That is, 9 can be “measured” by 3, and 15 by 5.

745 That is, 64 can be divided by 32, 16, 8, 4, and 2, all of its factors being even. Again, the unit is exempted as being not a number in the proper sense.

746 The Arabic has an extra negative, which must be deleted to make sense of the passage. It reads literally: “that which *cannot* be divided into halves more than once.” An example of an “even of the even and the odd” would be 28, which, being even, can be halved to give



The second discourse is about quantity in itself,<sup>747</sup> namely the superabundant number, the balanced number, and the deficient one. The superabundant number is one the total value of whose factors, when they are summed, exceeds the total value of the number, such as twelve and twenty-four; for twelve has a half, a third, a fourth, a sixth, and a twelfth, and if you sum them, the number will exceed.<sup>748</sup> The balanced number is one the total value of whose factors equals the total value of the number, such as six and twenty-eight; for six has a half, a third, and a sixth, and the amount when added comes to six exactly.<sup>749</sup> | The deficient number is one the total value of whose factors is less than its total value, such as eight and fourteen;<sup>750</sup> for eight has a half, a fourth, and an eighth, and when they are added it comes to seven, which is one too few.<sup>751</sup> He sets down theorems concerning this.

1:142

The most complete discourse is the third discourse, about relative quantity. It is divided into two divisions. One of them is equality to the object of comparison: such as the equality of one hundred to one hundred, or the equality of ten to ten. Another division involves departure from equality, and this can, in turn, be divided into two divisions: one great and the other small. The great divides into five divisions: the double, such as two in relation to four, or four in relation to eight; that which exceeds by one part, such as three in comparison to four, for four is its like and the like of its third;<sup>752</sup> that which exceeds by several parts, such as three, which is the first of the odd numbers, in relation to five, which is the second of the odd numbers, for an excess of two parts has occurred, and in similar manner an excess of (three or more) parts may occur; the double plus one part, which appears between two numbers, one of which is the like of the (double) of the other, plus one part of it, such as five when compared to two, for it is the like of the (double) of two and an addition of one part; and the multiple that exceeds by two parts, such as four with respect to one.

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14; which, being even, can in turn be halved to give 7; which, being odd, cannot be divided into halves.

747 Arabic, *al-kammīyya al-mufrada*, that is, the quantity of a given number in relation to the sum of its own factors, rather than in relation to any other number.

748 That is,  $6 + 4 + 3 + 2 + 1 = 16$ , and  $16 > 12$ .

749 That is,  $3 + 2 + 1 = 6$ .

750 The MSS read "twenty-four" (*arba'a wa-'ishrīn*), which must be a scribal error, as its factors ( $12 + 8 + 6 + 4 + 3 + 2 + 1$ ) add up to 36, making 24 a superabundant number. On the other hand, the factors of 14 ( $7 + 2 + 1$ ) add up to 10, making it a deficient number. The original reading must have been "fourteen" (*arba'ata 'ashara*).

751 That is,  $4 + 2 + 1 = 7$ , and  $7 < 8$ .

752 That is,  $4 = 3$  (the like of 3) + 1 (one-third of 3).

The small divides into five parts: the subdouble;<sup>753</sup> the sub-exceeding by one part; the sub-exceeding by several parts; the subdouble [plus one part; and the submultiple plus] several parts.<sup>754</sup>

Then he speaks about three numbers, one of which is great, the other medium, and the third small. If one seeks their equalization, one subtracts from the middle number the value of the smallest number, and from the largest number one subtracts (twice)<sup>755</sup> the value of the remainder of the middle number and the value of the smallest number; then when the numbers are equal, their relation will have become perfect.<sup>756</sup>

1:143 Then he speaks about such numbers as exceed and such as are deficient among the doubles, making | for this purpose a triangular diagram with two corners and with twenty-one squares.<sup>757</sup> The first (row) is six squares: its beginning is one, after which (he keeps) doubling it until (he reaches) thirty-two. The second (row) is five squares: its beginning is three, after which (he keeps) doubling it until (he reaches) forty-eight. The third (row) is four squares: its beginning is nine, after which (he keeps) doubling it until (he reaches) seventy-two. The fourth (row) is three squares: its beginning is twenty-seven, after which (he keeps) doubling it until (he reaches) one hundred eight. The fifth (row) is two squares: its beginning is eighty-one, and he doubles it so that it becomes one

753 Or the “submultiple”: “the number which, when it is compared with a larger, is able to measure it completely more than once” (*Introduction to Arithmetic*, 1.18.2, trans., 610).

754 The addition in brackets is based on Klamroth’s attempt to restore the text (Klamroth, op. cit., 14).

755 Correcting *mathal* to *mathalā*, as suggested by Klamroth, on the basis of the Greek text.

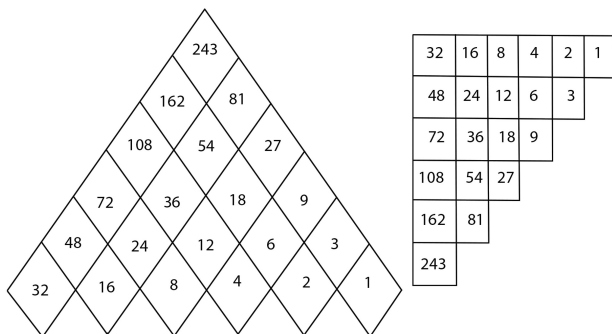
756 Al-Ya’qūbī’s brief summary of the opening chapters of Book 11 of the *Arithmetic* leaves the purpose of this operation unclear. Nicomachus is concerned with showing that “equality is the elementary principle of relative number.” He demonstrates this by giving an arithmetical procedure by which a sequence of three integers can be reduced to three identical values. This is important because of speculations about the ultimate unity of all numbers and of the cosmos, whose underlying principle is number. To use Klamroth’s example: given a sequence such as 5, 20, 80; from 20 one subtracts 5, giving 15 (now the sequence is 5, 15, 80); then from 80 one subtracts 35 (twice the remainder of the middle number plus 5), yielding 45 (now the sequence is 5, 15, 45). Repeating the operation, one obtains 5, 10, 20, and finally 5, 5, 5.

757 The sense of the Arabic is unclear. The text goes on to describe a diagram with successive rows of doubled numbers, each row one square shorter than the preceding, the initial number in each successive row being the sum of the first two numbers in the previous row. Nicomachus then describes the relations between the numbers in the columns of the diagram (*Arithmetic*, 11, 3). Klamroth, op. cit., 15, constructed two possible realizations of the diagram, as follows:

hundred sixty-two. The sixth (row) is one square, the last: two hundred forty-three.

Then he speaks about the quadrupled number to which he adds its double.<sup>758</sup>

Then he discourses on planes, lines, and points; he describes triangular, square, and hexagonal planes and the sides of which the planes consist and their areas.<sup>759</sup> Then he speaks about the pentagonal numbers, those with five equal sides, and how their augmentation occurs;<sup>760</sup> then about the hexagonal, heptagonal, and octagonal numbers. He describes how they are derived and



<sup>758</sup> The sentence as it stands is unintelligible. In the diagram just given, Nicomachus points out that if, in the diagram whose rows are constructed by doubling, one reads the numbers along the hypotenuse of the triangle produced (1, 3, 9, 27, etc.), one finds them to differ by a factor of 3 (i.e.,  $2+1$ ). This relationship holds true in a diagram whose rows are constructed by tripling (1, 3, 9, 27, 81; 4, 12, 36, 108; 16, 48, 144, etc.): each number along the hypotenuse is the quadruple of the previous; and in a diagram whose rows are constructed by quadrupling (1, 4, 16, 64; 5, 20, 80; 25, 100, etc.) the numbers along the hypotenuse will be quintuples, and so on.

<sup>759</sup> To a reader unfamiliar with Nicomachus' work, the Arabic description will suggest, misleadingly, that the *Arithmetic* contains a treatise on geometry. In fact, Nicomachus is concerned with showing which numbers can be represented geometrically as a point, a line, a triangle, a square, a pentagram, a hexagram, and so on. One (the monad) obviously corresponds to a point. Two is a "linear" number because it can be represented as a—a. Three is a "triangular" number because it can be represented as:

a

a a

Four is a "square" number, because it can be represented as:

a a

a a

And so on.

<sup>760</sup> That is, he discusses numbers that can be represented as five-sided geometrical figures and how a series of such numbers can be generated.

constructs a five-by-nine table of them.<sup>761</sup> He discusses parts of the triangular, square, pentagonal, and hexagonal numbers—those that have surface without a solid body<sup>762</sup> and those that have a solid body and surface. Then he discusses the composition of the things that are composed of diverse components. Then he speaks about the proportions, which are of three kinds: one arithmetic, the second geometric, and the third harmonic.<sup>763</sup> He says that some of the ancients counted them as ten. He explains arithmetic proportions, geometric proportions, and harmonic proportions, discussing each type in detail and with clear demonstration.

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Among them was Aratus, who made a picture of the firmament like the shape of an egg, by which he imitated the firmament and in which he pictured the signs of the zodiac.<sup>764</sup>

• •

761 The table would look like this (Klamroth, op. cit., 16):

Triangle	1	3	6	10	15	21	28	36	45	55
Square	1	4	9	16	25	36	49	64	81	100
Pentagon	1	5	12	22	35	51	70	92	117	145
Hexagon	1	6	15	28	45	66	91	120	153	190
Heptagon	1	7	18	34	55	81	112	148	189	235

762 The Arabic reads, “those that have a solid body without surface,” which makes no sense. The easiest solution is to assume that the copyist has inverted the terms for surface (*sath*) and solid body (*jirm*). Briefly, just as the integers can be displayed schematically as two-dimensional figures, so they can be displayed as a series of (three-dimensional) solids.

763 The translation takes the terminology directly from the source, *Arithmetic*, II, 22. The difficulty of finding Arabic terms to render the Greek is shown by a literal translation of al-Ya’qūbī’s text: “Then he speaks of the means, which are of three sorts: one belonging to arithmetic, the second belonging to surveying, and the third belonging to the harmonization of melodies.”

764 Aratus of Soli (c. 315–240 BCE) was not himself an astronomer but a poet, the author of the *Phaenomena*, in which he versified an astronomical treatise by Eudoxus of Cnidus. For a discussion of the book’s translation into Arabic and use by Arabic writers, see Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 6:75–77.

Among them was Aristotle, the son of Nicomachus the Gerasene.<sup>765</sup> He was a disciple of Plato. He spoke about the upper world and the lower, about the well-being and corruption of the world, about the dispositions of the soul, and about the truth of logic. He laid down the principles of wisdom, as well as its divisions and branches. 1:144

The first of his books is the *Introduction to the Science of Philosophy*, which is called in Greek *Isagoge*.<sup>766</sup> Its first part is a discussion of definition, whereof it consists, whence the word “definition” is derived, what the virtue of definition is, what makes for a bad definition, and the difference between the definition and the thing defined. The second part is an account of philosophy and of how (the word) was derived. The third part is the book on the faculties of the soul that are in thinking, anger, and desire—whatever departs from this equilibrium is corrupt. The fourth book is about logic, which is the foundation of philosophy. In the fifth book he discusses the division of things into two kinds: that which is indispensable, like food, and that which is dispensable, like the cleaning<sup>767</sup> of a garment. The sixth book is about propositions, which are of three kinds: the necessary, as when you say “Fire is hot”; the possible, as when you say “Zayd is a writer”; and the impossible, as when you say “Fire is cold.” The seventh book is about genus, which is of three divisions: the genus of custom, the genus of nature, [and ...].<sup>768</sup> In the eighth book he discusses the indivisible, which falls into four kinds: either because, like a point, it has no parts; or, like a mustard seed, because of its smallness; or, like a stone, because of its solidity; or because it is not (made up) of parts. The ninth book is about relation, which is of four sorts: either by nature, as the relation of father to his son; or by service, as the relation of a disciple to his teacher; or by volition, as the relation of a friend to his friend; or by accident, as the relation of a slave to his master.

765 As above (1:140), al-Ya‘qūbī or his source has again confused the later mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa with the earlier Nicomachus of Stageira, the father of Aristotle. On the reception of Aristotle’s works in Arabic and for an extensive bibliography of modern editions of the Arabic translations, see the article by Cristina D’Ancona in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Aristotle and Aristotelianism.

766 Greek Εἰσαγωγή (Introduction) is the title not of a work in the Aristotelian canon but of a short introduction to logic by the later philosopher Porphyry of Tyre (234–c. 305 CE). Porphyry’s work was often taken to be specifically an introduction to the Aristotle’s logic, hence the confusion.

767 Following ed. Leiden (*tanẓīf*); M reads *tanṣīf* (division into two parts).

768 As Klamroth noted in his third article (*ZDMG* 41:421), the sentence, as it stands, appears corrupt.

1:145 His books | after that are of four kinds. One kind is about logic; the second is about natural phenomena; the third is about what exists with bodies and is connected to them; and the fourth is about what does not exist with bodies and is not connected to them.

His books on logic are eight in number. The first is titled *Categories*. His aim in it is to speak of the ten simple categories and to describe them by means of that whereby each is distinguished from the other, by what is common to them or is common to a number of them, and what is peculiar to each one of them. He defines the things that precede them in description and similarity, one of which is that a substance as predicate and a substance as subject is not substantial in it, but accidental, and that an accident as subject and an accident to which a predicate is attached, that is, one to which something is annexed [...] <sup>769</sup>—in order to explain that perceptible substances and secondary, imperceptible accidents <sup>770</sup> can be predicated of the perceptible and that perceptible accidents and secondary, imperceptible accidents can be predicated of the perceptible. He explains the ten by themselves and by their descriptions, their commonalities, and their specificities. These are the ten: substance, quantity, quality, relation, location, time, acting, being acted on, position, <sup>771</sup> and habitus. <sup>772</sup> The book was titled *Categories* only because these names are genera and can be predicated of species and of the individual—like substance, for it can be predicated of the body. Body can be predicated of the animate and the inanimate; animate can be predicated of animal and plant; animal can be predicated of man, horse, and lion; and man can be predicated of Zayd, ‘Amr, and Khālid, who are individuals. Horse can be predicated of *this* horse by pointing or of *that* horse by similarity. Quantity can be predicated of the continuous and the discrete and of all their parts—and likewise are all the other genera.

1:146 The second is titled *The Book of Interpretation*. <sup>773</sup> His aim | in it is to speak about the interpretation of the propositions that are the premises of meaningful syllogisms, that is, sentences. The latter are positive or negative assertions

<sup>769</sup> One must assume a lacuna in the text, although the MS shows none.

<sup>770</sup> Perhaps to be emended to “substances”; cf. Klamroth, *ZDMG* 41: 423.

<sup>771</sup> In the sense of posture (Arabic *wadʿ*, corresponding to Greek τὸ κείμεναι).

<sup>772</sup> That is, state: Greek τὸ ἔχειν, explained by Aristotle as referring to such predicates as “shod” or “armed.” The Arabic here is problematic. The word in the MSS is undotted and can be read as *hadd* (limit) or as *jadd* (newness, good fortune), neither of which clearly renders the Greek.

<sup>773</sup> Generally known by its Latin title *De Interpretatione* (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας).

or [...].<sup>774</sup> He explains that from which propositions are composed—noun, particle, verb, inflection, and that which informs about the verb—and about such propositions as are composed of a noun, a particle, a third thing, and a fourth thing: as when we say, “The fire is hot,” and what is accidental to that. He examines which propositions are more contrary to each other: the positive to its negative, or the positive to the positive that contradicts it. He titled it *The Book of Interpretation*, having in mind the simple declaration, the utterance wherein there is no equivocal noun, and wanting to distinguish it from the utterance that is not a declaration that can be deemed to be false or true. The latter are of nine kinds: (1) question, as when you say, “From where did you come?” (2) request, as when you say, “O so-and-so, come here!” (3) wish, as when you say concerning something, “I beseech you to do such-and-such”; (4) wonder, as when you say concerning something, “What a thing this is!” (5) ... as when you say, “I swear by God that you shall go”; (6) doubt, as when you say, “Perhaps the matter is as has been said”; (7) determinative, as when you say, “This estate shall be a charitable bequest for the poor”; and (8) promise of reward, as when you say, “If you do such-and-such, I will reward you with such-and-such.”<sup>775</sup> A sentence may be called by various bynames, in different respects. If the utterance affirms something of something, it is called affirmative. If it denies something of something, it is called negative. If it is placed ahead, so that something may be inferred from it, it is called a premise. If it has been inferred from prior premises, it is called a conclusion. If premises and their conclusion are together, it is called a figure.<sup>776</sup>

The third is titled *Analytics*, the meaning of which is “contradictions.”<sup>777</sup> [His intention in it is] to explain simple | syllogisms, that is, what they are, how they

1:147

774 The text is defective at this point. The mss read *aw mā fī awwalihi* (or what is in its beginning). As this makes no sense, the Leiden editor assumed a lacuna after *aw* (or). In fact, *De Interpretatione*, 17a, notes that not every sentence is a proposition. Propositions must be either true or false; a prayer is a sentence but, being neither true nor false, is not a proposition.

775 The fact that only eight types of non-propositional sentences are listed can be explained by the fact that the original list was of sentence types, including, as a first type, sentences that are propositions, thus yielding a list of nine items. So Klamroth, *ZDMG* 41:425.

776 Arabic, *ṣiḡha*. That is, it can be classified as one of the three types (figures, σχήματα) of the syllogism discussed in Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*. M reads *ṣanī'a*, which could have the same meaning.

777 Arabic, *naqā'id* (contradictions, contraries). As this is not a possible meaning for the Greek ἀναλυτικά, the text may be disturbed or may contain a lacuna. One is tempted to

are, and for what they are. His object is the sort that brings together the three notions,<sup>778</sup> what has been said about the simple syllogism, the existence of the syllogism, how syllogisms are constructed, to how many kinds they belong, and, finally, what true conclusions from them become apparent by themselves, and which ones become apparent by conversion.<sup>779</sup>

The fourth book is titled *Apodeictics*, which means “setting right.”<sup>780</sup> His aim in it is to explain arguments<sup>781</sup> that are clear and demonstrative, how they are, and what should compose them. This book is called *Demonstration and Proof* because in it he describes the distinction whereby truth is distinguished from falsehood, veracity from lying. He says that premises are of different kinds: There are premises that are agreed upon and known to the general audience, composed of two parts prior in knowledge; as when one says, “Every man is a living being.” The second kind of premises, which require discussion for their soundness to be known, while true in themselves, are unknown to the general audience and require mediation for their soundness to be known; as when we say, “Every man is a substance.”

His fifth book is titled *Topics*. His purpose in it is to clarify the five terms “genus,” “species,” “difference,” “property,” and “accident,” [and to clarify] “definition.” One must know what genus is and what species is lest, from any (definition), the genus and the species be omitted; and this can be known only by means of the difference that distinguishes the species from the genus and what is the particularity of each or what accidents are in relation to substances.

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see *al-naqā'id* as a miscopying of [*tahlil*] *al-qiyās*, “[the analysis of] the syllogism,” which is an accurate description of the content of the *Prior Analytics*. Note that al-Ya'qūbī (or his source) gives a separate title, *Apodiktika*, to the work more commonly known as the *Posterior Analytics*.

778 That is, the three terms that are necessary for a valid syllogism (*Prior Analytics*, 25b).

779 Arabic *bi-l-ḥaraka*, literally “by movement.” Klamroth (*ZDMG* 41:426) considered this an attempt to render the Greek term ἀπαγωγή (*Prior Analytics* 29b5, δὴ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἀδύνατον ἀπαγωγῆς, “by a reduction *ad impossibile*”).

780 That is, the work usually called *Posterior Analytics*. The Arabic transliterates the alternate Greek title, Ἀποδεικτικά (affording proof, demonstrative). Al-Ya'qūbī's explanation of the title, if one can trust the reading of the MSS (*islāh*) might mean that the subject of the book is the detection and correction of fallacious arguments, but one is tempted to emend the reading to *īdlāh* (elucidation), which would be an acceptable equivalent for the Greek. See Klamroth, *ZDMG* 41:433.

781 Arabic *umūr* (pl. of *amr*), literally means “matters,” but here seems to be used like its Syriac cognate *mēmra* to translate Greek λόγος in the sense of “argument” or “discourse.”



In his sixth book, titled *Sophistics*,<sup>782</sup> his aim is to discuss fallacious arguments. He enumerates the types of fallacious argument and tells how one can guard against accepting such fallacies. This is the book in which he replied to | 1:148 the Sophists.

His seventh book is titled *Rhetoric*, which means “eloquence.” It is about the three kinds (of eloquence): judicial; deliberative; and laudatory or censuring, both of which are encompassed by [the Arabic] term *taqrīz*.<sup>783</sup>

In his eighth book, titled *Poetics*, his purpose is to discuss the art of poetry, what is admissible in it, the meters used in it, and each genre.

These are his purposes in his logical books, the four prior ones and the second four.

As for his physical books: The book *Lecture on Nature*, which is an account of the physical.<sup>784</sup> In it he discussed the physical things, which are five that encompass all physical things and without which no physical thing can exist. They are matter, form, place, motion, and time; for time can have no existence save by motion, motion can have no existence save by place, place can have no existence save by form, and form can have no existence save by matter. Of these five, two are substances—matter and form—and three are substantial accidents.

The second is the one titled *The Book of the Heavens and the World*.<sup>785</sup> His purpose in it is to elucidate the celestial things not subject to corruption. They are of two kinds: One of them is circular in shape, and its movement is rotation: the sphere that surrounds all things; it is a fifth element, not subject to generation or corruption. The other kind is that which is spherical and circular by generation, although it is not circular in motion, namely the four elements: fire, air, earth, and water. These are not circular in motion, but straight in motion, cyclical in generation. Things that are cyclical of generation are such as come into being one from the other by transformation, | such as the thing that 1:149 cycles and transforms: such as fire, which cycles and transforms and comes to be from air, and air from water, and water from earth. Each of these elements cycles by generation, one into the other, fire and air upward, water and earth downward.

782 Commonly known by the Latinized version of its Greek title, *Sophistici elenchi* (Sophistical Refutations).

783 In later usage, *taqrīz* refers to speeches given in praise, but the older dictionaries note that it could refer to orations in praise or in derision. The Greek term is ἐπιδεικτικόν.

784 Commonly known as the *Physics*. The Arabic (*Kitāb Sam‘ al-kiyān*) reflects the longer Greek title, Φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις.

785 Commonly known as *De caelo*. (Περὶ οὐρανοῦ).

His third book is the one titled *The Book of Generation and Corruption*. His purpose [in it] is to explain the nature of coming-to-be and passing-away, as water's becoming air, and air's becoming water, how it comes to be and how it passes away by nature.

The fourth is the *Ordinances*, a book of discourse *On Celestial Phenomena*.<sup>786</sup> His purpose in it is to explain the occurrence of coming-to-be and passing-away, the coming-to-be and passing-away of everything that comes to be between the limit of the sphere of the moon down to the center of the earth, whether in the air, on the earth, or in its interior, as well as such phenomena as occur there: clouds, mist, thunder, lightning, wind, snow, rain, and so forth.

A book *On Minerals*, which is the fifth. His purpose in it is to explain how the bodies that are generated in the interior of the earth come to be, their qualities, their specific and common properties, and their proper places.

The sixth book is an explanation of the causes of plants, their qualities, their specific and common properties, the causes of their organs, the places proper to them, and their movement.

These are his objectives in his physical books.

As for his psychological books, they are two. The first of the two is the *Book of the Soul*.<sup>787</sup> His purpose in it is to explain the nature (*mā'īyya*) of the soul, its substance (*qawām*), its parts, the differentiation of sense perception and the enumeration of its kinds, the soul's virtues and habits, and the things praiseworthy and the things blameworthy in it. The praiseworthy things are logic, justice, wisdom, judgment, forbearance, courage, strength, boldness, magnanimity, | and restraint; the blameworthy things are injustice, wantonness, hypocrisy, violence, lying, slander, and treachery.

The second book is *On Sense Perception and the Sensible*.<sup>788</sup> It discusses the causes of the perception of perceptibles. His purpose in it is to tell what sense perception is and what a perceptible object is, how the sense receives perceived things, how the sense and the perceived object come to be one thing, while

786 The meaning of the Arabic as it stands in the MSS is uncertain. Aristotle's *Meteorology* (Μετεωρολογικά) was translated into Arabic by Yahyā b. al-Ḥiṭṭīq as *Fī l-āthār al-ʿulwīyya*, and this phrase occurs at the end of al-Yaʿqūbī's sentence, where it has been translated as *On Celestial Phenomena*. The problem is the beginning of the sentence, which designates the book as *Kitāb al-Sharāʾiʿ* (The Book of Ordinances/Paths). The meaning is uncertain.

787 That is, the *De anima* (Περὶ ψυχῆς).

788 Arabic *Fī l-ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs*, that is, the short treatise (one of the *Parva Naturalia*) entitled Περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν.

being different in themselves,<sup>789</sup> and whether things are [perceived] in their natures and in their bodies or in their natures to the exclusion of their bodies.

Next comes his book *On Spiritual Argument*.<sup>790</sup> His purpose in it is to give an account of such form as, being devoid of matter, is in the upper world, and the spiritual faculties, as well as to know how the faculties of those forms join with the natural faculties, whether they are moved or unmoving, how the former faculties govern the latter faculties, and if one<sup>791</sup> of the gross corporeal faculties is part of those exalted things. He explains what the intellect is and what the thing intellected is,<sup>792</sup> what the universal soul is, and what its descent and ascent are.

Next comes his book *On Unity*.<sup>793</sup> He said that the second<sup>794</sup> causality is the cause of causes and that the aeon (*dahr*) is beneath it; the latter is the originator of things and the origination of them.<sup>795</sup> He discourses on this, explaining the doctrine of (divine) unity.

As for his books on ethics (*al-khuluq*) [...] and to elucidate the moral qualities of the soul, happiness in soul and body, the governance of common folk and of people of distinction, a man's governance of his wife, politics, the governance of cities, and stories of the governors of cities.

These are the subjects of the noteworthy and noble books of Aristotle the Wise. The books that came after them depended on them.



789 Emending the text of the manuscripts (*fi l-adawāt*, “in the organs”) to *fi l-dhawāt*.

790 Arabic, *Fī l-kalām al-rūḥānī*, perhaps to be rendered “On Theological Argument.” This and the following title may refer to Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* (divided by al-Ya’qūbī or his source into two treatises) or to the sections of Plotinus’s *Enneads* that came, in Arabic translation, to be known as the “Theology of Aristotle.”

791 Retaining the reading of M (*wa-in kāna wāḥid*). Ed. Leiden emends to *wa-anna kulla wāḥid* (and that every one).

792 That is, the object of thought, accepting the emendation proposed by the Leiden editor (*mā l-ʿaql wa-mā l-maʿqūl*). M reads, *mā l-ʿaql wa-mā l-ʿuqūl* (what the intellect is and what the intellects are). The Leiden reading corresponds better with the argument of *Metaphysics* 1074b–1075a.

793 Arabic, *Fī l-tawḥīd*; because *tawḥīd* is the normal Arabic term for “monotheism, the doctrine of God’s unity,” one might translate the title as “On Monotheism.” The Aristotelian work closest to the content described by al-Ya’qūbī is *Metaphysics* Λ (x11), but al-Ya’qūbī may well be describing part of the “Theology of Aristotle.”

794 Following ed. Leiden in reading the MS as *al-thāniya*. However, as the first letter is undotted, one is tempted to ignore the dot on the *nūn* and read *al-nāʿiya* (the remote [cause]).

795 Alternate translation: “and that origination/being originated belongs to them.”

1:151 Among the sages of the Greeks was Ptolemy. He was the one who composed the book of the | *Almagest*, *The [Device of] Rings*,<sup>796</sup> *The Device of Plates*, which is the astrolabe, and the *Canon*.<sup>797</sup>

As for the *Almagest*, it is about the science of the stars and motions.<sup>798</sup> The interpretation of “*Almagest*” is “the greatest book.”<sup>799</sup> It consists of thirteen discourses.

He began the first discourse of the *Almagest* with an account of the sun, because it is the foundation: only through it can one arrive at knowledge of any of the motions of the celestial sphere (*al-falak*). He said in the first chapter that the sun has a sphere<sup>800</sup> whose center lies outside the center of the world.<sup>801</sup> On one side of it,<sup>802</sup> the sun becomes elevated, rising toward the part of the sphere of the constellations opposite it, becoming more distant from the center of the earth; on the other side of it, it descends toward the earth, becoming more distant from the part of the sphere of the constellations opposite it. The place of elevation is the place where the sun moves slowly, whereas the place

796 That is, the armillary sphere, a three-dimensional model consisting of a central sphere representing the earth, surrounded by concentric rings to represent the spheres in which the sun, moon, planets, and fixed stars of the Ptolemaic universe moved.

797 As no source from antiquity attributes to Ptolemy independent works on the armillary sphere—*Almagest* v. 1 contains a brief description of a simpler form of such an instrument—the astrolabe, or a work simply entitled *Canon*, al-Ya‘qūbī’s attribution of these three books to Ptolemy has been questioned. Klamroth presented evidence that the books in question were by Theon of Alexandria, who also produced an introduction to the *Almagest*, which Klamroth saw as probably the direct source of al-Ya‘qūbī’s description of the content of the *Almagest*. See Klamroth, “Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja‘qūbī, IV,” *ZDMG* 42 (1888): 18–20. For a summary of the available evidence, see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 5:180–184.

798 For an annotated English translation of this work, see G. J. Toomer, *Ptolemy’s Almagest* (London: Duckworth, 1984). Toomer’s introduction also provides a brief history of Arabic translations of the work. Klamroth’s article (“Ueber die Auszüge,” 17–18) provides an annotated German translation of al-Ya‘qūbī’s section on Book I (“the first discourse”) but omits any detailed discussion of the section on Books II–IV.

799 In fact, Ptolemy’s major work is called simply *Mathematical Treatise* (Μαθηματικὴ σύνταξις) or *Great Compendium* (Μεγάλη σύνθεσις) in Greek, not “the greatest” (μεγίστη), as al-Ya‘qūbī asserts.

800 M reads *anna l-shams<sup>a</sup> falakan* (that the sun, a sphere). This can easily be corrected to read *anna lil-shams<sup>i</sup> falakan*. Ed. Leiden reads simply *anna l-shams<sup>a</sup> falak<sup>un</sup>* (that the sun is a sphere), which makes no sense.

801 That is, the center of the sphere in which the sun moves is different from the center of the earth, which is, in the Ptolemaic scheme, the center of the universe.

802 That is, of its sphere or orbit.

of lowness is the one where it moves rapidly. He then discussed this in clear words. The second chapter is about the size of the whole of the earth in relation to the whole of the heavens [...] <sup>803</sup> and it was placed with the placement of an oblique sphere; <sup>804</sup> the location of the inhabited parts of the earth; the measures of its hours, as between the equator and the North Pole; the difference between these two places; the size of that difference in the directions of the horizon with regard to the different locations of the inhabitants of the earth; and the motion of the sun and moon. The third chapter is about the hypothetical upright sphere in comparison with the arcs of the sphere of the constellations. <sup>805</sup>

The second discourse is thirteen chapters. The first chapter is about the inhabited locations of the earth. The second chapter is about determining the measurement between the upright sphere and the rising point of the inclined sphere from the degrees of arc of the circle of the horizon of the rising and the amounts of daylight in every day with regard to its length and shortness. <sup>806</sup> The third chapter is about determining [the elevation of] | the pole and the depression (below the horizon) of the parts that are opposite it, which is the latitude of the clime, from the attribute and the marks vis-à-vis the elevation of the pole—and what remains until the limit of the zenith, which is on the meridian circle. <sup>807</sup> The fourth chapter is about determining the sun's crossing the zenith of a country's inhabitants: where that occurs, when it occurs, and in what place of the divisions of the zodiac the sun is on that day over their heads. <sup>808</sup> The fifth chapter is about the measure of the midday shadow at the equinoctial signs and the solstitial signs. <sup>809</sup> The sixth chapter is about the special characteristics of locations vis-à-vis the path from east to west and

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803 A lacuna suspected by the Leiden editor, although the MSS show none.

804 If "it" (feminine in Arabic) refers to the sun (also feminine in Arabic), this could refer to the inclination of the ecliptic (the plane of the sun's apparent path against the background of the fixed stars) relative to the plane of earth's equator.

805 That is, the difference between the arcs traced by the various constellations at differing latitudes and the arcs that these constellations would trace for a hypothetical observer on the earth's equator (the so-called *sphaera recta* or "upright sphere") where all stars would rise and set on arcs perpendicular to the horizon.

806 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 76: "Given the length of the longest day, how to find the arcs of the horizon cut off between the equator and the ecliptic."

807 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 77: "If the same quantities be given, how to find the elevation of the pole, and vice versa."

808 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 80: "How to compute for what regions, when, and how often the sun reaches the zenith."

809 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 80: "How one can derive the ratios of the gnomon to the equinoctial and solstitial noon shadows from the above-mentioned quantities."

equidistant parallels of latitude.<sup>810</sup> The seventh chapter is about the difference of the risings of the oblique sphere from the rising of the upright sphere.<sup>811</sup> The eighth chapter is a table of rising-times for the parallels of the climes of the earth and the rising-time of its path, parallel by parallel.<sup>812</sup> The ninth chapter is about determining the length of the night and the day, consisting of the seasonal hours of the climes, and determining the risings of the parts of the zodiac and the ascendant and culminating part of the sky.<sup>813</sup> The tenth chapter is about the angles formed between the ecliptic and the meridian circle that is in mid-sky.<sup>814</sup> The eleventh chapter is about the angles formed between the ecliptic and the circle of the horizon of rising toward the south from the quadrants in each clime.<sup>815</sup> The twelfth chapter is about the angles and arcs formed on the horizon circle that circles around the pole of the horizon circle in the locations of the climes.<sup>816</sup> The thirteenth chapter draws up tables of the arcs and angles at the climes of the earth.<sup>817</sup> These are the chapters of the second discourse.

1153 The third discourse of the *Almagest* consists of ten chapters. The first chapter is about knowing the length of the year and the number of its days. The second chapter draws up tables of the mean motion of the sun. The third chapter is about knowledge of the aspects of uniform circular motion.<sup>818</sup> The fourth

810 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 82: "Exposition of the special characteristics, parallel by parallel."

811 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 90: "On simultaneous risings of arcs of the ecliptic and equator at *sphaera obliqua*."

812 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 100–103: "Table of rising-times at 10° intervals." The table gives rising-times for points located at intervals of 10° along the zodiac for a series of places from the equator to the far north.

813 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 99: "On the particular features that follow from the rising times."

814 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 105: "On the angles between the ecliptic and the meridian."

815 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 110: "On the angles between the ecliptic and the horizon."

816 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 114: "On the angles and arcs formed with the same circle [that is, the ecliptic] by a circle drawn through the poles of the horizon."

817 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 114: "Layout of angles and arcs, parallel by parallel." Toomer labels the table, "Table of Zenith Distances and Ecliptic Angles" (123–129).

818 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 141: "On the hypotheses for uniform circular motion." In Ptolemy's system, the motion of every planet was essentially regular and uniform, in that, "if we imagine the bodies or their circles being carried around by straight lines, in absolutely every case the straight line in question describes equal angles at the center of its revolution in equal times" (trans. Toomer, 141). The apparent irregularity ("anomaly") in the motion of a given planet was explained by hypothesizing that the planet actually

chapter is about knowledge of the apparent anomaly in the motion of the sun according to observation and past records.<sup>819</sup> The fifth chapter is about partial investigations of the anomaly.<sup>820</sup> The sixth chapter is on the construction of the components of tables of the individual subdivisions of the anomaly.<sup>821</sup> The seventh chapter is about establishing tables of the anomaly of the sun's motion. The eighth chapter is about knowledge of the sun's position in its mean motion.<sup>822</sup> The ninth chapter is about the equation of the sun and knowledge of its true position. The tenth chapter is about knowledge of the difference of the days, between one day-and-night and another.<sup>823</sup>

The fourth discourse of the *Almagest* consists of eleven chapters. The first chapter is from which observations (one's) examination of the moon ought to be made.<sup>824</sup> The second chapter is on knowledge of the times of the periods of the moon. The third chapter is on knowledge of the division of the mean motions of the moon. The fourth chapter is on establishing tables containing the mean motions of the moon. The fifth chapter is that the two hypotheses—the eccentric hypothesis and the epicyclic hypothesis—concerning the motions of the moon [indicate one and the same thing].<sup>825</sup> The sixth chapter is about demonstration of the first simple anomaly of the moon's motion. The seventh chapter is on the correction of the moon's course in longitude and anomaly. The eighth chapter is on knowledge of the epoch (*mawḍiʿ*) of the moon's mean courses in longitude | and anomaly. The ninth chapter is on the

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moved on an "epicycle," a smaller circle whose center moved in uniform motion on the main orbit. The motions in both cases were assumed to be regular, but their combined result, seen from the earth, appeared to be irregular ("anomalous").

819 Reading with M: *rīwāya*; ed. Leiden emends to *ruʿya* (sight).

820 The text of the MSS is unclear. M seems to read *al-imtīhānāt al-juzʿiyya* (the partial/individual verifications). Ed. Leiden emends to *al-abḥāth al-juzʿiyya* (the partial/individual investigations) which is closer to what Toomer (p. 157) records as the heading in one of the Arabic translations. Toomer translates, "Investigation of the anomaly for partial stretches [of the sun's apparent orbit]."

821 The text is uncertain.

822 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 166: "On the epoch of the sun's mean motion."

823 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 169: "On the inequality of the [solar] days."

824 Cf. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 173: "The kind of observations which one must use to examine lunar phenomena."

825 The phrase in brackets has been supplied by the Leiden editor on the basis of the Greek. The meaning is that one can explain the moon's apparent motions by assuming either that the center of its orbit is "eccentric," that is, not the center of the earth, or that the moon moves on an epicycle, a secondary circle whose center travels around the primary circle of the moon's orbit.

correction of the mean course of the moon in latitude [and]<sup>826</sup> in its inception. The tenth chapter concerns the drawing up of tables of the simple anomaly [of the moon].<sup>827</sup> The eleventh chapter is about how much the anomaly of the moon amounts to.

These four discourses provide everything that is needed of the book *Almagest*. Nine discourses after them are about a description of the eccentrics (*al-marākiz*), about preference for (the theory of) epicycles (*al-tadwīr*), and about producing tables of motion and tables of the longitude of the planets.

The book *On the Device of Rings*.<sup>828</sup> It begins with an account of the making of the ring device. It consists of nine rings, one within the other. One of them is provided with a suspensory ring.<sup>829</sup> The second, transverse within it, is from east to west. The third is the ring that turns in these two rings on (an axis) between its lower part and its upper part. The fourth is the one that moves beneath the ring with the suspensory. The fifth carries the band of the zodiacal signs, and the axis is mounted on it. The sixth carries the band of the twelve signs of the zodiac. The seventh is beneath the two rings of the sphere; it is a ring mounted on the axis so that, by means of it, one may take the latitude of the fixed stars that move among the quarters of the celestial sphere. The eighth moves in the two sides of the axis. The ninth ring is mounted in the eighth<sup>830</sup> for the movement of the upright sphere.<sup>831</sup> [...] <sup>832</sup> It is set down ...<sup>833</sup> In it he mentions how one begins to make it; how one writes on it; how each ring is mounted in the other; how they are divided into degrees, scored with lines, and fastened so that they do not come apart; and how it is set up. Next he

826 Added by the Leiden editor.

827 Reading, as proposed by the Leiden editor, *ikhtilāf al-qamar al-mufrad*, for MSS *ikhtilāfihim al-mufrad* (their simple anomaly).

828 That is, an armillary sphere. For an annotated German translation of this section, see M. Klamroth, "Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī, IV," *ZDMG* 42 (1888): 20–23.

829 Arabic, *iḥdāhunna dhāt 'ilāqa*. For evidence for 'ilāqa as "suspensory ring," see Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:162. This is the outermost ring, with a suspensory at the top so that it can hang vertically.

830 Emending MSS *al-thāniya* (the second) to *al-thāmina*; the two words are similar in Arabic script.

831 That is, the *sphaera recta*.

832 The Leiden editor inferred a lacuna. The text in the MSS shows no break.

833 The translation of the remainder of the sentence is uncertain. "It is set down in the *south* (?) and the heavens *rise-into-view* (?) according to the *lowering* (?), reading with MSS *isfāl* or *asfāl*, neither of which is attested; ed. Leiden, *isqāla*, scale of) of the upright sphere (*sphaera recta*)."



mentions in thirty-nine chapters how it is used. The first chapter | is about the places of operation<sup>834</sup> in the armillary sphere and the circles in it. The second chapter is about its testing. The third chapter is on determining the shadow of the sun by means of it. The fourth chapter is about when you want to determine by means of it the latitude of a clime, a city, or a place. The fifth chapter is about when you want to determine by means of it what the latitude of each clime is. The sixth chapter is about when you want to know how the daylight decreases and increases in Cancer.<sup>835</sup> The seventh chapter is about when you want to know the length of each of the days of the year. The eighth chapter is about when you want to know about the equal length of night and day in the first clime.<sup>836</sup> The ninth chapter is about when you want to know how the signs of the zodiac rise in the climes by less or more than thirty degrees. The tenth chapter is about why the degrees of the zodiacal constellations can be converted to a degree of the upright sphere.<sup>837</sup> The eleventh chapter is about knowledge of every zodiacal sign and how it sets at the rising of its opposite and rises at the latter's setting in degrees.<sup>838</sup> The twelfth chapter is about when you want to know how the zodiacal signs, according to their difference in degrees, rise to mid-heaven. The thirteenth chapter is about when you want to become

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834 Arabic, *mawāḍiʿ al-ʿamal*, could mean either physical places, that is, the operating parts of the device, or the occasions for using the device.

835 The Arabic is vague and ambiguous: the verbs *yaqṣuru* and *yaṭūlu* mean “to be/become short(er)” and “to be/become long(er)” respectively. They could refer to a static condition: the fact that the sun’s crossing the tropic of Cancer marks the shortest day in the southern hemisphere and the longest day in the northern. Or, if one understands the verbs to mean “becomes short(er)/long(er),” the words would refer to the fact that when the sun reaches the tropic of Cancer the daylight hours begin to decrease in the northern hemisphere and begin to increase in the southern hemisphere. Finally, if words have fallen out of the text, one might understand “how the daylight is short (in Capricorn) and long in Cancer [for observers in the northern hemisphere].”

836 Since the first clime comprises lands close to the terrestrial equator, the armillary sphere could be used to demonstrate how little night and day vary seasonally in this clime, being theoretically equal at the equator throughout the year.

837 The text is uncertain. The translation, conjectural at best, retains the word *lima* (for what reason, why) of the manuscript, although it would be easy to emend it to *bima* (by what means, how). Ed. Leiden deletes the word. “Can be converted” translates *rudda ilā* (literally, “have been brought back to”; perhaps to be emended to *turaddu ilā*). “To a degree” (*ilā juzʿ*) is written unambiguously in M.

838 Thus the Arabic. The simplest way to parse the sentence is to take “in degrees” as qualifying “its opposite” (*naẓīrihi fi l-ajzāʾ*), with the phrase designating the sign separated from it by 180°. A more elegant solution would be to see the text as having been truncated and to restore it to *bi-maghībī (naẓīrī)hi fi l-ajzāʾ*.

acquainted with each sign of them. The fourteenth chapter is about when you want to know the ascendant and the four cardinal signs (*awtād*) during the daytime from the sun.<sup>839</sup> The fifteenth chapter is about when you want to know the ascendant during the night from the moon and the planets. The sixteenth chapter is about when you want to know how many hours of the daytime have passed. The seventeenth chapter is about when you want to know at what hour the moon or one of the fixed stars will become visible. The eighteenth chapter is about when you want to know the hours of the conjunctions. The nineteenth chapter is about when you want to know the amplitude of the summer and winter sunrises and of the summer and winter sunsets in any country.<sup>840</sup> The twentieth chapter is about when you want to know for every | zodiacal sign the amplitude of its rising from the east and of its setting from the west. The twenty-first chapter is about when you want to know the stars that are invisible in every country.<sup>841</sup> The twenty-second chapter is about when you want to know the five paths that the sages have mentioned in the sky of every country.<sup>842</sup> The twenty-third chapter is about when you want to know the seven climes. The twenty-fourth chapter is about when you want to become acquainted with each of the climes. The twenty-fifth chapter is when you want to know how (short) the shortest day is, when the sun comes to be in Capricorn, at the location whose latitude is 63°, that being the limit of habitation toward the north: daylight there is approximately four hours, and night twenty hours; the longest day there is twenty hours, and the night four hours; it is the island of Thule, part of the land of Europe, and it is the northernmost part of the land of the Romans. The twenty-sixth chapter is about when you want to know the locations from which the sun becomes invisible for six months, so that there is constant darkness, and over which the sun rises for six months, so that there is constant light: it is the place that is opposite the axis of the north.<sup>843</sup> The twenty-seventh chapter

839 That is, when you want to know, on the basis of the sun's position, what sign of the zodiac is rising on the eastern horizon at that moment and the location of the four cardinal signs of the zodiac (the two solstices and the two equinoxes: Capricorn and Cancer, Libra and Aries).

840 Amplitude (Arabic, *miqdār*) refers to the deviation of sunrise and sunset from due east and due west respectively at any time of the year other than the equinoxes, when the sun rises due east and sets due west for all locations.

841 Because of the ambiguity of Arabic *taghibu* (are/become invisible; set) this can refer either to determining which stars can never be seen from a given latitude or which stars, not being circumpolar at that latitude, rise and set.

842 That is, the celestial equator, the Arctic and Antarctic circles, and the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn; see Klamroth, op. cit., 22.

843 That is, the terrestrial location (the north pole) that is directly opposite the celestial pole.

is about when you want to know the degree of the ecliptic for any fixed star that rises in any land you wish. The twenty-eighth chapter is about when you want to know how many longitudinal degrees<sup>844</sup> there are between the beginning of Aries and the ascendant in any country. The twenty-ninth chapter is about when you want to know to which clime any given city or country belongs. The thirtieth chapter is about when you want to know the latitude of the moon or any planet. The thirty-first chapter | is about when you want to establish the meridian line in its position relative to the zenith of any country.<sup>845</sup> The thirty-second chapter is about when you want to know the longitude and latitude of the stars after you have become acquainted with the course of the meridian.<sup>846</sup> The thirty-third chapter is about when you want to know the location of the Dragon's Head and the Dragon's Tail and whether it meets with the orbits of the sun and moon.<sup>847</sup> The thirty-fourth chapter is about when you want to know the times of rising by means of the water clock.<sup>848</sup> The thirty-fifth chapter is about when you want to know the course of the sphere in which the fixed stars are. The thirty-sixth chapter is about when you want to know the heliacal risings and settings of the stars.<sup>849</sup> The thirty-seventh chapter is about when you want to know the longitude of a given city. The thirty-eighth chapter is

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The MS reading *miḥwarayī l-shamāl* (the *two* axes of the north) may be a rough way of indicating that both poles, north and south, fulfill this condition.

- 844 The translation is uncertain. Klamroth, op. cit., 23, conjectures that the reference may be to degrees of longitude or to right ascension.
- 845 The meridian line (Arabic, *khaff wasaṭ al-samā'*) is a great circle passing through the celestial poles and the meridian of any location.
- 846 Following the emendation proposed by the Leiden editor (*jary wasaṭ al-samā'*, instead of *mss juz' wasaṭ al-samā'*). The latter would mean, "the degree of the meridian."
- 847 Dragon's Head and Dragon's Tail designate the ascending and descending nodes: the places where the plane of the moon's orbit crosses the plane of the ecliptic (the plane of the sun's apparent motion against the background of the fixed stars). At the ascending node (Dragon's Head) the moon passes across the ecliptic while traveling north; at the descending node (Dragon's Tail) the moon passes across the ecliptic while traveling south. The significance of the nodes is that lunar and solar eclipses can occur only when the moon and the sun are aligned in the same (or nearly the same) plane at full moon or new moon. Knowledge of the position of the nodes was therefore used to predict eclipses.
- 848 The translation "water clock" for *sā'āt al-mā'* (the hours of water) is conjectural. The text may be corrupt.
- 849 The heliacal rising of a given star or planet occurs when it first becomes far enough from the sun to be visible in the eastern sky just before sunrise; its heliacal setting occurs when it is last visible in the western sky just before sunset. The heliacal rising and setting of certain stars (pre-eminently Sirius, whose rising heralded the dog days of summer) was used in antiquity to define periods in the calendar.

about knowing the degrees of longitude of cities. The thirty-ninth chapter is about calculating the arc algebraically.<sup>850</sup> These are the chapters of *The Device of Rings*.

The book *On the Device of Plates*,<sup>851</sup> which is the astrolabe, begins with a discussion of its operation and how it is made: its edges<sup>852</sup> and its measurements; the mounting of its rims, its plates, its spider,<sup>853</sup> and its alidade;<sup>854</sup> how it is marked with degrees and divided into parts,<sup>855</sup> and how one maintains the manner of division of its degrees, its circles of altitude,<sup>856</sup> and its inclination. He explains this and describes it: a plate for each clime; the latitude and longitude of each clime; the positions of the stars and the hours in it; the ascendant and the descendant;<sup>857</sup> the inclined, the southern, and the northern;<sup>858</sup> the first point of Capricorn and the first point of Cancer; the first point of Aries and the first point of Libra. Then he mentions its use. The first chapter

850 Arabic, *min ḥisāb al-jabr*; this is a conjectural restoration by the Leiden editor. The MSS read *min ḥisāb al-jaww*, “from calculation of the air,” which is meaningless.

851 In addition to the article by Klamroth cited above, al-Ya‘qūbī’s discussion of the astrolabe is discussed in O. Neugebauer, “The Early History of the Astrolabe,” *ISIS* 40/3 (1949): 240–256, and in the article and bibliography by David A. King in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Astrolabes, quadrants, and calculating devices. The earlier article by W. Hartner in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Astrolāb, is still useful.

852 Arabic, *ḥudūd* (pl. of *ḥadd*), can have a variety of meanings—“edge, limit, boundary.” The exact sense here is uncertain.

853 Arabic, *‘ankabūt*, commonly called “rete” in English, from the Latin *rete* (net). It consists of a movable fretwork fitted over the latitude-specific plate; it carries a circle representing the ecliptic and pointers for any number of fixed stars.

854 Most European languages preserve this technical term in a form derived from Arabic *al-‘idāda* (originally, one of the side-posts of a door). It is a movable ruler, often called a “dioptra,” affixed, at its center, to the rear of the astrolabe and used to measure the altitude of the sun or other celestial object.

855 Arabic, *kayfa tujazza’u wa-tuqsamu*. How specifically this is intended is unclear. Klamroth, op. cit., 24, interprets in a more general sense: “wie man es auseinandernimmt und zerlegt” (how one takes it apart and dismantles it).

856 Arabic, *muqantarāt*: a series of circles around the zenith point on the plate representing altitude above the horizon. The Arabic technical term has been preserved in English as “almucantar.”

857 Arabic, *al-ṭālī‘ wa-l-ghārib*; normally this would refer to the star or constellation rising (ṭālī‘) or setting (ghārib) at a particular moment, but it seems here to mean the line representing the horizon.

858 Arabic, *al-mā’il wa-l-janūbī wa-l-shamālī*. Each astrolabe plate has three circles concentric to its center point, representing the equator, the Tropic of Cancer (the northern limit of the sun’s motion) and the Tropic of Capricorn (the southern limit). “The inclined” seems to refer instead to the ecliptic, represented by a circle on the “spider.”

is about testing it, so that it will be correct. Chapter two is about testing the two ends of the alidade. The third chapter is about knowing how many hours of daylight have passed and what are the zodiacal sign and the degree of the ascendant. The fourth chapter is about knowing how many hours | of the night 1:158 have passed and what the ascendant is in terms of zodiacal signs and degrees. The fifth chapter is about determining the position of the sun with relation to the signs of the zodiac and degrees. The sixth chapter is about knowing the positions of the moon: in what zodiacal sign and degree it is, and where the seven planets are.<sup>859</sup> The seventh chapter is about knowing the latitude of the moon. The eighth chapter is about knowing the risings of the twelve zodiacal signs in the seven climes and knowing each of these signs. The ninth chapter is about how the risings cross the upright sphere and what (sign) attains each of the equatorial degrees.<sup>860</sup> The tenth chapter is about knowing how many hours of night and day there are at any season in a given clime. The eleventh chapter is about knowing the length of the “day” of a given fixed star<sup>861</sup> and what part of the heavens passes from the time of the rising of (one of) the stars to the time of its setting. The twelfth chapter is about determining the longitude and latitude of the stars. The thirteenth chapter is about determining the shifting of the fixed stars, for they shift one degree in every hundred lunar years.<sup>862</sup> The fourteenth chapter is about determining the declination of the zodiacal signs away from the equator, which is the circle of Aries and Libra.<sup>863</sup> The fifteenth chapter is about determining which cities are closer to the north and

859 That is, the seven “wandering stars” of the visible sky: Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

860 The translation is uncertain and follows Klamroth, op. cit., 24. Neugebauer, 244, translates: “Rising times for sphaera recta (i.e.) right ascension (of zodiacal signs).”

861 Arabic, *miqdār nahār kull kawkab min al-kawākib*: apparently referring to the diurnal arc of any given star, the length of time that it will be above the horizon.

862 The translation is based on the emendation suggested by Klamroth, op. cit., 25: *fī kull mī'a min sinī l-qamar*. The reference is to the change of the celestial coordinates of stars due to the movement of the rotational axis of the earth, which traces a cone around the pole of the ecliptic in a period of about 26,000 years, or 1° every 72 years. Ptolemy (*Almagest*, VII, 4) gives the value of 1° every 100 years. One degree per lunar century (c. 97 years) is slightly more accurate, but it cannot be determined whether al-Ya'qūbī's specification of lunar as opposed to solar years represents a correction of Ptolemy or simply reflects the lunar basis of the Islamic calendar.

863 Because the ecliptic and the equator intersect at the vernal equinox (Aries) and the autumnal equinox (Libra), the equator can be called “the circle of Aries and Libra.” The angle between the plane of the equator and that of the ecliptic is also called “the obliquity of the ecliptic.”

which are closer to the south. The sixteenth chapter is about determining the cities closest to the east and those closest to the west. The seventeenth chapter is about determining the latitude of each clime. The eighteenth chapter is about knowing which clime you are in. The nineteenth chapter is about knowing the latitude of the climes and of whichever cities you wish. The twentieth chapter is about knowing the determination of the five paths and how their paths run.<sup>864</sup> In each of these chapters he offers a long explanation in which he explains whatever is necessary and needs to be known. These, then, are his purposes in *On the Device of Plates*.

1:159 His book, *The Canon: On the Science of the Stars, Their Computation, and the Division and Equation of Their Degrees*, is one of the most complete and clearest books on the stars. Its opening begins with an account of the revolving of the heavens in which these stars revolve.<sup>865</sup> (Then comes) a chapter concerning knowledge of the course of the stars each day. He says that the distance traveled by the sun every day is 59';<sup>866</sup> the distance traveled by the apogee of the moon is 7'; the distance traveled by the Head of the Dragon,<sup>867</sup> which is the *Jawzahar*,<sup>868</sup> is 3'; the distance traveled by Saturn is 2'; the distance traveled by Jupiter is 5'; the distance traveled by Mars is 31'; the distance traveled by Venus is 1°36'; the distance traveled by Mercury is 4°5'; and the distance traveled by Regulus<sup>869</sup> is 6".<sup>870</sup> (Then comes) a chapter concerning knowledge of the average movements of the stars and their determination and equation when they can be determined only by their average movements. (Then comes) a chapter about the movement of the quadrants of the sphere, according to the doctrine of the

864 The five paths, mentioned above (at 1:156) are the Arctic Circle, the Tropic of Cancer, the Equator, the Tropic of Capricorn, and the Antarctic Circle.

865 Reading *dawr al-samā'* (the revolving of the heavens) and interpreting this to mean that the book began by positing the existence of a heavenly sphere whose motion was perfectly regular and with reference to which the apparently irregular observed motions of the sun, moon, and planets (*al-kawākib*) could be related by various geometrical constructions and mathematical formulas.

866 That is, the apparent eastward motion of the sun against the background of fixed stars. The figure is approximate.

867 That is, the ascending node.

868 More correctly, *Gōzihr*, a Persian term for an imaginary dragon spanning the sky between the two nodes of the moon, its head located at the ascending node, its tail at the descending node. See the article by D. N. Mackenzie in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. *Gōzihr*.

869 Arabic, *qalb al-asad* (the Lion's heart), the regular term for Regulus ( $\alpha$  Leonis).

870 As Klamroth, op. cit., 25, notes 4 and 5, observes: Only for the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars are the figures correct. The figure given for Regulus can be corrected by assuming that the original reading was 1" in 6 days.

astrologers<sup>871</sup> that the quadrants of the sphere move eight “portions” forward and eight “portions” backward—a “portion” being a degree—going forward in every eighty years, and backward over every eighty years, by one degree.<sup>872</sup> (Then comes) a chapter on the inclination of the sun and the latitude of the six planets and their distance from the equator to the north and to the south. He drew up a table for each of these celestial objects: the inclination of the sun is its inclination from the equator; the inclination of the latitude of the planets is their distance from the path of the sun. (Then comes) a chapter on the standing still and retrogression of the seven planets, how one determines it: for Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, when between each one of them and the sun there are 120 degrees or 240 degrees; and for Venus and Mercury when they are at their maximum distance from the sun—when between Venus and it | there are 46 degrees, and between Mercury and it there are 23 degrees. (Then comes) a chapter on the coming into view of the seven planets from under the rays of the sun and their disappearance before it and behind it. (Then comes) a chapter on regularizing and adjusting the hours: how one can convert from unequal to equal hours. (Then comes) a chapter on knowing the latitude and longitude of cities. He divided the cities of the world among the seven climes, assigned a longitude and latitude to every city, and put them into a table that he named the Table of Cities. He laid it out in three columns. The first column lists the names of the cities. The second column gives the longitude of each city. The third column gives the latitude of each city, which is its deviation northward from the limit of the first of Aries<sup>873</sup> and of Libra. He also set down the latitude of each clime, which is the deviation of its center northward from the first of Aries and of Libra; he listed it at the head of the table of its points of rising.<sup>874</sup> Thus, when one wants [the clime]<sup>875</sup> of any city in the world, and it

871 Arabic, *aṣḥāb al-ṭīlasmāt* (the masters of talismans).

872 This refers to the doctrine of “trepidation”: that the movement of the equinoxes is not constant but oscillates: it moves forward at the rate of 1° every 80 years, until, having moved 8° forward in 640 years, it reverses direction and moves 8° backward at the same rate. An early version of this theory used it instead of a steady precession; a later version added the motion of trepidation to the steady precession of the equinoxes. See Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, 243.

873 MSS *al-Jady* (Capricorn) must be a copyist's error for *al-Ḥamal* (Aries).

874 Arabic, *wa-athbatahu 'alā ra's jadwal maṭali'ihā*. The meaning is unclear.

875 The translation assumes that the sentence as it stands in the manuscripts is corrupt and that a copyist has substituted the word *'arḍ* (latitude) for *iqīm* (clime). The rest of the sentence describes the procedure for determining the *clime* of a given city; its latitude is presumably already known from the third column of the table.

is one of those set down in the list of cities, and one looks for the latitude of whichever clime is closest, then, to whichever clime the latitude of that city is found to be closest, to that clime that city belongs. (Then comes) a chapter about the latitude of every clime. He says that the first is 16 degrees, [27] minutes.<sup>876</sup> The second is 23 degrees, 11 minutes.<sup>877</sup> The third is 30 degrees, 22 minutes. The fourth is 36 degrees. The fifth is 40 degrees, 56 minutes. The sixth is 45 degrees, 1 minute.<sup>878</sup> The seventh is 48 degrees, 32 minutes. (Then comes) a chapter in which he discusses the deviation of the moon—that which is called parallax. He states that it has to do with the sighting of the moon—namely, that  
 1:161 the moon has two different positions: | one of them is the position at which it is sighted, the other its corrected place. (Then comes) a chapter on the conjunction and opposition of the sun and moon and how this can be computed correctly. (Then comes) a chapter on the eclipse of the moon and its regions. (Then comes) a chapter on the eclipse of the sun and how it is computed at the time of conjunction. (Then comes) a chapter on correcting what is found in the tables of stars, ascendants, and so forth. (Then comes) a chapter on correction, concerning the computation of the ascendant. It contains 180 tables, and he explains every proposition in an unambiguous way.<sup>879</sup>

And there is a listing of the kings of the Greeks and the Romans and what the reign of each king was, according to our explanation of their names at the end of this section.

### The Kings of the Greeks and the Romans

The first of the kings of the Greeks, who are the sons of Yūnān, son of Japheth, son of Noah, and the first of their kings whom Ptolemy named in the *Canon*, was Philip.<sup>880</sup> He was overweening and haughty, and his reign was seven years. Then

876 MSS *wa-daḡīqa* (and a minute) is a scribal error for *wa-sab' wa-'ishrūna daḡīqa* (and 27 minutes). This is the parallel passing through the island of Meroe, defined as where the longest day is 13 hours; see *Almagest* 11.6.5 (trans. Toomer, 84).

877 *Almagest* 11.6.7 (trans. Toomer, 85) gives the latitude of this parallel (Aswān) as 23 degrees, 51 minutes. A copyist's error is likely.

878 MSS "32 minutes." This must be a scribal error. Cf. *Almagest* 11.6.15 (trans. Toomer, 86).

879 Retaining the MSS reading, *bi-mā lā yushkilu*. Ed. Leiden emends to *bi-l-ashkāl* (with figures).

880 Al-Ya'qūbī is referring to a chronological table of kings' reigns that formed part of Ptolemy's work, the *Canon*, whose contents he has just summarized (ed. Leiden, 1:159–161). For modern editions of this part of the *Canon*, the so-called *κατὼν βασιλείων*, see the article by M. Plessner in *Et*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baṭlamyūs. On the various genealogies of the Greeks current



his son Alexander became king. He it is who is called Dhū l-Qarnayn;<sup>881</sup> his mother's name was Olympias, and his teacher was Aristotle the sage. Alexander's might became great, his kingdom became powerful, and his dominion grew strong. Wisdom, intelligence, and learning assisted him. With him were courage, audacity, and high ambition, which led him to write to the kings of lands far and wide, summoning them to obey him; the kings of the Greeks before him had paid tributes to the Persian kings of Babylonia because of the majesty of that kingdom, its great might, and the insignificance of other kingdoms compared to it.<sup>882</sup> When he wrote to the king of Persia, summoning him to obey him, the latter took umbrage, so Alexander marched all the way to Babylonia. The king of the Persians at the time was Darius, son of Darius.<sup>883</sup> Alexander made war on him, killed him, took possession of the treasures of his kingdom, and married his daughter. Then he went | to Persia, killed the *marzpāns*<sup>884</sup> and leaders there, and conquered the country. Then he went to India. Fūr, the king of India, marched out against him, but Alexander fought him and killed him.<sup>885</sup> Alexander then appointed over India a king to rule on his behalf, one of the people of India, someone named Kayhan. Alexander then departed and traveled east and west.<sup>886</sup> Having subdued the earth, he returned to the land of Babylon. When he reached the nearest part of Iraq, the part adjoining the Jazīra, he fell ill, and his illness became severe. Despairing of his life and knowing that death had descended on him, he wrote a letter to his mother to console her for his loss. At its close he said: "Prepare food and gather

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among Arabic historians, compare al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:242 (§ 664). On Philip, compare al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:246–247 (§ 668).

- 881 That is, "He of the Two Horns," generally identified with the figure of that name mentioned in Qur'ān 18:83. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:248–249 (§ 671) lists authorities that supported the identification and those who opposed it. Compare the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Iskandar.
- 882 On the nature of this tribute (several golden eggs) and Alexander's contemptuous words of refusal ("I have eaten the chicken that used to lay the eggs"), see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:247 (§ 669).
- 883 Arabic, Dārā b. Dārā.
- 884 That is, the military commanders. The title *marzpān* (frontier protector) was used for military governors in the Sasanian empire. Its use here, with reference to the Achaemenid empire conquered by Alexander, is something of an anachronism. See the article by J. H. Kramers and M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marzpān.
- 885 Al-Ya'qūbī has already mentioned Alexander's campaign against Fūr (Porus) in his account of the kings of India: ed. Leiden, 1:96–97.
- 886 On Kayhan, see ed. Leiden, 1:97. Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:250 (§ 673) for a detailed account of Alexander's conquests in the East.

whomever you can of the women of the nobility. Let no one eat of your food who has ever been afflicted by misfortune.”<sup>887</sup> So she prepared food, gathered the people, and commanded them that no one who had ever been afflicted by misfortune should eat. No one ate, whereupon she understood what Alexander had intended. Alexander died at the place from which he had sent the letter. His companions assembled, shrouded him, embalmed him, and laid him in a coffin of gold. One of the great philosophers stood beside it and said: “This is a momentous day. Kingship has been removed from him. Its evil, which had been in retreat, has come to the fore; and its good, which had been to the fore, has gone into retreat. Whoever would weep over a king, let him weep over this king. Whoever would marvel at an event, let him marvel at an event like this.”<sup>888</sup> Then he turned to the philosophers who were present and said: “O sages, let each one of you speak a saying that will console the elite and admonish the common people.” One<sup>889</sup> of Aristotle’s disciples stood up, struck the coffin with his hand, and said: “O enclosed one, how silent you are! O mighty one, how humble you are! O hunter, how have you fallen like prey into the net? | Who is this  
1163 who is hunting you?” Then another stood up and said: “This is the strong one, who today has become weak; the mighty one, who today has become humble.” Another stood up and said: “Your swords were never dry, and no one was safe from your revenge. Your cities could not be attacked, your gifts never ceased, and your light never darkened. Now your light has gone out, your revenge is no longer feared, your gifts are no longer hoped for, your swords are no longer unsheathed, and your cities are not defended.” Then another stood up and said:

887 In the more detailed account in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:257–258 (§ 677–678), the letter is taken by Ptolemy to Alexandria, along with Alexander’s coffin, and given to Olympias at the time of the announcement of Alexander’s death. Alexander’s intention in that account is that his funeral banquet should be an occasion of joy, not sadness; the abstention of all from eating—or from attendance, the text being ambiguous—is unexpected, but Olympias derives consolation either from recognizing Alexander’s great knowledge of human nature (no man being free of sorrow) or from knowing that everyone shares her grief over this particular misfortune (again, the text is ambiguous). For another Arabic parallel version of the death of Alexander, with two versions of Alexander’s letter to his mother, see Albert Loewenthal, “Honein Ibn Ishāk, Sinnsprüche der Philosophen. Nach der hebräischen Übersetzung Charisi’s ins Deutsche übertragen und erläutert,” in Fuat Sezgin, ed., *Ḥunain ibn Ishāq (d. 260/873): Texts and Studies*, 25–226, esp. 203 ff.

888 In al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:252 ff. (§ 676), thirty funerary speeches follow, which differ from the speeches given by al-Ya‘qūbī; cf. the composite account given by Loewenthal, “Honein Ibn Ishāk, Sinnsprüche der Philosophen,” 178 ff.

889 M and ed. Leiden read, “Each one of them.” The sense requires deleting “each,” which may have originated as a copyist’s echoing of “each” from the previous sentence.

"This is he who was for kings a vanquisher; today he has become for the common people a thing vanquished." Another stood up and said: "Your voice was feared and your kingdom victorious; now the voice has been cut off and the kingdom has been brought low." Another stood up and said: "Why were you not immune to death, since you were immune to kings? Why were you not made king over it, since you were made king over them?" Another stood up and said: "By his stillness Alexander has set us in motion, and by his silence he has made us speak." And they continued to speak in this fashion. Then the coffin was closed and carried to Alexandria. His mother received it with the great people of the kingdom. When she saw it, she said: "O you whose wisdom reached the heavens, whose dominion encompassed the ends of the earth, and to whom kings were forced to bow! What has befallen you that you are asleep today, not waking; silent, not speaking? Who will take my message to you, that you admonished me, and I was admonished; you consoled me, and I was consoled? Peace be upon you, living and dying. How excellent you were alive, and how excellent in death!" Then she commanded that he should be buried. Alexander's reign, including his conquests in the world, was twelve years.

After him, Dhū l-Qarnayn Ptolemy, Alexander's successor, became king.<sup>890</sup> He was wise and learned, and his reign lasted twenty years. Then Philadelphus became king.<sup>891</sup> He was | overweening; his power became strong, and he behaved with arrogance in his kingdom. In his days the talismans were made.<sup>892</sup> His reign lasted thirty-eight years. Then Euergetes<sup>893</sup> I ruled for twen-

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890 Thus in the MSS, implying that Ptolemy inherited the title Dhū l-Qarnayn. The Leiden editor, finding no evidence for such an assertion, suggested emending the text to yield, "After Dhū l-Qarnayn, Ptolemy, the successor of Alexander, became king." This requires two slight changes to the Arabic. An easier solution is to assume that the words "Dhū l-Qarnayn" were written as a marginal gloss to explain "after him" and were mistakenly incorporated into the text by a copyist. In any case, this is Ptolemy I Lagus. The figure of 20 years is correct, if one takes his reign as beginning with his first styling himself king in 305 BCE and ending in 285 BCE.

891 The name has been truncated in the manuscripts to *Filifūs* (Philip).

892 The precise meaning of this reference to talismans is unclear, but a slightly longer reference to them in al-Mas'ūdī's account of Ptolemy Philadelphus (*Murūj*, 2:281–282 [§703]) seems to point toward the practice of making small magical gems carved with various figures and names, to be used as talismans. Why the common source of al-Ya'qūbī and al-Mas'ūdī dated the practice to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus is unclear. The full passage from al-Mas'ūdī reads: "In his days the talismans were made, and the worship of statues and idols appeared among them because of sophistries that entered among them, that these things were mediators between them and their Creator, which could bring them closer to Him and cause them to approach Him."

893 The MSS reading *hwrḥyṭwb* can be explained as a corruption of Euergetes.

ty-five years. Then Philopator ruled for seventeen years. Then Epiphanes ruled for twenty-four years. Then Philopator II ruled for twenty-five years. Then Euergetes II ruled for twenty-seven years.<sup>894</sup>

### The Kings of the Romans

After the Greeks, the sons of Yūnān, son of Japheth, son of Noah, kingship passed to the Romans, who were descendants of Rūm, the son of Samāhīr, the son of Hūbā, the son of ‘Alqā, the son of Esau, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham.<sup>895</sup> They occupied the country, spoke the language of the people, and related themselves to (the city of) Rome. The Greek language disappeared, except for a remnant of their wise sayings that remained in the hands of these people. The first of the Romans to become king after the Greeks was ..., who was ... the Younger, son of Rūm.<sup>896</sup> His reign was twenty-two years. Then Augustus became king. A year into his reign Christ was born. The reign of Augustus continued for forty-three years. Then Tiberius ruled for twenty-two years. Then Gaius ruled for four years.<sup>897</sup> Then Claudius ruled for fourteen years. [...]<sup>898</sup>

894 The dates for the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt are: Ptolemy I Soter, 304–285 BCE; Ptolemy II Philadelphus 285–247 BCE, Ptolemy III Euergetes, 247–222 BCE, Ptolemy IV Philopator, 222–205 BCE, Ptolemy V Epiphanes, 205–181 BCE; and Ptolemy VI Philometor (the name has been corrupted to “Philopator” in transmission), 181–146 BCE. The series as given is correct. The 25 years given for the reign of “Philopator II” (i.e., Philometor) should be corrected to 35; the confusion between 25 and 35 is easier to explain on the basis of dates written in numerals rather than spelled out as words. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, ruled 146–117 BCE. Al-Ya‘qūbī omits the period of Ptolemaic decline, until Octavian’s occupation of Egypt in 30 BCE. A more complete list is found in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:278–291 (§ 699–714).

895 These names have suffered in transmission. One can compare the following variants in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:293–296 (§ 715–717): Samāhīlīq (variant, Samāhīlīn) for Samāhīr; Haryān for Hūbā; and ‘Ayfā (variants, ‘Alqā and Ḥalqā) for ‘Alqā.

896 Because he was succeeded, according to al-Ya‘qūbī, by Augustus, the reference ought to be to Caius Julius Caesar, but the names have been so mangled in transmission that one can hardly conjecture their original forms. Ed. Leiden reads “*F.hāsāt.q*, who was Jāliyūs the Younger.” In M, the first name is the same; the second looks like *jā.b.t.r.s*. The manuscripts of the parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:295 (§ 717) vary between Jā’iyūs (perhaps for Gaius) and Jālīs (perhaps for Julius).

897 That is, Caligula, whose full name was Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. He ruled from 37 to 41.

898 Although the MSS show no break, one can assume that a lacuna exists. The reigns of Nero

Then Vespasian ruled for ten years, and the people of his kingdom used to call him “the God.” He dispatched a son of his named Titus to Jerusalem; the latter besieged the city for four months. A great throng of people | had gathered there for one of the festivals of the Jews, and the siege was so severe that they ate their children, and most of them died of hunger. Titus conquered the city, killed and took captives, and set fire to the temple. Then Titus ruled for three years. In his time a mountain called Ubramūr split apart and fire came out of it and burned up many towns.<sup>899</sup> Then Domitian ruled for fifteen years. In his time Apollonius of Tyana, the master of talismans, appeared.<sup>900</sup> The people of his kingdom rose up against Domitian and killed him. Then Nerva ruled for a single year. Then Trajan ruled for nineteen years. Then Hadrian ruled for twenty-one years. The Jews of Jerusalem rose up against him and refused to pay him tribute. He dispatched against them someone who killed them, and he commanded that any of them who remained in Jerusalem should be killed. Then Aelius Antoninus ruled for thirty-three years.<sup>901</sup> [...] Then Severus and Antoninus ruled for twenty-five years.<sup>902</sup> Then Alexander, son of Mamaea,

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and his three successors have been omitted. Cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:299–304 (§ 722–726), which contains an account of the persecution of Christians under Claudius.

899 The reference is clearly to the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE, but the reading of the MSS, Ubramūr (the vocalization is conjectural), cannot be explained.

900 Apollonius of Tyana (a town in Cappadocia), usually known in Arabic as Balīnūs, was a philosopher of the first century CE. In *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, by the Sophist Philostratus, he appears as a Pythagorean sage with supernatural powers. On the day that Domitian was murdered, Apollonius, according to Philostratus, miraculously witnessed the event in a vision. For a list of works attributed to him known in Arabic, see the article by M. Plessner in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Balīnūs, and the article by G. Strohmaier in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Apollonius of Tyana.

901 That is, Antoninus Pius (full name Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius), ruled from 138 to 161 CE. The length of his reign appears correctly as 23 years in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:305 (§ 728), along with a notice that he rebuilt Jerusalem as a Roman city named Aelia.

902 One must assume a lacuna before “Severus and Antoninus,” although neither the MSS nor ed. Leiden indicate one. The Leiden editor emended the manuscript reading “S.w.l.d.y.n” to “Marqus” and deleted *wa-* (and), seeing this as a reference to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. But the original reading was probably “S.w.ā.r.y.s” (Severus); the references to Marcus Aurelius and his successor Commodus appear to have dropped out of al-Ya‘qūbī, although they appear in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:306 (§ 728). The combined reigns of Severus and his son Antoninus—that is, Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus, known as Caracalla—totaled twenty-five years according to al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:306 (§ 728), and to al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqīya* (trans. Sachau), 94, who lists them as joint rulers for 25 years.

ruled for thirteen years.<sup>903</sup> Then Maximinus ruled for three years.<sup>904</sup> Then Gordian ruled for three years.<sup>905</sup> Then Philip ruled for two years.<sup>906</sup> Then Decius ruled for one year.<sup>907</sup> Then Gallus ruled for three years.<sup>908</sup> Then Valerian ruled for six years.<sup>909</sup> [...] Then Probus ruled for seven years.<sup>910</sup> [...] Then Diocletian ruled for twenty years. Then Constantine and Maxentius ruled for ten years.<sup>911</sup>

1:166 The kings of the Greeks, as well as the Romans who ruled after them, were of differing opinions. One group of them followed the religion of the Šābi'ans—they used to be called “the Ḥanīfs.”<sup>912</sup> They were those who affirmed and

903 That is, Severus Alexander, whose mother was Julia Avita Mamaea. He ruled from 222 to 235 CE.

904 Maximinus (corrupted in the MSS into something like Maxhaminānūs) ruled from 235 to 238 CE.

905 In fact, there were three emperors named Gordian (numbered conventionally I, II, and III) in the period between 238 and 244. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:306 (§ 729), correctly gives their total reign as six years; similarly al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqīya* (trans. Sachau), 94, who treats him as one ruler.

906 That is, Philip the Arab, ruled 244–249 CE.

907 One year is the length of reign given also by al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqīya* (trans. Sachau), 94; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:306 (§ 729) gives a reign of two years, which is more nearly correct historically (249–251 CE).

908 Ruled 251–253 CE.

909 Ruled 253–260 CE.

910 The reign of Probus, 276–282 (the name is badly mangled in the manuscripts into something like Furūs in M), is also given as seven years by al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqīya* (trans. Sachau), 94.

911 Because al-Ya'qūbī has an account, below (1:172), of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and gives his reign as 55 years (much too long), there is a problem here. Possibly, what is intended is the period between the commencement of Constantine's rule (306) until the Edict of Milan (313), which could be seen as the official beginning of Constantine's “Christian” period, but the chronology of ten years cannot be made to fit. Another possibility is that Arabic Qusṭanṭīn is a corruption of some version of the name Constantius, Constantine's father, who was co-emperor with Maximian (not Maxentius) from 293 to 305, but, again, the figure of ten years is a problem.

912 Al-Ya'qūbī has taken two terms of uncertain meaning from the Qur'ān and used them to describe pre-Islamic religious groups who believed in a Creator and accepted the existence of prophets. On the Šābi'ans, see the articles in *ET*<sup>2</sup> by F. C. de Blois, s.v. Šābi', and by T. Fahd, s.v. Šābi'a. On the Ḥanīfs (Arabic, *ḥanīf*, pl. *ḥunafā'*), see the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥanīf.

acknowledged a Creator and who claimed to have prophets,<sup>913</sup> such as Ūrānī,<sup>914</sup> Agathodaemon,<sup>915</sup> and Hermes the Threefold-in-Grace—some say that the latter was the prophet Idrīs.<sup>916</sup> He was the first to write with the pen and to teach the science of the stars. Their doctrine about the Creator—powerful and mighty is He—follows that of Hermes: As for grasping God by the intellect, it is difficult, and to discourse about Him is not possible. God is the cause of causes and the creator of the world all at once.

Another group of them were followers of Zeno; they were the Sophists. The interpretation in Arabic of this Greek word is “those who try to induce others into error” or “those who ply contradictions.”<sup>917</sup> They held that there is neither knowledge nor anything knowable. They argued on the basis of people’s diversity of opinion and the equal claim of some vis-à-vis others.<sup>918</sup> They said: We have examined what people who differ in opinion say and have found their sayings to be divergent, not in agreement. Yet we found that, for all their disagreement, they concurred in holding that truth is self-consistent, not self-contradictory, and that falsehood is self-contradictory, not self-consistent. In

913 Reading with M, *anbiyāʾ*; ed. Leiden reads the singular, *nabiyyan*.

914 Because the Ṣābiʾans of Ḥarrān were worshippers of the heavenly bodies, one can derive Ūrānī from οὐρανός, the Greek word for heaven. See Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes*, 188.

915 In M, the ending of the word “daemon” is unambiguous; the first part looks like ‘ā.y.b, which could be repointed to yield *gh.ā.th.y*. The name often appears in more or less this form in Arabic.

916 On the reception in the Islamic world of the arcane Greek writings attributed to the Egyptian sage Hermes Trismegistos (“the Thrice-Great,” also known as “the Thrice-Wise”), see the article by Kevin van Bladel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Hermes and Hermetica. The prophet Idrīs, who appears in Qurʾān 19:56 and 21:86, is usually identified with the biblical Enoch but occasionally with Hermes. See the article by G. Vajda in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Idrīs.

917 Arabic, *al-mughālīṭa* and *al-tanāquḍiyya* (the latter involving a conjectural reading). The former term, in the form of the verbal noun *mughālāṭa*, becomes the standard word in later Arabic for “fallacy.” This is, of course, not the original meaning of “sophist,” derived as it is from the Greek word for “wise” (σοφός), but it is a fairly accurate description of the method of Zeno of Elea, famous for his ability to argue both sides of a question, with the aim of inducing skepticism, and for his paradoxes, arguments in which a seemingly sound series of inferences yields manifestly irrational results.

918 Arabic *ikhtilāf al-nās wa-ntiṣāf baʿḍihim min baʿḍ*. The first part of the phrase clearly refers to people’s holding differing opinions; the second part of the phrase may refer to the skeptical method of showing that both sides of an argument have an equal claim and so no conclusion can be drawn.

their very agreement, there was a witness that they did not know which of them was in the right.<sup>919</sup> They having affirmed this, there remained for truth no place where one could hope to obtain it, except among their elite. But we knew that this could come about only in one of two ways: either by conceding to the claimant [or] by exposing his claim (as false). We therefore examined the claim and found what they had in common, but we did not hold it permissible to assent to them because of two defects: first, that each called the other wrong; second, their agreement that they did not know what was correct. So nothing remained but to expose the claim, and so we did. We found them to be  
 1:167 people perfectly matched, running neck and neck |, with victory turning against them all equally, now this claim gaining strength, then its opposite. In no group of them did we encounter superiority unshared or argument unrivaled and unchallenged. Because it was impossible to find the truth among their commoners or among their elite by appeal to disputation, there remained for knowledge no place where it might be found, and for truth there remained no method by which it might be attained. So we concluded that there was neither science nor knowledge. For, if something is established indubitably, it must necessarily be comprehended by assent or by disagreement. When, for example, someone mentions (somebody) while the latter is absent and says, "So-and-so is absent," he has hit the mark. Had he or someone else said, "So-and-so is present," when he was not present, thus straying from the truth, and had someone contradicted him, saying, "Nay, he is absent," one of the two must necessarily have been speaking the truth. For, when something is truly established, it must be present or absent; and if it is not a thing, both of them are liars in saying that it is present or absent; for that which is present is a thing, and that which is absent is a thing, whereas, if it is not a thing, it is neither present nor absent. They also argued in a different way and said: If all things are grasped by knowledge, and knowledge (is grasped) by (antecedent) knowledge, (the process) must be either finite or infinite. If it is finite, it must end in something unknown, but whatever is not known is unknown, and how can things be known because of something unknown? If, on the other hand, the process is infinite and has no end, it cannot be comprehended, and what has not been comprehended is also unknown. So both terms of this syllogism are unknown, not known; for how can anything unknown be known unless all

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919 The translation is based on a slight emendation of the MSS. The text of ed. Leiden can be translated as: "In their agreement there was witness to them [that they] did not know the right."



the things be known (which is most unlikely)? They took great pains with these two kinds (of argument); they made many efforts and went to great trouble.

A group called Dahriyya<sup>920</sup> held that there is no religion, no Lord, no prophet, no book, no afterlife, no recompense for good or evil, no beginning or ending of anything,<sup>921</sup> no creation or perishing: what is termed creation is merely the composition of something that had been separated, and its perishing is only its separation after having been together. Both aspects in reality are (merely) the becoming present of what was absent and the becoming absent of what was present. They were called Dahriyya only because of their claim that mankind has never ceased to be and will never cease to be and that time (*al-dahr*) revolves without beginning and without end. They argued for their claim by saying: As regards the existence or nonexistence of a thing, only two states, with no third, are known: A state in which the thing exists—and how can what already is and exists come to be? And a state in which there is no thing—and how can a thing come to be in a state that has no likeness?<sup>922</sup>—that is most unlikely. They argued similarly about the claim of perishing: Only two states are known: A state in which the thing subsists—and the statement of anyone who attributes perishing to a thing in the state of its being and subsistence is absurd. And a state in which there is no thing—and how can there be the least perishing?—it is absurd. If our opponents admit that we have spoken the truth, they enter into our argument and refute their own; if they reject our argument, they claim there is a third state, one in which there is neither nonexistence nor existence—and that is the most offensively absurd of the three.<sup>923</sup> 1:168

920 Literally, “believers in time (*dahr*).” The word *dahr* occurs in Qur’ān 45:24, where the pagans are cited as saying, “There is nothing but our present life; we die, and we live, and nothing but Time (*al-dahr*) destroys us.” *Dahr* could also be seen as an impersonal fate. *Dahriyya* came to be applied to a variety of materialistic or naturalistic philosophies. See the article by I. Goldziher and A. M. Goichon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dahriyya*, and the article by P. Crone in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Dahrīs*; also Hinrich Biesterfeldt, “‘Eternalists’ and ‘Materialists’ in Islam: A Note on the *Dahriyya*,” 117–123.

921 That is, all things are formed from preexisting matter and dissolve into matter that continues to exist in a different form.

922 The Leiden editor read C as *lā tashbih<sup>a</sup> lahā*. (M is more ambiguous, as the first and second latters of *tashbih<sup>a</sup>* are undotted). In any case, the sense is unclear. Other possible readings have been suggested: *lā shay’iyyat<sup>a</sup> lahā* (that has no thingness) or *lā nisbiyyat<sup>a</sup> lahā* (that has no relationship).

923 The translation follows the apparent reading of M: *fa-dhālika aqbaḥu l-thalāthati ihālātān*. Ed. Leiden reads the last word as *ḥālātān* (“and that is the most offensive of the three with regard to state”).

One group of them held that the origin of things in eternity was a grain that existed and then split open; the world as you see it, with its diversity of colors and sensible qualities, appeared from it. Some of them claimed that it is not diverse [in] its essential qualities (*ma'ānī*), but that it differs only with respect to the sense perception of it. Others denied that and asserted of it diversity in essential qualities and reality. Those who rejected the reality of diversity of things held that things differ only through difference of sense perception of them and that none of them has any reality by which it can be distinguished from any other of them. | Among the proofs they claimed for this is that, when  
 1:169 a person with the disease that originates from yellow bile—someone with jaundice, for example—tastes honey, he finds it bitter, whereas people free of this illness find it sweet. Furthermore, daylight dims the sight of bats, and night sharpens it. Now, if light increases the eyes in light<sup>924</sup> and darkness dims them, it follows that daylight is darkness for bats and for others whose vision is dimmed by light; and this occurs in some people, as well as in some animals and birds. And if, as we have described it, night sharpens some eyes, night must be light for them, just as daylight is light to others and night darkness. If you say that this is due to some defect that has come over these sorts, we say to you, “(Is it) among those who differ from them, or among those who agree with them?” If you say, “Among those who differ from them,” we shall say, “Not so; [the defect has come over those who agree with them.” And if you say, “Among those who agree with them,” we shall say, “Not so;]”<sup>925</sup> the defect has come over those who differ from them, from their point of view; so neither sort has superiority over the other.” They said: “Don’t you see the scribe write the document even and straight, and thus he sees it in front of his face; yet if he looks at it from behind, he sees it as other than he knew it.”<sup>926</sup> And if he looks at it from one side or the other, he will see it differently. As when you write the letter *alif* with a shape that distinguishes it from all the letters: when you face it you will see it as an *alif*, but if you look at it from behind you will

924 That is, increases their power to see. The expression is based on the Aristotelian notion that vision occurs as the result of a “visual ray” emitted by the eye.

925 The words in brackets have been added by the Leiden editor to make sense of a difficult passage.

926 That is, if you hold the page up to the light and look at the writing from the other side, you will see a mirror image of what you have written. “If you turn aside from it” seems to mean turning the writing 90°. Although this will turn the Arabic letter *alif* (an upright stroke) into a *bā'* (a horizontal stroke, minus its distinguishing dot below), it will hardly turn an *alif* into the “earring” shape of *nūn*.

see it as a *bā'*, and if you turn aside from it you will see it as a *nūn* or a *bā'*." (They said that) what is absent from its place is present in another place; and it is the same for colors, sounds, tastes, individuals, and garments. It is just as when you see a person from nearby as big but from afar as small: the closer one approaches, the bigger the person becomes in size, and the farther away one goes, the smaller the person becomes in one's eyes. | It is the same with a sound: from nearby it is heard as loud but soft from afar. Similarly for taste: if you taste a little of something, you find it only slightly sweet, but if you taste more of it, its taste [is very sweet].<sup>927</sup> Similarly for touch: you tap something lightly and find it lukewarm, but then you touch it forcefully and find it hot. You see a shape from nearby as bulging<sup>928</sup> and irregular, but when the beholder gains distance from it, he thinks that it is even and not irregular. They claimed that all things alternate according to balance and equilibrium and came close to adopting the ways of the Sophists.<sup>929</sup>

1:170

Another group held that things are derived from four principles that have never ceased and will never cease; they were originated, and the world appeared from them. They are the four simple units: heat, cold, wetness, and dryness. They stand firm<sup>930</sup> in themselves, not by intention, will, or volition.

Another group held that the principles are four. They are the "mothers" of whatever is in the world; but with them there is a fifth, which has never ceased and will never cease organizing and combining them into a whole by will, volition, and wisdom. It combines their pairs into a whole, their products being generated from it and their contraries not abstaining from abiding one with the other; and this is knowledge.<sup>931</sup>

A group, adherents of the doctrine of substance—namely, the Aristotelians—held that things are two things: substance and accident. Substance, in turn, can be divided into two divisions: living and lifeless. Its definition is the self-sufficient, and its differentiation is in the property, not the definition. Accident is of nine kinds. Among them is quantity, which is number, whose forms are four: volume, area, weight, and speech.<sup>932</sup> Next is quality, whose

927 Filling the lacuna as suggested by Landberg, 38.

928 Emending MSS *thābita* (firm, steady) to the graphically similar *nābī'a*.

929 Adopting the Leiden editor's suggested emendation (*takhallaqū*), rather than the MSS *yahlifū* (swear by).

930 Reading with M *tathbutu*; ed. Leiden, *tanbutu* (they grow).

931 Arabic *al-'ilm* (knowledge), in the sense of Greek λόγος (organizing principle).

932 The inclusion of speech (*qawl*) can be explained by reference to Aristotle, *Categories*, 4b,

1: 171 forms are eight: generation and corruption, shape and form,<sup>933</sup> strength and weakness, disposition and habit. Next is relation, with its four forms: natural, artificial, preference, and affection. Next is “when,” which is that which occurs according to the moment; | by moment one means time. The forms of time are three: past, future, and enduring. Next is “where,” which is that which occurs according to place—the six directions: before, behind, above, below, right, and left. Next is possession, that is, ownership, and ownership takes (either of) two forms: external or internal. External means something like a slave, a house, furniture, and the like; internal means something like knowledge and wisdom. Next is posture, meaning the aspect of a thing, as when one says that so-and-so is standing, so-and-so is sitting, so-and-so is leaving, and so-and-so is coming. Next is actor, which takes two forms: either the actor acts by choice or acts by nature. That empowered with choice is like whatever is living, enduring, eating, and drinking. The actor by nature is like the movement of the four elements. Fire, for example, rises from the center to the height; [air rises,] though less than fire; earth (moves) from the height to the center, to the position most appropriate for it; and water (moves) from the height, though less than earth. Finally, there is the acted upon, that which receives the effect of what acts upon it, as if it were clay that the actor can render round, square, or of any (other) shape.

These are the doctrines of the Greeks and of the Romans who came after them, the schools of their theologians,<sup>934</sup> philosophers, sages, and speculative thinkers.

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where the category of quantity is first divided into discrete and continuous, with number and speech (λόγος) being given as examples of discrete quantities. Speech falls into this division, because all utterances can be divided into discrete syllables. Volume, area, and weight are examples of continuous quantities. Al-Ya’qūbī or his source has simplified Aristotle confusingly.

933 Reading *ḥilya* for M and ed. Leiden *ḥila* (device, ingenuity). Cf. Aristotle, *Categories* 10a11, where the terms σχῆμα and μορφή refer, respectively, to geometrical figure and to qualities such as straight and crooked.

934 Arabic, *mutakallimīhīm*. In an Islamic context, *mutakallim* came to mean a speculative theologian, someone who discussed theological matters on the basis of reason, rather than relying on the text of the Qur’ān or the transmitted traditions of the Prophet. In this context, the term perhaps refers to something more general.

### The Roman Kings Who Became Christian

The first of the Romans who became king and departed from the doctrine of Hellenism<sup>935</sup> to Christianity was Constantine. The reason was that, while he was fighting certain enemies, he saw in a dream as if spears had been sent down from heaven with crosses on them. When | he awoke in the morning, he mounted crosses on his spears; then he went into battle and was victorious. That was the reason for his becoming Christian. He supported the Christian religion and built churches. He assembled bishops from every town, in order to establish the Christian religion. It was their first assembly.<sup>936</sup> They gathered at Nicaea—three hundred and eighteen bishops and four patriarchs: the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Patriarch of Rome, the Patriarch of Antioch, and the Patriarch of Constantinople. The reason Constantine assembled these men was that, after he had become a Christian and Christianity had settled in his heart, he wanted to acquire profound knowledge of it. He therefore compared<sup>937</sup> the doctrines of its adherents and found that there were thirteen doctrines. Among them was the doctrine of those who held that Christ and his Mother were Gods. Another was the doctrine of those who held that his relation to the Father was like that of a flame of fire split off from another flame of fire without the first being diminished by the splitting off of the second. Another was the doctrine of those who held that he had become divine. Another was the doctrine of those who held that he had been made a servant. Another was the doctrine of those who, like Mānī<sup>938</sup> and his companions, held that his body had been a phantom. Another was the doctrine of those who held that he was the Word. Another was the doctrine of those who held that he was the Son. Another was the doctrine of those who held that he was an eternal spirit. Another was the doctrine of those who held that he was the son of Joseph. Another was the doctrine of those who held that he was one of the prophets. Another was the doctrine of those who held that he was divine and human.

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935 Arabic, *al-Yūnāniyya*, a literal translation of Greek Ἑλληνισμός in its later sense of paganism.

936 Apparently al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, 2:313 ff. [§ 736 ff.]), and al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 295–296, draw on a common source that listed six rather than the seven ecumenical councils that had taken place by the date of composition.

937 Following the reading of M (*aḥḍara*); for this sense, see Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:298. Ed. Leiden has *aḥṣā* (he tallied).

938 The MSS read *Mattā* (Matthew), but the doctrine described is that of Mānī, the founder of Manichaeism. The two names are easily confused in Arabic script.

Constantine assembled three hundred and eighteen bishops and four patriarchs—there were no others at that time. The Patriarch of Alexandria held that Christ had been deified and had been created.<sup>939</sup> Having assembled, they debated the matter with him, and they all reached a consensus that Christ had been born from the Father before creatures had come to be and that he was of the nature of the Father. They did not mention the Holy Spirit or determine whether he was creator or created, but they did agree that the Father was God and the Son was God from him.<sup>940</sup> Then they departed from Nicaea. Constantine reigned for fifty-five years.<sup>941</sup>

1:173 Then Julian ruled for a single year.

Then [...] <sup>942</sup> ruled for a single year. In his days, the People of the Cave—they had died previously—reappeared after a long time. They were several persons

939 This nicely represents the position of Arius, who was only a presbyter, not the patriarch of Alexandria.

940 Although the creed approved at the Council of Nicaea in 325 did mention belief in the Holy Spirit, words asserting the divinity of the Holy Spirit were not added to the creed until the Second Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 381, and were further elaborated at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

941 As Constantine reigned from 306 to 337, this figure is too long, even if one dates his reign from his appointment as tetrarch (assistant to the emperor of the East) in 293. Note that al-Ya‘qūbī, presumably on the basis of another source, has already given the reign of Constantine as co-emperor with Maxentius as ten years (see above, 1:165). The figure given by al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:316 (§ 738), is the correct 31 years, although he mentions that others attribute to him a reign of 25 years. The figure of 55 years can be explained as the combined reign of Constantine and of his son and successor Constantius, both of whose names take the form Qusṭanṭīn in Arabic. Al-Ya‘qūbī omits any mention of Constantius, presumably because he assumed the two were the same person. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:323 (§ 744) gives the reign of Constantius as 24 years; so the two reigns total 55 years. The same chronology can be found in al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 97.

942 Here the MSS read *Dīsūs* or, perhaps, *Dasūs*. This can hardly have arisen from miscopying of the name of Julian’s successor, Jovian, who, in fact, ruled slightly less than a year. In any case, the placement of the incident of the People of the Cave in his reign points to Theodosius, during whose reign the cave of the seven sleepers of Ephesus (the Qur’ānic “People of the Cave”) was discovered, and the “sleepers,” who had entered the cave to escape persecution during the reign of Decius (mentioned above, 1:165), emerged alive. *Dasūs* is more likely to have arisen from omission of the first letters of Theodosius’ name in Arabic than from the Arabic form of Decius (*Daqīyūs*). (Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:325 [§ 746], however, gives the name of the emperor under whom they emerged as Awālans, that is, Valens.) Note that the form of the story assumed here implies not merely that the youths slept from the reign of Decius to that of Theodosius but that they fell asleep and died, to be

and a shepherd, and the shepherd's dog was with them. Their names were Maxilmīnā, Marātūs, Sāh Yūniyūs, Naṭariyūs, Dāwas, Nawālis, Kanīfartū, and Yunūtur; the name of the shepherd was Malīkhā, and he was the owner of the dog, whose name was Qīṭmīr.<sup>943</sup> They came out after a hundred years—some say three hundred and nine—and sent one of their number with some dirhams to get them food, but the market folk did not recognize the type of his dirhams. They followed him until they arrived at the cave—the people had been in the dark about them. A mosque in which to pray was built by the cave.

Then Valentinian ruled for four years.<sup>944</sup>

Then Theodosius the Elder ruled. In his reign the second assembly of the Christians took place.<sup>945</sup> One hundred fifty bishops and three patriarchs gathered in Constantinople for it; the Patriarch of Rome did not attend. They laid down the document of the creed and affirmed the Holy Spirit.<sup>946</sup> The document of the creed that they laid down was:

I believe in God, the One; the King<sup>947</sup> of everything; the Creator of the heavens and the earth, of what is seen and what is unseen; and in the Lord, the Christ, the Son of God, who was born before the ages; Light from Light; true God

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resurrected miraculously in the days of the latter ruler. See the article by Roberto Tottoli in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, s.v. Men of the Cave.

943 The names must have given the copyist much difficulty; many of the letters are undotted, so the readings given here are conjectural. Another version of the names can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:777. In the translation by M. Perlmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, IV, 156, they appear as Maksimilīnā, Maḥsimilīnā, Yamlikhā, Marṭūs, Kaṣūṭūnas, Bīrūnas, Rasmūnas, Baṭūnas, and Qālūs. The textual notes of the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī provide references to possible Syriac sources for these names. In the Syriac tradition closest to al-Yaʿqūbī's account, they appear as Maximilianos, Iamlikha (= Iamblichos), Martellos, Dionysios, Ioannis, Serapion, Ex(ak)ostodinos, and Antoninus. See Sebastian Brock, "Jacob of Sarug's Poem on the Sleepers of Ephesus," 324–330.

944 The name has been distorted in the manuscripts to "Albanṭiyanūs," and the name of his successor, Valens, has been omitted. Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 95, lists Valentinian as ruling one year (probably an error for 11), succeeded by Valens, who ruled for fourteen years.

945 That is, the Second Ecumenical Council, held in Constantinople in 381.

946 That is, added an article to the creed affirming not simply belief in the Holy Spirit, which had been part of the creed affirmed at Nicaea in 325, but that the Holy Spirit was the third person of the Trinity: "the Lord and Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spoke through the prophets."

947 Arabic, *malik*; perhaps to be read as *mālik* (possessor), which would correspond more closely to the Greek παντοκράτορα.

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[from true God];<sup>948</sup> begotten, not created; of the nature of the Father; by whom everything came to be. For us men and for our salvation he descended from heaven; he became incarnate by the Holy Spirit and from the Virgin Mary, and became | man; he was crucified for us in the time of Pontius Pilate; he suffered and was buried; he rose in three days, as in the scriptures; he ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right of the Father; whose kingdom has no end.<sup>949</sup> [And in the Holy Spirit], the Lord, who is derived from the Father; in whom the prophets spoke.<sup>950</sup> In one holy, apostolic Church of the disciples. I believe in one baptism for the forgiveness of sins and in the resurrection of the dead.

Having excommunicated anyone who professed anything else, they departed from Constantinople. The reign of Theodosius was seventeen years.<sup>951</sup>

His brother's son, Theodosius the Younger, and Valentinian ruled after him.<sup>952</sup> The third gathering of the Christians took place. They assembled in Ephesus, and two hundred bishops attended. Nestorius opposed them all. He held that Christ was two substances and two natures: God perfect in his substance and his nature.<sup>953</sup> For the Father begot God; he did not beget a human

948 Added by the Leiden editor; its omission may be due to the copyist's omission of text between two successive occurrences of the same word (homeoteleuton).

949 The text in the MSS becomes defective at this point from the carelessness of a copyist. Having written "of the Father," he skipped ahead to the word *ishtaqqā* ("split off, branched off, was derived from," a free translation of ἐκπορεύόμενον, "proceeding from"), leaving out "whose kingdom has no end." He realized his mistake and, without cancelling the misplaced word, wrote "whose kingdom has no end." Then he left out the words, "and in the Holy Spirit," wrote "the Lord," and omitted the phrase "the Giver of life." After writing "who is derived from the Father," he omitted the words "who together with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified."

950 Reading, with ed. Leiden, *takallamat*, rather than MSS *tamallakat* (took possession).

951 The same figure is given in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:327 (§ 748), and in al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 95. In fact, his reign fell in parts of 17 calendar years, but he died on 17 January 395, a few days short of the beginning of the 17th year of his rule.

952 Theodosius the Younger (grandson, not nephew of Theodosius the Elder) ruled from 402 to 408 as co-emperor with Arcadius, and from 408 to 450 alone. Al-Ya'qūbī does not mention the intervening reign of Arcadius. Al-Mas'ūdī's figure of 42 years in *Murūj*, 2:329 (§ 750) for the reign of Theodosius II is accurate; al-Ya'qūbī's figure of 27 years is wrong. Valentinian (if the reading is correct) would refer to the emperor of the West, Valentinian III, who ruled from 425 to 455.

953 The text seems to have been clumsily abbreviated at this point. One would expect something like, "and man perfect in his substance and nature." The next word in the manu-



being; and the mother gave birth to a human being; she did not give birth to God. Cyril said to him: "If it is as you say, whoever worships Christ is an evildoer, because he will have worshipped both an eternal and a temporal; while whoever refrains from worshipping him has become an infidel, for he will have refrained from worshipping the Eternal, even as he has refrained from worshipping the temporal. And whoever worships the God, to the exclusion of the human being, is not worshipping Christ, because Christ is not entitled to be called Christ with regard to one of his aspects to the exclusion of the other." He upheld the necessity of this to those in attendance. [Opposed to him was]<sup>954</sup> the Patriarch | of Antioch. Nestorius said, "The Patriarch of Antioch holds what I hold."<sup>955</sup> Nestorius fled to the land of Iraq; and so the Nestorians came to be in Iraq, and, instead of the patriarch, they took as their head a catholicos. Those at the council dispersed on that result. The reign of Theodosius the Younger was twenty-seven years.

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Then Marcian became ruler. In his time the fourth assembly took place.<sup>956</sup> The reason for it was that Eutyches, the leader of the Jacobites, held that Christ was only one substance and only one nature.<sup>957</sup> He was condemned by the Christians. Six hundred and thirty bishops gathered in Constantinople.<sup>958</sup> They disputed with Eutyches and said to him: "If Christ is, as you claim, one single nature, then the eternal nature is (the same as) the temporal nature; and if the eternal is of the temporal, then he who has never ceased to be is (the same as) he who once was not." He did not, however, retract his doctrine, so they anathematized him. He made his way to Egypt and Alexandria—he was a physician—and there he remained. The reign of Marcian was five years.<sup>959</sup>

After him Leo and Anthemius ruled for seventeen years.<sup>960</sup>

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scripts, *fa-l-ibn* (for the Son) may be a remnant of the original text. The Leiden editor emended it to *fa-l-āb* (for the Father).

954 Added by the Leiden editor.

955 The text has either been corrupted in translation or badly condensed from a more detailed source or, perhaps, both.

956 The Fourth Ecumenical Council, held at Chalcedon, in Asia Minor, in 451.

957 For "Eutyches," the manuscripts read "Alṭarsiyūs," which the Leiden editor suggests reading as Thracius. However, the major historical exponent of what came to be known as the Monophysite position was Eutyches, and the name has been restored here.

958 The council actually took place at Chalcedon.

959 He actually reigned from 25 August 450 to 27 January 457.

960 Leo the Thracian ruled the Eastern empire from 7 February 457 to 18 January 474; Anthemius ruled the Western empire from 12 April 467 to 11 July 472.

Then Zeno ruled for eighteen years.<sup>961</sup>

Then Anastasius ruled.<sup>962</sup> During his reign the fifth assembly of the Christians took place.<sup>963</sup> This was because certain leaders of the Christians held that Christ's body was a phantasm, not real.<sup>964</sup> They assembled because of this and said, "If his body is a phantasm, his<sup>965</sup> action must be a phantasm, not real; but this is more like the doctrine of the Sophists than that of the Christians." Those who held this were cursed, and the Christians disavowed them. The reign of

1:176 Anastasius was | twenty-seven years.

[...]<sup>966</sup>

Then Yūstūs II ruled for twenty-nine years. Muḥammad, the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him peace—was born during his time.<sup>967</sup>

Then Yūstūs III ruled for twenty years.<sup>968</sup>

961 Al-Ya'qūbī omits the ten-month reign of Leo II in 474, between the reigns of Leo I and Zeno. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:330 (§ 752), mentions it, but al-Bīrūnī omits it. Zeno the Isaurian ruled from 9 February 474 to 9 April 491. The more nearly correct 17 years for the length of his reign is given by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:330 (§ 752) and by al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 95.

962 Anastasius I, who ruled from 11 April 491 to 9 July 518. Although the name is badly deformed at first (in M it looks like Asṭūs when it first appears), it is clearly written as Asṭasiyūs at the end of the paragraph. The text of al-Ya'qūbī as preserved in the MSS is clearly defective here: first, the Fifth Ecumenical Council took place in 553, during the reign of Justinian, not that of Anastasius; second, al-Ya'qūbī follows his account of this reign with accounts of "Yūstūs II" and "Yūstūs III," with no mention of a "Yūstūs I." Historically, the emperors after Anastasius I were Justin I (518–527), Justinian I (527–565), and Justin II (565–578). Apparently, Justin I has been omitted (the Leiden editor marks a presumed lacuna before "Yūstūs II"), and the names of both Justinian and Justin have been rendered in Arabic as "Yūstūs." Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:331–332 (§ 752–754) renders the sequence correctly.

963 That is, the Fifth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople II), which took place in 553. Al-Ya'qūbī's dating is wrong, as the council took place during the reign of Justinian.

964 Arabic, *kāna khayālan 'alā ghayri ḥaqīqatin*. The reference to "certain leaders of the Christians" (*qawman min ru'āsā' al-naṣārā*) might be a reference to the authors of the so-called Three Chapters condemned by the council (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa).

965 Or, "its," as the pronoun could refer either to Christ or to "body," which is masculine in Arabic. It is unclear who these "sophists" were (if the Leiden editor's reading of *al-sūfistā'īyya* is correct; in M the letter *f* is given a second point, which makes it a *q*, so the original word may have been different).

966 Lacuna inferred by the Leiden editor.

967 If Yūstūs II is Justinian I, this would place Muḥammad's birth before 565, which is early, as Islamic tradition says that he died in June 632, at the age of 63 (presumably lunar years, equal to 61.12 solar years), which implies a birth year of 570, in the reign of Justin II.

968 That is, Justin II, ruled 565–578.

Then Tiberius ruled for four years.<sup>969</sup>

[...] In his days the sixth assembly of the Christians took place.<sup>970</sup> This was because Cyrus of Alexandria had claimed that Christ was one will and one action. This, they said, was similar to what the Jacobites held.<sup>971</sup> They assembled for this and gave their assent to the patriarch of Rome—he had written a letter, but did not attend.<sup>972</sup> The Christians had no assembly afterward.<sup>973</sup>

[...] The reign of Heraclius and his son Constantine was thirty-two years.<sup>974</sup>

Then Constantine ruled for eighteen years.<sup>975</sup>

Then the Patriarch of Rome ruled for three years.<sup>976</sup>

Then Philippicus ruled for four years.<sup>977</sup>

969 That is, Tiberius II, ruled September 578 to August 582.

970 As the Sixth Ecumenical Council did not take place until 680–681, during the reign of Constantine IV, one must assume a lacuna before these words, but the mention of the reign of Heraclius and Constantine (presumably Constantine III) after the account of this council seems to indicate that the account of this council was at first a marginal note and was later copied into the text at the wrong place.

971 “They said,” follows the reading of M; ed. Leiden has “he said.” At issue was the so-called Monothelite doctrine, declared heretical at the council. It had been accepted and defended by Cyrus of Alexandria (died c. 640) as a way of bridging the gap between those who accepted the Chalcedonian doctrine of two natures (divine and human) united but distinct in Christ and the Monophysites (Jacobites), who held that the incarnate Christ had only one nature (divine and human).

972 That is, Pope Agatho.

973 Al-Yaʿqūbī omits mention of the Seventh Ecumenical Council held at Nicaea in 787, probably because his source for the list of Roman rulers ends with Constantine V (ruled 741 to 775).

974 Although neither the MSS nor ed. Leiden indicate a lacuna before this sentence, stylistic grounds point to one, as the sentence conforms to the formula that al-Yaʿqūbī uses at the end of each reign. Heraclius reigned from 5 October 610 to 11 February 641; his son Constantine III, who had been co-emperor since 614, ruled after his father’s death only until May 641.

975 It is not clear whether the reference is to Constans II, whose regnal name was Constantine and who reigned from September 641 to September 668, or to Constantine IV, who ruled from September 668 to September 685. The figure of 18 years suggests the latter. In any event, al-Yaʿqūbī’s list of rulers becomes unreliable at this point.

976 A possible reference to the reign of Leontius (695–698), although it is unclear why he should be called “Patriarch of Rome,” but for the resemblance of his name to that of Pope Leo I of Rome, whose doctrinal letter played an important role in the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

977 The name has been badly distorted in transmission, but one can restore the reading of M

Then Leo and his son Constantine ruled for twenty-nine years.<sup>978</sup>

The months of the Romans, on the basis of which they make their calculations and fix their dates, are twelve. The first of them is Kānūn 11, which they call Yanwāris (Ianuarius) in the Roman language.<sup>979</sup> It is their New Year. These are the names of their months: Yanwāris (Ianuarius), which is Kānūn 11; [Fabrāris]<sup>980</sup> (Februarius), which is Shubāt; [Martīs]<sup>981</sup> (Martius), which is Ādhār; 1177 Aprilis (Aprilis), which is Nīsān; Māyus (Maius), which is Ayyār; [Jūnis]<sup>982</sup> (Iunius), which is Ḥazīrān; [Jūlis]<sup>983</sup> (Iulius), which is | Tammūz; Aghuṣṭus (Augustus), which is Āb; [Sittanbris]<sup>984</sup> (Septembris/September), which is Ay-lūl; [Uktubris]<sup>985</sup> (Octobris/October), which is Tishrīn [1]; [Nuwnunbris]<sup>986</sup> (Novembris/November), which is Tishrīn 11; and [Dikimbris]<sup>987</sup> (Decembris/December), which is Kānūn 1.

Their kingdom stretched from the Euphrates to Alexandria, all of which became part of the land of Islam, besides that part of the land of the Romans that remains in their hands until the present day. The greatest of their cities were al-Ruhā<sup>988</sup> in the Jazīra, in (the area called) Diyār Muḍar; Anṭākiya,<sup>989</sup>

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to something like *F.ly.b.gh.r.w.s.* The reference would be to the reign of Philippicus from 711 to 713.

978 This must refer to the reigns of Leo 111 the Isaurian (March 717 to June 741) and his son Constantine V (June 741 to September 775), although the dates fit neither the individual reigns nor their combined total.

979 It is unclear whether by *al-Rūmiyya* al-Ya'qūbī means Latin or Greek. In any case, the Greek month names for the Julian calendar were simply an adaptation of the Latin names, with minor adjustments for the phonetics of the Greek language. The translation therefore reproduces the Arabic form found in the manuscripts and adds the Latin form in parentheses. The names are then given in the form current among Syriac-speaking Christians, which became the normal way of referring to the Julian months in Arabic.

980 Garbled by the copyist into something like *Bilyās*. The usual Arabic form, found for example in al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, has been substituted in the translation.

981 Garbled into something like *Narlīs* in the manuscripts.

982 Written as Jūlis (that is, Julius, July) in the MSS, although the Syriac/Arabic name Ḥazīrān following it clearly refers to June. This miscopying has led to misidentifying the subsequent months and duplication of October in the manuscripts. The translation corrects these mistakes, which are probably the fault of a copyist.

983 Given as Aghuṣṭus because of the copyist's error.

984 Given as Uktubris because of the copyist's error.

985 Given as N.b.w.s, presumably for something like Nuwnunbris.

986 Given as Ukbris, presumably for Uktubris.

987 Truncated into Mūris in the manuscripts.

988 Ancient Edessa.

989 Ancient Antioch.

where, in the Church of al-Qusyān, are the chair of Peter and the hand of John the son of Zacharia.<sup>990</sup> It is the fourth see and great patriarchate.<sup>991</sup> Within the part of the Romans' kingdom that came under Islam is the Jazīra, including Ḥar-rān; al-Ruhā and all its dependencies; Bālis;<sup>992</sup> Sumaysāt;<sup>993</sup> Malaṭīya; Adana; Ṭarsūs; the military district of Qinnasrīn; al-ʿAwāšim<sup>994</sup> and all its dependencies; the military district of Ḥimṣ (the city of Ḥimṣ was a noteworthy city in the kingdom of the Romans). Also, al-Lādhiqiyya, which is a dependency of Ḥimṣ; the military district of Damascus (the Roman king's governors there were the Āl Jafna, of the tribe of Ghassān); the military district of the Jordan, which also belonged to them and whose governors on behalf of the Roman king were from the Ghassānid Āl Jafna; and the military district of Palestine, with its dependencies. Also, Tinnīs, Dimyāt, and Alexandria. This was the exclusive kingdom of the Romans and became part of the land of Islam.

Also theirs was territory beyond the pass,<sup>995</sup> stretching toward the lands of the Slavs,<sup>996</sup> the Alans,<sup>997</sup> and the Franks.<sup>998</sup>

Among the famous, well-known cities in the land of the Romans are cities such as Rome, Nicaea, Constantinople, Amaseia,<sup>999</sup> Kharshana, Qurra, Amorium, Ṣumālu, al-Qalamiyya, Selinus, Heracleia, Siqilliyya, Falaṭīna, Antioch

990 The Church of al-Qusyān is the Church of Cassianus, later known as the Church of St. Peter, which became the main church of Antioch, replacing the older cathedral that was destroyed by an earthquake in 588. It is unclear whether the chair (Arabic *kursī*) is to be interpreted as a physical relic—the parallel with the hand of John the Baptist suggests as much—or simply as a bishop's throne such as would be found in any cathedral church (the next part of the sentence suggests this interpretation). The church was supposedly on the site where the Apostle Peter restored the son of a certain King Qusyān to life. See Hugh Kennedy, "Antioch: from Byzantium to Islam," in *The City in Late Antiquity*, 185–188.

991 That is, following Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria.

992 A now ruined town in northern Syria on the west bank of the Euphrates. See the article by J. Sourdel-Thomine in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bālis.

993 Ancient Samosata; modern Turkish Samsat; see the article by C. P. Haase in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sumaysāt.

994 Al-ʿAwāšim was the name of a series of frontier fortresses along the border between the caliphate and the Byzantine empire. See the article by M. Canard in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-ʿAwāšim.

995 Arabic, *al-darb*; apparently referring to the Cilician Gates.

996 Arabic, *Ṣaqālība* (sg. *Ṣaqālībī*) derives from a Greek form Σκαλαβηνός, with an older form Σλαβος derived from the self-designation of the Slavic peoples. See the article by P. B. Golden, P. Guichard, and Mohamed Meouak in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ṣaqālība.

997 An Iranian people of the northern Caucasus.

998 Arabic, *Ifrañj*, a general designation for people of western Europe.

999 Modern Amasya, a provincial capital in north-central Turkey.

1:178 the Burnt, Dahīrnāṭa, | Moloe, Seleucia, Smyrna, Iconium, [...], [...], [...], and Salonica.<sup>1000</sup>

### The Kings of Persia

Persia claims for its kings many things of the sort that cannot be accepted. These include physical excrescences, such as one person's having numerous mouths and eyes, another's having a face of copper, and another's having on his shoulders two snakes that devoured men's brains. To certain persons they attribute great longevity or deny their death—and similar things that minds reject and that can be treated as vanities, jest, and unreal. Persians of intellect and knowledge, those of nobility and high family, their princes and their gentry, and people who transmit reliable accounts and possess education have never treated such things as real or true or affirmed them.<sup>1001</sup>

We find that they date the kingdom of Persia only from the time of Ardashīr Bābakān.<sup>1002</sup> According to them, their earliest kings, those of the first kingdom, which existed before Ardashīr, were:<sup>1003</sup> Kayūmarth, who ruled for seventy years; Ūshhanj Fīshdād, who ruled for forty years; Ṭahmūrath, who ruled

1000 The list of cities is badly copied, with most of the place names given in undotted script. Where the forms are too ambiguous to be read even conjecturally, we have inserted [...].

1001 Unfortunately, al-Ya'qūbī does not list his sources for Persian history, which consisted of Middle Persian works translated into Arabic, most of which do not survive in their original Persian or Arabic forms. The following works deal with the sources used by Arabic historians for reconstructing the history of pre-Islamic Iran: T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (especially the "Einleitung," xiii–xxviii); A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (especially the "Introduction," 59–74); and C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v (not only the introduction, but the extensive footnotes on individual reigns).

1002 That is, from the reign of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, Ardashīr I (ruled 224–242). The meaning is not that the Persians were ignorant of earlier kings but that the Sasanians dated events from the accession of Ardashīr.

1003 Similar lists of the so-called Pīshdādiān and Kayāniān kings may be found in al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 99ff.; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:17 (Jayūmart), 147–149 (Jayūmart), 154–155 (Jayūmart, Hōshank/Ōshahanj Pēshdādh), 170–172 (Ōshahanj), 174–176 (Ṭahmūrath), 179–183 (Jamshēd, al-Ḍaḥḥāk), 201–211 (al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Frēdūn/Afrīdūn), 226–230 (Frēdūn/Afrīdūn), 430–440 (Manūshīhr, Afrāsiyāb), 528–535 (Afrāsiyāb, Zaw b. Ṭahmāsb, Kayqubād), 597–604 (Kay Kāwūs), 604–619 (Kaykhusraw, Luhrāsb), 645 (Luhrāsb), 648–649 (Bishtāsb), 675–683 (Bishtāsb), 686–688 (Ardashīr Bahman), 688–690 (Khu-

for thirty years; Jam Shād, who ruled for seven hundred years; al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who ruled for one thousand years; Afrīdūn, who ruled for five hundred years; Mānūjihr, who ruled for one hundred and twenty years; Afrāsiyāb, king of the Turks,<sup>1004</sup> who ruled for one hundred and twenty years; Zaw Ṭahmāsb,<sup>1005</sup> who ruled for five years; Kayqubādh, who ruled for one hundred years; Kay Kāwūs, who ruled for one hundred and twenty years; Kay Khusraw,<sup>1006</sup> who ruled for sixty years; Kay Luhrāsb, who ruled for one hundred and twenty | years; Kay Bishtāsb, who ruled for one hundred and twelve years; Kay Ardashīr, who ruled for one hundred and twelve years; Khumānī, daughter of Jihrazād,<sup>1007</sup> who ruled for thirty years; and Dārā, son of Jihrazād, who ruled for twelve years. Alexander, who is called Dhū l-Qarnayn, slew him.<sup>1008</sup> Then the kingdom of Persia became divided and was ruled by kings called the Party Kings.<sup>1009</sup> Their royal residence was located at Balkh. Genealogists assert that they were descendants of Gomer, son of Japheth, son of Noah. They followed the religion of the Šābians, venerating the sun, the moon, fire, and the seven stars; they were not Zoroastrians, but followed the ways of the Šābians.<sup>1010</sup> Their spoken and writ-

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- mānī, Dārā/Darius); 692–701 (Dārā/Darius); al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:105–132 (§ 530–556); and Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma‘ārīf* (ed. Cairo), 652–667.
- 1004 Sic, but cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:117–118 (§ 540): “Farāsiyāb’s birthplace was in the land of the Turks, and therefore some authors of books and works of history, among others, have mistakenly alleged that he was a Turk.”
- 1005 As emended by the Leiden editor, probably to be interpreted as “Zaw [son of] Ṭahmāsb,” as in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:118 (§ 540). M has *w.r.b.h.m.ā*. Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 104, reads Zāb *and* Garshāsp, marking them as “the two companions,” and giving them a joint reign of five years.
- 1006 As emended by the Leiden editor, in agreement with al-Bīrūnī, who also gives Kay Khusraw a reign of 60 years. M reads Kay Jūbīn, best explained as a copyist’s error.
- 1007 That is, the daughter of Ardashīr Bahman and Jihrazād; however, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:689, gives Shahrāzād (a variant of Jihrazād/Chihrazād, “of noble countenance”) as the nickname of Khumānī, and al-Ya‘qūbī’s naming of Jihrazād as the mother of Dārā seems to agree with this version. Note that Khumānī (the form of her name in al-Ya‘qūbī and al-Ṭabarī) appears as Ḥumāyā in al-Mas‘ūdī; the two forms can be read from the same (undotted) Arabic ductus.
- 1008 Al-Ya‘qūbī conflates Dārā, son of Bahman, and Dārā (Darius), son of Dārā; the latter was killed by Alexander. Cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:129 (§ 553), and al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 105.
- 1009 Arabic, *mulūk al-ṭawā’if*; other possible translations include “regional kings” or “petty princes.” Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:704 ff., and al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:132–138 (§ 557–562), both of whom devote considerable space to Iranian history in the Parthian/Arsacid period, between the death of Alexander and the rise of the Sasanian dynasty under Ardashīr I, who killed the last of the Arsacids in battle in 224.
- 1010 That is, they were not Zoroastrians (Arabic, Majūs, “Magians”) but followed a form of

ten language was Syriac. Here is an illustration of the Syriac script.<sup>1011</sup> They had historical reports; these were recorded, but, as we have seen, most people reject them and consider them abhorrent; we have omitted them because our policy is to leave out everything abhorrent.

### The Second Kingdom: From Ardashīr Bābakān

Ardashīr became king.<sup>1012</sup> He was the first of the Persian kings to profess the Zoroastrian religion.<sup>1013</sup> His royal residence was in Iṣṭakhr.<sup>1014</sup> When one of the districts of Fārs refused him obedience, he fought its people until he conquered it. He made his way to Iṣfahān, then to al-Ahwāz, and then to Maysān,<sup>1015</sup> after which he returned to Fārs. He made war on a king named Ardawān and killed

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astral religion similar to that of the so-called Šābians, later survivors of Hellenistic paganism at Ḥarrān in Syria. On the identity of the Šābi'ūn, who are mentioned three times in the Qur'ān, see the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Šābi'. The assertion that the Party Kings were not Zoroastrians reflects Sasanian anti-Parthian propaganda branding the Parthians as unorthodox in religion and oversimplifies the historical record.

1011 The surviving MSS omit this.

1012 For an overview of the reign of Ardashīr I, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 84–96. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:813–822 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 2–22). For parallel Arabic accounts of this period of Iranian history, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:813–1067 (trans. Bosworth as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:151–241 (§ 576–663); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 44–46; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 653–667.

1013 Arabic, *awwalu mulūki l-fursi l-mutamajjisa* (the first of the “Magianizing” kings of the Persians). Historically, Ardashīr was not the first Persian king to profess Zoroastrianism; elements of what later became orthodox Zoroastrianism can be traced to Achaemenid times. It is correct that, under the Sasanians, the Zoroastrian clergy became a state-supported hierarchy; Zoroastrian scriptures and legal texts were codified; orthodoxy was defined in contrast to doctrines branded as heresies; and nonconformists were subjected to varying degrees of persecution. See the chapter on Zoroastrianism as a state religion in A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 141–178, and the article by Joseph Wiesehöfer, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Ardashīr.

1014 A town in Fārs province, now in ruins, north of the ancient capital of Persepolis. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:814, Sāsān, the grandfather of Ardashīr I, was superintendent of the fire temple of the goddess Anāhid in the town of Iṣṭakhr. See the article by M. Streck and G. C. Miles in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Iṣṭakhr.

1015 A region on the lower Tigris, in southeastern Iraq. See the article by M. Streck and M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maysān.



him.<sup>1016</sup> Ardashīr received the title King of Kings (Shāhanshāh) and built a fire-temple at Ardashīr Khurrah.<sup>1017</sup> Then he made his way to al-Jazīra,<sup>1018</sup> Armenia, and Azerbaijan, after which he made his way to the Sawād<sup>1019</sup> of Iraq and settled people there. Having made his way to Khurāsān, he conquered some of its districts. After he had consolidated control of the land, he named his son Sābūr heir apparent, crowned him, and styled him king. Ardashīr died after a reign of fourteen years.<sup>1020</sup>

Sābūr<sup>1021</sup> son of Ardashīr became king. He raided the country of the Romans, 1:180 conquered several of its provinces, and took many Romans prisoner. Then he built the city of Jundaysābūr<sup>1022</sup> and settled it with Roman prisoners. The chief of the Romans constructed for him the bridge over Tustar's river, whose width was a thousand cubits.<sup>1023</sup> It was in the days of Sābūr son of Ardashīr that Mānī son of Ḥammād, the *zindīq*, appeared.<sup>1024</sup> He called on Sābūr to profess dualism

1016 At the Battle of Hurmuzjān, in 224, Ardashīr killed the last reigning Arsacid, Ardawān (Artabanus). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:818–819; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:135 (§ 559) and 161 (§ 585); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 44.

1017 The name means “Glory of Ardashīr.” The town, originally called Gūr, is located south of Iṣṭakhr, at the location of modern Fīrūzābād. See the article by L. Lockhart in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fīrūzābād.

1018 That is, the northern part of Mesopotamia.

1019 Sawād (literally, the black/dark lands) refers to the southern part of Mesopotamia.

1020 The crowning of Sābūr as heir apparent—indeed, as co-monarch—probably took place in 240, and Ardashīr's death probably took place early in 242; see the article by Joseph Wiesehöfer, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Ardashīr.

1021 Middle Persian, Shāpūr: Shāpūr I, ruled 242–270; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:822–831 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 23–39); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:163–166 (§ 589–593); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 48.

1022 Middle Persian, Gōndēshāpūr, in Khūzistān. The city later became famous as a center of medical studies; cf. the article by Cl. Huart and Aydin Sayili in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Gōndēshāpūr.

1023 Al-Ya'qūbī's *ra'īs al-Rūm* (the chief of the Romans) is ambiguous, but other accounts attribute the dam's construction explicitly to the Roman emperor Valerian, who was captured by the Persians in 260 and was set to work constructing the dam with Roman laborers; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:827 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 29–31); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 49.

1024 On the life and doctrines of Mānī, the founder of the Manichaean religion, see the article by Werner Sundermann in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Mānī. The designation of Mānī's father as Ḥammād (if one can trust the reading) is unique to al-Ya'qūbī; other sources give Fāttik/Fātak or some variation on it. The word *zindīq*, used later loosely for a believer in any of various heretical beliefs, here designates any follower of the teachings of Mānī, that is, a Manichaean. See the article by F. C. De Blois in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zindīq; and the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mānī b. Fāttik.

and found fault with his religious beliefs. Sābūr was swayed by him.

Mānī taught that the governor of the world is two—two eternal things, light and darkness, two creators: a creator of good and a creator of evil. Darkness and light, each in itself, is a name for five elements: color, taste, odor, touch, and sound. Both of them are all-hearing, all-seeing, and all-knowing. Everything good and beneficial springs from light; everything harmful and painful springs from darkness. They were originally unmixed, but then they became mixed, the proof of that being that form did not exist but then came to be.<sup>1025</sup> It was the darkness that initiated admixture with light; they had been in mutual contact, like shadow and sunlight, the proof of that being the impossibility of the generation of something from nothing. Proof that it was darkness that initiated admixture with light is that, because darkness, by the admixture of obscurity with light, corrupts it, it is inconceivable that light should initiate the admixture, as light has good as its consequence. Proof that they are two eternal, good and evil, is that, because one finds that a single element does not generate two diverse actions—for example, fire, which is hot and burning, does not generate cooling, and that which generates cooling does not generate warming—therefore that which generates good does not generate evil, and that which generates evil does not generate good. Proof that they are two living and active entities is that good can be demonstrated to have an action and evil  
1:181 can be demonstrated | to have an action.

Sābūr assented to this doctrine of Mānī's and enjoined the people of his kingdom to adopt it. This was grievous to them, so the sages of his kingdom assembled to turn Sābūr away from it, but he would not do so.

Mānī composed books asserting dualism. Among the works he composed was the book that he titled *The Treasure of the Living*. In it he described the luminous purity and dark corruption in the soul, and he ascribed evil actions to the darkness. In another of his books, which he titled *Shābūraqān*,<sup>1026</sup> he described the pure soul and the soul that has been contaminated by demons and defects. He made the firmament to be a plane, and he said that knowledge was atop a sloping mountain, over which the highest firmament turns. Another work was a book that he titled *The Book of Guidance and Governance*. There were also the twenty-two *Gospels*,<sup>1027</sup> to each of which he gave a letter of the

1025 The translation of the second part of the sentence depends on a conjectural emendation by the Leiden editor.

1026 Middle Persian, *Šābūhraqān* (The Book of Shāpūr), named for the king to which it was dedicated.

1027 Arabic, *Injīl*; the manuscripts read “twelve,” but the reading has been emended here on the basis of what is known about the work, each chapter of which was labeled with

alphabet as a title. He mentioned prayer and the deeds that must be practiced for the salvation of the spirit. There were also *The Book of Time*,<sup>1028</sup> *The Book of Secrets*, in which he inveighed against the signs of the prophets; *The Book of Giants*; and many other books and treatises.

Sābūr continued to adhere to this doctrine for ten years or so. Then the Mōbadh<sup>1029</sup> came to him and said: "This man has corrupted your religion. Arrange a meeting between him and me, so that I can dispute him." Sābūr brought the two together, and the Mōbadh had the better of the argument. Sābūr returned from dualism to the religion of the Magi and sought to kill Mānī, who fled to India, where he remained until Sābūr died.

Hurmuz,<sup>1030</sup> son of Sābūr, became king after Sābūr. He was a courageous man. It was he who built the city of Rāmhurmuz.<sup>1031</sup> He did not live long; his reign was only one year.

Bahrām,<sup>1032</sup> son of Hurmuz, then became king. He was infatuated with slaves and entertainments. Mānī's disciples wrote to Mānī, saying that a king tender in years and much preoccupied had come to the throne. So Mānī came to the land of Fārs; his activity became known and his whereabouts apparent. Bahrām summoned him and questioned him about his activity, and Mānī gave him an account. Bahrām arranged a meeting between him and the Mōbadh, and Mānī disputed with him. Then the Mōbadh said to him, "Let some lead be melted for me and for you and let it be poured on my stomach and on yours; whichever of us is unharmed is in possession of the truth." Mānī said, "This is a deed of darkness." At this, Bahrām ordered him to be imprisoned and said to him, "Tomorrow I will summon you and kill you in a way that no one has

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- one of the twenty-two letters of the Aramaic alphabet.
- 1028 Arabic, *Kitāb al-Dahr*; this title is omitted in ed. Leiden.
- 1029 That is, the chief priest of the Zoroastrian religion.
- 1030 Better known by the Iranian form of his name as Hormizd I, ruled 270–271; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:831–833 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 40–43); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:166 (§ 593).
- 1031 A town and district in Khūzistān, in southwestern Persia, 55 miles southeast of Ahwāz and 65 miles south-southeast of Shūshtar, at the intersection of the roads from Ahwāz, Shūshtar, Iṣfahān, and Fārs. See the article by V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rām-Hurmuz.
- 1032 That is, Bahrām I, reigned 271–274; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:833–834 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 43–45); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:167 (§ 594), al-Dinawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-tiwāl*, 49. As Bosworth notes in his translation of al-Ṭabarī, the Arabic sources, including al-Ya'qūbī, with the exception of one account in al-Mas'ūdī, make Bahrām I the son of Hurmuz (see Bosworth, 45, n. 134, and 48, n. 140), rather than the son of Sābūr, as is the consensus of modern historians.

ever been killed before you.” Mānī did not cease being flayed that night until his soul departed. In the morning, Bahrām called for him, but they found that he had already died. Bahrām ordered his head to be cut off and had his body stuffed with straw. He persecuted his adherents and killed a great number of them. Bahrām son of Hurmuz reigned for three years.

Then Bahrām,<sup>1033</sup> son of Bahrām, became king. He reigned for seventeen years.

After him, his son, Bahrām,<sup>1034</sup> son of Bahrām, son of Bahrām, became king; he ruled for four years.

Then his brother, Narsī,<sup>1035</sup> son of Bahrām, reigned for nine years.

Then Hurmuz,<sup>1036</sup> son of Narsī, reigned for nine years. A son was born to him, whom he named Sābūr<sup>1037</sup> and made heir apparent. Hurmuz died while Sābūr was still an infant in the cradle. The people of his kingdom watched over him until he reached adolescence and young manhood. Then he displayed haughtiness and aggressiveness; he raided the country of the Arabs and stopped up their wells with earth. The king of the Romans, Julian, attacked him, aided by Arabs of all the tribes. The Arab tribes turned on Sābūr as fast as they could and attacked him in his capital;<sup>1038</sup> he fled, leaving his kingdom vacant, so that his city and treasuries were plundered. | Then, however, a stray arrow killed Julian, king of the Romans. The Romans made Jovian king, and he made peace with Sābūr. Sābūr remained hostile to the Arabs: whenever he got hold of one of

1033 That is, Bahrām II, reigned 274–291; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 1:834–835 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 46); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:168–174 (§ 595–599).

1034 That is, Bahrām III; his reign was probably much shorter than the four years attributed to him here. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 47, n. 139, gives evidence that he reigned only four months, in the early part of 292, until he was deposed by his great-uncle Narsī; cf. also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:174 (§ 600).

1035 The pronoun in “his brother” is ambiguous. One might understand the text to mean that Narsī was the son of Bahrām II and brother of Bahrām III, but the wording “son of Bahrām” (without a further “son of Bahrām”) might imply that Narsī was the son of Bahrām I and brother of Bahrām II. This is how Bosworth understands the parallel text in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 1:835 (trans. 48). The consensus of modern historians is that Narsī was in fact the son of Sābūr I, hence a brother of Bahrām I. This would make him the great-uncle of Bahrām III. He reigned 292–302; see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 48, n. 140; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:174 (§ 600).

1036 Hormizd II, reigned 302–309; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 1:835–836 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 49–50); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:174–175 (§ 600).

1037 That is, Shāpūr II, reigned 309–379; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 1:836–846 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 50–67); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:175–188 (§ 601–611).

1038 That is, Ctesiphon; cf. al-Dīnawarī, *al-Aḫbār al-ṭiwāl*, 51–52.

them, he dislocated the man's shoulder.<sup>1039</sup> As a result, Sābūr came to be called Dhū l-Aktāf (The Man of the Shoulders). He reigned for seventy-two years.

Sābūr's brother, Ardashīr,<sup>1040</sup> son of Hurmuz, then became king. He conducted himself badly, killing their nobles and magnates, and he was therefore deposed, after he had reigned for four years.

The Persians made Sābūr, son of Sābūr, king.<sup>1041</sup> The deposed Ardashīr submitted to him and offered him his obedience. A large tent collapsed upon Sābūr and killed him.<sup>1042</sup> He had reigned for five years.

Bahrām,<sup>1043</sup> son of Sābūr, became king after Sābūr. He wrote to the farthest reaches of the kingdom, promising the people justice, equity, and benevolence. He continued to rule for eleven years; then some men rebelled against him and killed him.

Then Yazdajird, son of Sābūr, became king.<sup>1044</sup> He was harsh, coarse, arrogant, and ill-behaved—of little good and much evil—and he subjected people to the worst kind of abuse. Then a horse kicked him and killed him.<sup>1045</sup> He had reigned for twenty-one years.

Then Bahrām Jūr, son of Yazdajird, became king.<sup>1046</sup> He had grown up in the land of the Arabs: his father had sent him off to al-Nu'mān; the Arab women

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- 1039 Arabic, *khala'a katifah*, could mean either "dislocated his shoulder" or "pulled out the shoulder blade." The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:844 (*naza'a aktāf ru'asā'ihim*, "tore out the shoulder blades of their leaders") points to the more gruesome interpretation.
- 1040 Ardashīr II, son of Hormizd II, reigned 379–383; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:846 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 67); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:289 (§ 611).
- 1041 That is, Shāpūr III, son of Shāpūr II, reigned 383–388; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:846 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 68); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:289 (§ 611).
- 1042 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:846, this was no accident: "The great men of state and the members of noble houses cut the ropes ... and the tent fell down on top of him" (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 68). Cf. also al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 53, which speaks of "treacherous men."
- 1043 That is, Bahrām IV, son of Shāpūr II, reigned 388–399; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:847 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 69); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:190 (§ 612).
- 1044 That is, Yazdajird I (Middle Persian, Yazdgird), son of Shāpūr III, reigned 399–420; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:847–850; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:190 (§ 612).
- 1045 In the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:850–851 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 73), the horse is of supernatural character, sent by God in response to people's complaints, to relieve the Persians of an unjust ruler, and disappears mysteriously after striking Yazdajird.
- 1046 That is, Bahrām V (reigned 420–438) surnamed Gōr (wild ass), either in reference to his endurance or to his love of hunting. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:854–871 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 82–106); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:190–193 (§ 612–614). For a discussion of his name, see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 81, n. 220.

suckled him, and he grew up to have a fine character.<sup>1047</sup> After Yazdajird died, the Persians were loath to appoint any son of Yazdajird because of his bad ways. “As for his son Bahrām,” they said, “he has grown up in the land of the Arabs, knowing nothing about kingship,” so they decided to make someone else king.<sup>1048</sup> Bahrām then set out accompanied by the Arabs, and when he met the Persians, they were in awe of him. They took the king’s crown and the finery that kings wear, set them between two lions, and said to Bahrām and to Kisrā, “Whichever of you takes the crown and finery from between these  
 1:184 two lions shall be king.” They said | to Bahrām, [...].<sup>1049</sup> So he took up a mace, advanced, beat the lions to death, and took the crown and the finery; so they submitted to him and gave him their obedience. He, for his part, promised them benevolence, and he wrote to the farthest reaches of the kingdom promising them the same and informing them of his justice and his intention to bring prosperity to the country. Al-Mundhir b. al-Nu’mān visited him, and Bahrām raised his rank. Bahrām was a man who loved amusement and neglected his subjects. Once he went in pursuit of animals and amusement and left his brother Narsī as his deputy over the kingdom. When Khāqān, the king of the Turks, learned what sort of man Bahrām was, he became covetous of his kingdom and decided to march against him. When Bahrām learned of this, he marched against Khāqān, killed him, and wrote to his subjects about the victory. Then one day he went out hunting, and while he was intent on pursuing a wild ass, his horse threw him into a place of deep mud and he died. He had ruled for nineteen years.

Then Yazdajird, son of Bahrām, became king; his reign was seventeen years.<sup>1050</sup> This Yazdajird had two sons, one of whom was called Hurmuz and the

1047 According to the parallels in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:855, and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 53, 57, Bahrām Gōr was educated in the Arabian desert by the Lakhmid ruler of al-Ḥīra, al-Mundhir I (ruled c. 418–462), the son of al-Nu’mān I (ruled c. 400–418). But al-Ya’qūbī’s narrative, with its later detail of al-Mundhir’s journey to Bahrām’s court, seems equally plausible.

1048 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:858, and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 57, the man was named Kisrā/Khusraw and belonged to a collateral branch of the Sasanian family. Al-Ya’qūbī will mention the name shortly, without explanation. For a discussion of the succession crisis after the death of Yazdajird, see A. Christensen, *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*, 274–276.

1049 Words appear to have been omitted. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī is longer and contains a conversation between the Persians and Bahrām.

1050 That is, Yazdagird II, ruled 438–457; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:871–872 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 106–109); al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:193–194 (§ 615–616).

other Fayrūz.<sup>1051</sup> Hurmuz seized the throne after his father's death; Fayrūz fled and reached the country of the Hephthalites.<sup>1052</sup> He told their king his story and informed him of his brother's behavior and his injustice. The king provided him with an army, and Fayrūz advanced with them; he fought his brother, killed him, scattered his forces, and became king. In his days the people suffered severe drought, lack of rain, and famine; the rivers and springs dried up. This continued to be their condition for three years, but then the country revived. Fayrūz marched to the country of the Turks to do battle with their king. There had been peace between the Persians and the Turks; so, when Fayrūz approached the country, the king of the Turks sent him a message asking him to turn back, stressing the gravity of the breach of trust, but Fayrūz would not agree. So the king of the Turks dug a deep trench on account of him and caused it to be covered. When Fayrūz approached it, he deployed his army and rushed blindly toward it; so he, with all | his army, fell into that trench and died. The king of the Turks seized his possessions and took a sister of his. Fayrūz had reigned for twenty-seven years. 1:185

When the Persians learned of the death of Fayrūz, it distressed them greatly. One of their leaders, a man named Sūkhṛā, marched out with a well-equipped host, met the king of the Turks, did battle with him, and bested him. The king of the Turks sued for peace, offering to hand over to him everything he had seized of Fayrūz's treasures and to return his sister and those of his retinue [who were in his hands].<sup>1053</sup> He did this, and Sūkhṛā departed.

Balāsh, son of Fayrūz, became king; his period of rule was four years.<sup>1054</sup>

Then his brother Qubādh, son of Fayrūz, became king.<sup>1055</sup> Being young in years, he left the management of the kingdom to Sūkhṛā, but, when he came of

1051 Respectively, Hurmuz (Hormizd) III, ruled 457–459, and Fayrūz (Pērōz) I, ruled 459–484; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:872–880 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 109–121); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:195 (§ 617).

1052 The Hephthalites (Arabic, al-Hayāṭila) were a steppe people from Mongolia, who settled along the Oxus during the fourth and fifth centuries and formed one, or perhaps several, powerful kingdoms. See the article by A. D. H. Bivar in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hayāṭila. See also the note on the parallel in al-Ṭabarī provided by Bosworth in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 107, n. 275. Cf. also, al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 60.

1053 Addition by the Leiden editor.

1054 Balāsh (Walāsh) apparently was the brother, not the son, of Fayrūz and ruled 484–488; see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 126, for the evidence that he was deposed; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:195 (§ 617).

1055 That is, Qubādh (Kawād) I, ruled 488–496, 498 or 499–531. In fact, he was the nephew of Balāsh; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:883–888 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 128–139); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:195 (§ 617).

age and reached manhood, he became dissatisfied with Sūkhṛā's management, so he killed him and promoted Mihrān.<sup>1056</sup> Later, the Persians deposed Qubādh, imprisoned him, and made his brother Jāmasb, son of Fayrūz, king.<sup>1057</sup> Qubādh remained in prison, while his brother was king. Then a sister of Qubādh entered the prison; the prison warden confronted her, and she aroused his desire, but she said that she was menstruating. She went inside and stayed with Qubādh for a day. Then she wrapped him in a carpet and had it taken out on the shoulders of a strong young lad. Qubādh fled, intending to reach the king of the Hephthalites. When he reached Abarshahr,<sup>1058</sup> he stopped and stayed with a man there. He asked the man to find him a woman, so the latter brought him a slave girl. He lay with her, pleased with her beauty and grace. Then he made his way to the king of the Hephthalites and stayed with him for a year, and the latter dispatched an army with him. When he returned to Abarshahr, he asked the man with whom he had stayed, "How is that slave girl doing?" He brought her to him: she had given birth to a boy, the most beautiful boy imaginable. He named

1:186 him Kisrā Anūshirwān.<sup>1059</sup> | Qubādh marched to his country, took control of the throne, and became very powerful. He raided the country of the Romans and established new provinces and districts. He made his son Anūshirwān heir apparent: he summoned him, gave him the best of advice, and imparted to him everything he would need to know. The reign of Qubādh was forty-three years.

Then Anūshirwān, son of Qubādh, became king.<sup>1060</sup> He wrote to the people of his kingdom, telling them of the death of Qubādh, promising to treat them benevolently, commanding them to do that which would bring them good for-

1056 As corrected by ed. Leiden; the mss read Bahrām. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:885 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 131), and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 66. In al-Ṭabarī, Mihrān is the name of the man's family: "At last, Qubādh became desirous of resuming power ... He wrote to Sābūr of al-Rayy, [a man] from the house called Mihrān, who was Supreme Commander of the Land, to come to him with the troops under his command" (al-Ṭabarī, trans. Bosworth). The arrest and execution of Sūkhṛā follow.

1057 The interregnum of Jāmasb (or Jāmāsp) was in 496–498 or 499. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:885–887, and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 67, Qubādh was deposed for favoring the doctrines of Mazdak, whom al-Ya'qūbī will mention shortly in connection with the reign of Anūshirwān.

1058 That is, the region around Nishāpūr, in central Khurāsān.

1059 The future Kisrā (Khusraw) I, surnamed Anūshirwān (Middle Persian, Anōshag-ruwān, "of immortal soul"). The account in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 67, locates this incident "in a village on the border of al-Ahwāz and Iṣfahān" and identifies the mother of Kisrā Anūshirwān not as a slave girl but as the daughter of a local notable (*dihqān*) with a pedigree going back to the legendary King Farīdūn.

1060 That is, Kisrā I Anūshirwān, reigned 531–579; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:892–900, 958–



tune and enjoining them to obedience and loyal behavior. He pardoned certain men who had been hostile to him. He killed Mazdaq, who had commanded people to share their property and women equally among themselves,<sup>1061</sup> and he killed Zarādusht<sup>1062</sup> son of Khurakān, because of the innovations he had introduced into Zoroastrianism;<sup>1063</sup> he killed the followers of both men. He promoted the leading men of the monarchy and the nobility. He raided several countries that not been within the kingdom of the Persians, and he added them to his realm. There took place between him and Justinian, the king of the Romans [...].<sup>1064</sup> So Anūshirwān raided the country of the Romans, killing and taking prisoners, and he captured many cities in the Jazīra and Syria, including Edessa, Manbij, Qinnasrīn, the ‘Awāšim,<sup>1065</sup> Aleppo, Antioch, Apamea, Emessa (Ḥimṣ), and others. He was so pleased by Antioch that he built a city exactly like it, omitting nothing. Then he took the prisoners from Antioch and sent them to it; there was nothing they did not recognize.<sup>1066</sup>

Anūshirwān surveyed the land and levied taxes on it. He assessed every *jarīb* of cropland according to its yield.<sup>1067</sup> This custom continued to be followed as

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- 966 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 146–162, 252–267); al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:196–211 (§ 618–632); A. Christensen, *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*, 363–440.
- 1061 On the history of this religious movement, which had arisen during the previous reign and had enjoyed the favor of Qubādī, see the article by M. Guidi and M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mazdak. Mazdak’s life and death formed the basis of a popular narrative in Middle Persian, the *Mazdak-nāmagh*, translated into Arabic; see A. Christensen, *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*, 68–69; 337–362. For a summary of more recent scholarship on Mazdak, see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 132, n. 342.
- 1062 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:893 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 148), this Zarādusht was the originator of the doctrines propagated by Mazdak.
- 1063 Arabic, al-Majūsiyya (“the religion of the Magi”).
- 1064 One or more words seem to have dropped out of the mss, although there is no visible lacuna. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:958–960 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 252–255), gives the background: The war began when the Byzantine client al-Ḥārith b. Jabala raided the Persian client al-Mundhir b. Nu’mān, prompting an ultimatum from Anūshirwān to Justinian, followed by war lasting from 540 to 546.
- 1065 The term designates what was later to become a frontier area between the caliphate and the Byzantine lands, roughly the area between Antioch and Manbij. Its use here is anachronistic. See the article by M. Canard in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-‘Awāšim.
- 1066 This town, located near the capital, Ctesiphon (al-Madā’in), came to be called al-Rūmiyya because of the Greeks (Rūm) settled there; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:959 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 254–255); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 70; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:199–200 (§ 621); A. Christensen, *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*, 386–387.
- 1067 The *jarīb* was a standard measure of agricultural land, originally the area that could

1187 long as the country remained prosperous. He installed as a salaried official over the bureau of soldiers a man whose decisiveness and resolution found favor with him, and he required his soldiers | to obtain the arms that were needed. He also set up, in similar fashion, the bureau of payments; the registers of names, equipment, and brands of mounts; and the bureau of army review.<sup>1068</sup>

Anūshirwān was noble, generous, and renowned for justice. No person asked a favor of him without his providing a response to him. Sayf b. Dhī Yazan<sup>1069</sup> journeyed to him and informed him that the Abyssinians had come to the land of Yemen and had conquered it; he himself had gone to Heraclius, the king of the Romans, but had not received from him what he desired. Anūshirwān therefore dispatched prison inmates with him by sea, appointing as their leader one of his senior army commanders, a brave and experienced man named Wahriz. The latter made his way to Yemen and succeeded in killing and destroying the Abyssinians, and he shot and killed their king, Abraha. He stayed in the country and appointed Sayf b. Dhī Yazan king.

Anūshirwān appointed his son Hurmuz heir apparent—Hurmuz's mother was the daughter of Khāqān, the king of the Turks—and wrote for Hurmuz a document in the form of a covenant. In it, he enjoined on him what behooves men of his station and gave him the best of counsels. He tested him and found him to be just as he desired; he responded to his every question with a correct answer and thanked him beautifully and graciously for his appointment.<sup>1070</sup> Anūshirwān died after a reign of forty-eight years.

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be sown with one *jarīb* (a measure of capacity) of seed. The term is still in use in Iran as a synonym of "hectare." See the articles by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Misāḥa*; and by E. Ashtor in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Makāyil*. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:960–963 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 255–262) and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 72–73, the reform of the land tax was begun by Qubādh and completed by his son Anūshirwān after Qubādh's death. Cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:204–205 (§ 627) for further details.

1068 On these administrative arrangements, see the more elaborate account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:963–964 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 262–263), and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 74–75.

1069 Sayf b. Dhī Yazan was a South Arabian leader of a revolt against Abyssinian domination. Despite the fanciful legends and popular romance that developed around him (see the article by J.-P. Guillaume in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sayf Ibn Dhī Yazan*), he seems to have been a real historical figure, as the Yazan family appears in inscriptions and probably dominated all the Ḥaḍramawt and the Ḍufar coastlands. See C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 236, n. 585. Al-Ya'qūbī later includes more information about Sayf in his account of the kings of Yemen, ed. Leiden, 1:226–227.

1070 Reading with M: *wa-tashakkara wilāyatahu*.

Then Hurmuz, son of Anūshirwān, became king.<sup>1071</sup> He read out to the people a general letter, promising justice, equity, pardon, and benevolence, and enjoining on them that which would bring benefits. At first he achieved victory and strength, conquering many cities, but then his enemies became emboldened against him and raided his country. His harshest enemy was Shābah,<sup>1072</sup> king of the Turks, who advanced with | a huge army, entered Khurāsān, and nearly took possession of it. The king of the Khazars advanced with armies and invaded Azerbaijan. Hurmuz became very distressed, fearing that he might not have the strength to deal with the ruler of the Turks. Then one of his commanders, a man named Bihzād, came and told him that he had with him a knowledgeable man named Mihrān Sitād [...].<sup>1073</sup> [...] And that Khātūn, his wife,<sup>1074</sup> had asked what lay before them. He had told her that her daughter would bear to the king of the Persians a son who would accede to the kingship after his father; that the king of the Turks would advance against him with a great army; that he, in response, would send against him a person not of the nobility,<sup>1075</sup> someone named Bahrām Chūbīn, with an army detachment, and

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1071 That is, Hormizd IV, ruled 579–590; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:988–994 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 295–305). Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 77–80, gives what purports to be the full text of Hurmuz's accession speech; cf. also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:211 (§ 232).

1072 As Bosworth notes in his translation of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 299, n. 701), the name Shābah is “dubious” and corresponds to no known Turkish leader of the time. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 82, calls him Shāhānshāh (King of Kings).

1073 The reading “Mihrān Sitād” was conjectured by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ferdowsī and Balʿamī, from what in both MSS looks like *h.m.b/y.r.'f.s.'d*. The subsequent lacuna was also inferred by the Leiden editor, although the MSS show no break. The missing text must have included a reference to Khāqān, the king of the Turks, whose daughter, given in marriage to Kistrā Anūshirwān, became the mother of Hurmuz. Bihzād then reports a prophecy current among the Turks about how, in the days of the son (i.e., Hurmuz) born of Kistrā and his Turkish wife, a hero named Bahrām Chūbīn would defeat the Turks.

1074 That is, the wife the king of the Turks.

1075 Arabic, *laysa bi-l-nabīh*. This could also mean simply “not well-known.” According to al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 82, however, Bahrām Chūbīn was governor of Azerbaijan and Armenia at the time; and, according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:213 (§ 653), he was military governor (*marzubān*) of Rayy, so hardly “not well-known.” On the varying portrayals of Bahrām Chūbīn, see the note by C. E. Bosworth in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 301, n. 706. A popular romance about him in Middle Persian, the *Vahrām Chōbēn-nāmagh*, was translated into Arabic and would have been available to al-Yaʿqūbī; see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 69.

that he would kill that king and uproot his kingdom. When Hurmuz heard this, he was delighted. He inquired about Bahrām Chūbīn and was told, “The only such person we know of is a man from al-Rayy who is now in Azerbaijan.” So Hurmuz sent someone to him and had him brought; then he dispatched him against Shābah, king of the Turks, with twelve thousand fighters. But the chief *mōbadh* said to Hurmuz: “How likely it is that he will win a victory! But in the tip of his eyebrow there is a sign of a defeat that he will inflict on your kingdom.” An augur he had with him told him the same thing. Hurmuz therefore wrote to Bahrām that he should turn back, but he did not. [Bahrām] came upon Shābah in Herat, catching the latter off guard.<sup>1076</sup> In Shābah’s entourage there was a man whom Hurmuz had sent to deceive him, a man named Hurmuz Jarābzīn; finally, Shābah was duped by him,<sup>1077</sup> and he departed from him. 1:189 Shābah then sent out someone who learned | of Bahrām’s whereabouts and then returned to Shābah and informed him of Bahrām’s situation. Shābah sent Bahrām a message that he should retreat,<sup>1078</sup> but Bahrām replied to him harshly and rudely and confronted him, having mustered his troops. Shābah, for his part, had soothsayers and sorcerers with him, and they were trying to confuse Bahrām’s men. Fighting was joined and slaughter raged among Shābah’s men, until a great many of them were killed and they turned around in defeat. Bahrām inflicted great carnage on them. He overtook Shābah, hurled a long spear at him, and killed him. He captured a sorcerer who had been with the ruler of the Turks; Bahrām wanted to spare him, so that he might be of use to him in his battles, but then he decided that it would be better to kill him. He wrote of the victory to Hurmuz, and the latter, delighted by it, sent letters far and wide to announce it.

Afterward, [Barmūdḥah],<sup>1079</sup> the son of Shābah, came out, and, having encountered Bahrām, fought him and attacked by night. There was heavy fighting

1076 The details of the story are unclear from the abbreviated version in al-Ya’qūbī. The longer version in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 83, is clearer.

1077 The translation depends on emending the MSS reading (M, C) *farra minhu* (he fled from him) to *ghurra minhu* (he was duped by him). The version in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 83, states that that the mission of Hurmuz Jarābzīn was intended to gain time by proposing peace terms favorable to the Turks at the very moment Bahrām Chūbīn was advancing toward Herat.

1078 The account in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 83, has the king of the Turks invite Bahrām to come over to his side and tell Bahrām that he will make him ruler of Iran.

1079 The MSS at this point have only “the son of Shābah” but refer, three sentences later, to “Barmūdḥah [unpointed], the son of Shābah.” The name seems suspect, although al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:993 (similarly al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:213 [§ 633]) has the same name. In al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 84, the name appears as Yaltagīn (variant, Baltagīn),

between them. Then Bahrām attacked him by night, routed him, overtook him, and besieged him in a fortress. Barmūdhah son of Shābah asked for safe-conduct, on condition that it should come from Hurmuz, the king. Bahrām wrote to Hurmuz, who agreed and wrote a letter of safe-conduct for him. He wrote to Bahrām that he should send Barmūdhah on to him, so Barmūdhah, son of Shābah, left the fortress. Hurmuz, meanwhile, had dispatched certain men against<sup>1080</sup> Bahrām Chūbīn. Barmūdhah made his way to Hurmuz; Hurmuz treated him with honor and kindness and seated him on the throne with him. Barmūdhah told him of the great wealth and treasures that had come to Bahrām and that Bahrām had concealed them from the king's agents. Hurmuz's agents told him the same thing and that what Bahrām had sent back was a small part of the whole. Hurmuz therefore wrote to Bahrām, commanding him to send him whatever wealth he had in his possession.<sup>1081</sup> Taking umbrage at this, Bahrām informed his troops; they | spoke of Hurmuz in the ugliest terms, and Bahrām, with all his troops, renounced their allegiance to him. When word of this reached Hurmuz, he became worried and wrote to Bahrām, apologizing to him and to his army for such behavior, but neither Bahrām nor his army accepted what Hurmuz said. Bahrām sent Hurmuz a basket containing knives with bent handles; as soon as Hurmuz saw them, he knew that Bahrām had rebelled, and so he cut off the points of the knives and sent them back to him. Bahrām, understanding what Hurmuz meant, sent a message to Khāqān, the king of the Turks, seeking a peace settlement with him and offering to restore to him all the land he had taken from his country. Bahrām set out and made his way to al-Rayy. Then he contrived to sow strife between Hurmuz and his son, Kistrā Abarwīz. Hurmuz was already suspicious of his son, having received word that certain men had incited him to rise against his father. Bahrām therefore struck many dirhams, put the name of Kistrā Abarwīz on them, sent them to the city of Hurmuz, and they became current in the hands of the people.<sup>1082</sup>

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which looks more Turkish, but, according to Bosworth (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 302, n. 710), may be the invention of a later writer.

1080 The translation follows the original reading of the manuscripts (‘alā); ed. Leiden emends to *ilā* (to), but the sentence, as it stands, seems to be out of context.

1081 Cf. the more colorful account of Hurmuz's insulting message to Bahrām in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 85.

1082 Although the pronouns in al-Ya'qūbī's version are ambiguous, the parallels in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 86, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:214 (§ 634) make it clear that the dirhams were struck by Bahrām, with the intention of persuading Hurmuz that his son had already arrogated to himself the royal prerogative of placing his name on the coinage.

When news of them reached Hurmuz, he became very distressed and decided to imprison his son, Kisrā Abarwīz. When Abarwīz learned of this, he fled to Azerbaijan. All the high-ranking military officers<sup>1083</sup> and grandees there joined him; they made an agreement with him and swore allegiance to him. Hurmuz sent an army under a man named Ādhīnjushnas against Bahrām, but when the man had traveled part of the way, he was killed by a certain man from Khūr<sup>1084</sup> whom Ādhīnjushnas had freed from prison and had attached to himself, and his forces dispersed. After Ādhīnjushnas was killed, the position of Hurmuz weakened. His troops became emboldened against him: they were angry with him and hated his regime. They wrote to his son Abarwīz, and the latter advanced with an army from Azerbaijan. They deposed Hurmuz and made Abarwīz king. Hurmuz was seized and imprisoned, and his eyes were  
 1:191 put out. Hurmuz remained in prison for some days; then | his son came before him and spoke to him. Hurmuz said to him, “Kill whoever did this to me!” The administration of the kingdom had been taken over by Bindī and Biṣṭām, the maternal uncles of Abarwīz.<sup>1085</sup> The reign of Hurmuz was twelve years.

When the position of Abarwīz became settled and he received word of Bahrām Chūbīn’s march against him, he set out with his army—Bindī and Biṣṭām were with him—and confronted Bahrām at al-Nahrawān.<sup>1086</sup> Abarwīz

1083 Arabic, *marāziba* (pl. of *marzubān*), from Middle Persian *marzpan* (frontier protector), used as the title of a military governor of a frontier province. Here it needs to be taken in a broader sense, as there can be no question of several governors of Azerbaijan. See the article by J. H. Kramers and M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Marzpan*.

1084 Arabic, *rajul khūrī*. The reading is uncertain, as the first letter, which is undotted, is ambiguous and could stand for initial *ḥ* (undotted), *j* (dotted below), or *kh* (dotted above). Cf. the more complicated version in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 87.

1085 The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:993 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 303) states explicitly that Bindī (perhaps more correctly Bindūya) and Biṣṭām had carried out the blinding of Hurmuz. According to the continuation of the account in al-Ṭabarī (1:996 = trans. Bosworth, 307), Abarwīz delayed taking vengeance on the two men with the words (trans. Bosworth), “The rebel Bahrām is threatening us from very near and has on his side courage and bravery; we do not at present have the power to stretch forth our hand against those who perpetrated what they did against you, but if God gives me the upper hand over the false-hearted one, then I shall act as your representative and the willing agent of your hand.” Cf. also al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 88, where Abarwīz is portrayed as slyly concealing from his father the fact that Bahrām is advancing to restore Hurmuz.

1086 A town and canal system in the lower Diyālā region of Iraq, east of the Tigris. See the article by M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nahrawān. According to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:215 (§ 653), the two armies faced off across the canal.

parlayed with him and impressed on him the gravity of his actions. Bahrām replied in strong and coarse terms. Bahrām's brother Kurdūya<sup>1087</sup> was with Kistrā Abarwīz, and Bahrām joined him. Deserted by his troops and abandoned by his companions, Kistrā fled. When he had traveled some distance, Bindī and Bistām, his maternal uncles, went back, killed his father Hurmuz, and then rejoined him along the way.<sup>1088</sup> After his flight had continued for some time, his condition deteriorated, and he became very distressed and apprehensive. He sought food but found nothing but barley bread. Bahrām's cavalry overtook him, but his uncle Bindī used trickery and engineered his escape.<sup>1089</sup> Abarwīz made his way to al-Ruhā, while Bindī was taken and brought before Bahrām. Bahrām imprisoned him, but he escaped from prison and made his way to Azerbaijan.<sup>1090</sup> Kistrā reached al-Ruhā, intending to go to Maurice,<sup>1091</sup> the king of the Romans. The governor of al-Ruhā detained him and wrote to Maurice, the king of the Romans, informing him that he had come to him seeking support. The king of the Romans consulted with his companions about the matter: some of them advised that his request should not be granted, while others advised that it should.<sup>1092</sup> The king of the Romans granted it; he gave Abarwīz his daughter in marriage and dispatched a large army with him, imposing certain conditions on him, should his affair finish successfully.<sup>1093</sup> Kistrā sent

1087 In the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:997, and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 90, the name appears as Kurdī, perhaps for an original Gurdōy. Al-Dīnawarī makes him Bahrām's nephew.

1088 The motive for their behavior is provided in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:218 (§ 637): Bindī and Bistām tell Abarwīz that they fear that Bahrām Chūbīn might restore Hurmuz to the throne, despite his having been blinded, and might induce Hurmuz to appoint him commander and persuade the Roman king to send Abarwīz back to be punished. Abarwīz, out of piety, is said to have begged Bindī and Bistām not to carry out their plan, but they do it nonetheless.

1089 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:998–999 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 310), Bindī/Bindūya dressed himself in Abarwīz's armor, showed himself from the roof of a monastery to Bahrām's cavalry commander (confusingly also named Bahrām, but distinguished by al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 91–93, as Bahrām, son of Siyāwush) and offered to surrender the next morning. The commander accepted the offer, and Abarwīz made his escape.

1090 In the more detailed version in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 94–95, Bindī's jailer, secretly loyal to Kistrā Abarwīz, allows Bindī to escape, for which he pays with his life.

1091 That is, the emperor Maurice, ruled 582–602.

1092 Cf. the vivid portrayal of the scene in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 96.

1093 Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:221 (§ 640), notes that these conditions included restoring Syria and Egypt (they had been conquered by Anūshirwān) to Roman rule.

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Maurice three of his own companions, and he laid out for them all the conditions that he wished. He dispatched his daughter and the army, commanded by a brother of his named Theodosius, with whom there was a man | as valiant as a thousand men.<sup>1094</sup> Having consummated his marriage with the daughter of the king of the Romans, Kistrā marched his army to the region of Azerbaijan, where his uncle Bindī had already arrived. As soon as the latter knew of Kistrā's presence, he joined him with a large army. When Bahrām Chūbīn learned of the forces that had been amassed for Kistrā, he sent letters to the latter's chief companions, telling them of the evil conduct of the Sasanian dynasty, describing its behavior, king by king, and inviting them to go over to him. The letters fell into Kistrā's hand before they reached the intended recipients, and Kistrā wrote an exceedingly harsh reply on behalf of the intended recipients and sent the messenger back to Bahrām. Bahrām advanced against them until he reached Azerbaijan and fought fiercely against him; the fighting took its toll on both sides. The Roman who was as valiant as a thousand men came forward and said to Kistrā, "Where is this slave of yours who has wrested your kingdom from you, that I may kill him?" Kistrā answered, "He is the one with the piebald horse." So he charged him. Bahrām fell back but then turned against him, struck him with his sword, and cut him in two. Kistrā laughed and said "Bravo!" whereupon the brother of the king of the Romans became angry and said, "Are you happy that our man has been killed?" "No," replied Kistrā, "but your companion asked me, 'Where is the slave who has angered you and taken your kingdom?' and I wanted him<sup>1095</sup> to know that the slave strikes several blows just like this, every day." The fighting became so fierce that Kistrā was put to flight and climbed a hill. He almost perished, but then his troops rallied. Bahrām Chūbīn was routed and kept retreating, turning aside for nothing, heading toward the king of the Turks.

When matters had stabilized for Kistrā Abarwīz, he wrote about it to the lord of the Romans, and the king of the Romans presented him with two robes having crosses on them. Kistrā Abarwīz wore them, so the Persians said that he had become a Christian. Furthermore, he wrote concerning the Christians that they should be honored, promoted, and treated generously; he told of what had

1094 Arabic *rajulun yajrī majrā alfi rajulin* (a man the equivalent of 1000 men) is a translation of a Persian term for an especially valiant warrior, *hazārmard* (having the strength of 1000 men); the Persian word occurs in the parallel in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 96, where there are ten such men. See Bosworth's note on the more detailed version of these events in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 312, n. 731.

1095 Following the apparent reading of M (*an ya'lama*); ed. Leiden, *an ta'lama* (you to know).



come to pass between himself | and the Roman in the way of defense, marriage alliance, and conciliation, and that no king before him had ever said this.<sup>1096</sup> However, Kisrā's maternal uncle Bindī attacked Theodosius, the brother of the king of the Romans, and beat him, so evil broke out. The brother of the king of the Romans said, "Either you hand over Bindī to me, or evil will return." Kisrā managed to placate him.

Bahrām Chūbīn arrived in the country of the Turks. Khāqān honored him and was generous to him. Khāqān had a brother named [...],<sup>1097</sup> whom Khāqān used to treat indulgently. Bahrām saw this and said to Khāqān, "How dare this man be so insolent to you?" The brother of Khāqān heard these words and challenged Bahrām to a duel. Bahrām said, "Whenever you wish, come forth!" Khāqān, the king of the Turks, gave his brother an arrow and Bahrām an arrow, and sent them out to the open plain. Khāqān's brother shot at Bahrām, hit him, and pierced his armor, but then Bahrām shot him and killed him. Khāqān was happy that his brother had been killed, because the latter had defied him and because he feared him. Kisrā, on the other hand, was terrified by Bahrām Chūbīn's being with Khāqān and feared that he would stir up evil against him. So he dispatched a Persian notable named Bahrām Jarābzīn, a powerful man among the Persians, with whom he sent presents to Khāqān, asking him to send Bahrām Chūbīn to him. He commanded Jarābzīn to use subtlety in the affair. The latter presented the gifts to Khāqān and mentioned the case of Bahrām to him but did not get from him what he wanted.<sup>1098</sup> So he delicately approached Khāqān's wife Khātūn, gave her jewels and other goods, and made a request to her in the matter of Bahrām. She sent one of her retainers, a man of resolution and boldness, and told him to make his way into Bahrām Chūbīn's presence and kill him. The man set out and asked to be admitted, but it was Bahrām's

1096 On the provisions of the peace treaty of autumn 591, see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 315, n. 738. The phrase "and that no king before him had ever said this" (*wa-lam yaqul hādhā malikun min al-mulūki qablahu*) may possibly be construed as meaning, "and he had never said, 'This is a king,' before him." In any case, it is apparently a reference to the fact that Abarwiz agreed in the treaty to address Maurice in correspondence as king (βασιλεύς) rather than as caesar.

1097 The name, written without dots in the manuscripts, is too ambiguous to read (*b/t/th/n/y, f/q, ā, r, s*). As ed. Leiden notes, Bal'amī reads Bighū, and Firdousī refers to Maqātūra, either of which could conceivably be traced to readings of the same ductus. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 100–102, reads Bughāwīr and gives a more detailed rendition of the scene at the court of Khāqān and the duel.

1098 Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 103–104, gives a full report of Jarābzīn's speech and Khāqān's angry reply.

1:194 sleeping time, | and he was not admitted. So he said, “King Khāqān has sent me on an important matter,” and he was admitted. Having come into Bahrām’s presence, he said, “The king has charged me with a message that I am to deliver to you in secret with no one else present.” Bahrām rose from his seat. The man approached as if to impart a secret to him and stabbed him with a dagger that he had with him under his arm. The Turk left in haste and mounted his horse. Bahrām’s companions entered and, seeing him in such a state, said: “O king, valiant lion, who has felled you? O towering mountain, who has demolished you?” He told them what had happened and wrote to Khāqān, telling him that he had neither loyalty nor gratitude. Bahrām died and was carried to the tomb. As soon as Jarābzīn learned of his death, he journeyed to Kisrā and informed him. Kisrā was delighted; he proclaimed the news in his kingdom and sent letters about it far and wide.

After Bahrām died, the king of the Turks sent a message to Bahrām’s wife Kurdiya and to his retainers, telling them of his grief and that he had killed everyone who had been a party to the murder of Bahrām. He dispatched his own brother Naṭrā<sup>1099</sup> to them and wrote to Bahrām Chūbīn’s wife Kurdiya, saying that he would espouse her interests<sup>1100</sup> and commanding her to marry Naṭrā. Bahrām’s wife Kurdiya, however, took [the troops] of her brother Kurdī<sup>1101</sup> and set out with her retainers and whoever had been with her, heading for the country of the Persians. Naṭrā, the brother of Khāqān, overtook her, but she came out to meet him fully armed and said: “I will marry only someone equal to Bahrām in courage and strength. So come forward to fight me!” Khāqān’s brother came forward. She killed him and continued on her way.

Kisrā had become angry with his maternal uncle Bindī and had put out his eyes, cut off his hands and feet, and crucified him alive for what he had

1099 The vocalization of the name (*n.ṭ.r.ā*) is unknown.

1100 Arabic, *yarghabu fihā* (literally, “was desirous of her”). For this meaning, see Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:538.

1101 As the Leiden editor noted, the original account must have made it clear that Kurdiya was both sister and wife to Bahrām Chūbīn, such sibling marriages being permitted under Zoroastrian law. Some transmitter, scandalized by the custom, added the word “Kurdī,” thereby attributing the army to Bahrām’s brother Kurdī. This is problematic for two reasons. First, the account in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:998, 1001, identifies Kurdiya as Bahrām’s sister-and-wife (similarly in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 105), and makes it clear that the troops she took were those of her brother-and-husband. Second, in al-Yaʿqūbī’s version, there is an apparent inconsistency, in that Kurdiya soon will write a letter to her brother (apparently Kurdī) who is at Kisrā’s court. Indeed, in al-Ṭabarī’s version, Bahrām’s brother Kurdī remains loyal to Kisrā Abarwiz and thus would already be at court, where al-Yaʿqūbī’s narrative will soon place him.

done to his father.<sup>1102</sup> When Bindī's brother Biṣṭām learned what Kistrā had done to his brother, he threw off his allegiance to Kistrā, went to | al-Rayy, and gathered troops. He received word that Bahrām's sister Kurdiya and his wife<sup>1103</sup> had arrived from the country of the Turks; he met with the two them and those who were with them; he denounced Kistrā to them and told them of his treachery and wickedness. He asked the two of them to stay with him, together with their entourage, and that she<sup>1104</sup> should give herself in marriage to him; which she did, and she wrote to her brother Kurdī, informing him of this and asking him to obtain for her and her entourage a safe-conduct from Kistrā. [Meanwhile, Kistrā had learned]<sup>1105</sup> of Kurdiya's going to al-Rayy with those of Bahrām's troops and retainers who were with her and of his uncle Biṣṭām's marriage to her [and] her residing with him. Kistrā learned of this. He summoned her brother Kurdī and asked him to win her over by subtle means, so that she would kill Biṣṭām and come in order that he might marry her. Kurdī therefore sent his wife Abrakha<sup>1106</sup> to his sister Kurdiya to carry out what the king had mentioned to him. He conveyed to her letters of safe-conduct for her and those with her, sworn with the most binding of oaths. And so they killed her companions<sup>1107</sup> and attacked and killed Biṣṭām. Kurdiya came to Kistrā, who married her and gave her a high place. Kistrā's affairs stabilized, and his country became submissive.

Then the Romans attacked Maurice, their king, killed him, and made someone else king.<sup>1108</sup> Maurice's son came to Kistrā, who dispatched an army with him. Then Maurice's son was killed, and Heraclius became king.<sup>1109</sup> He attacked Kistrā's forces, killing and dispersing them, and pressed on against them, until he routed Kistrā's companion Shahrbarāz.<sup>1110</sup> When his reign became strong,

1102 For a more detailed account, see al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 105–106.

1103 Here assumed to be two persons, as shown by the dual forms of the verbs and pronouns in the Arabic.

1104 That is, Bahrām's sister Kurdiya; the pronoun reverts to singular.

1105 Conjecturally restored by the Leiden editor.

1106 The vocalization of the name is uncertain. The more detailed parallel in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 109, calls her only "his wife."

1107 Reading with M: *fa-qatalū aṣḥābahā*. The third letter of first word is ambiguous; ed. Leiden reads *fa-qabilū aṣḥābuhā* (her companions accepted), which is ungrammatical.

1108 Maurice was murdered in 602, the fourteenth year of Kistrā's reign, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1001–1002 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 317). The "someone else" is the Thracian centurion Phocas.

1109 Heraclius became emperor in 610.

1110 As corrected by ed. Leiden from M and C Shahriyār (the two names differ by only one

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Kisrā became tyrannical, oppressive, proud, unjust, and despotic; he took people's property and spilled blood. People hated him for the contempt he showed for them and his disdain for them. When the Persian grandees considered | the humiliation, affliction, and adversity they suffered at the hands of Kisrā, they renounced their allegiance to him and brought in a son of his, named Shīrūya, whom they made king. They brought him into the capital and proclaimed Shīrūya King of Kings (Shāhanshāh) and released from prison those whom Kisrā had intended to kill. Kisrā fled and entered an orchard belonging to him, but they seized him and imprisoned him. Then they said to Shīrūya: "It is not right for (Kisrā) Abarwīz to be alive. Kill him, or we will renounce our allegiance to you!" Shīrūya therefore sent his father a harsh message, assailing him for his misdeeds and mentioning how badly he had treated the people of his kingdom and what had come to pass because of his evil conduct.<sup>1111</sup> Abarwīz countered with a reply accusing Shīrūya of weak judgment and ignorance. Shīrūya then dispatched to him a man the hand of whose father Kisrā Abarwīz had cut off for no reason or offense, except that he had been told that the man's son would kill him; so he had cut off the hand of the man, who had been a member of his inner circle.<sup>1112</sup> When the son entered Kisrā's presence, the latter asked him what his name was. [...] <sup>1113</sup> Kisrā said to him, "Do as you have been commanded!" So he struck him and killed him. Afterward, Shīrūya had his father carried to the tomb and killed his killer. The reign of Kisrā Abarwīz had lasted thirty-eight years.<sup>1114</sup>

When Shīrūya son of Abarwīz became king,<sup>1115</sup> he released whoever was in the prisons, married his father's wives, and wrongfully and unjustly killed seventeen of his brothers; so his reign did not go smoothly and his condition did not prosper. He became very ill and died after eight months.<sup>1116</sup>

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letter in undotted Arabic script) on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1002, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:226 (§ 647); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 111, however, also reads Shahriyār.

1111 For a full text of Shīrūya's letter, with Kisrā's reply, see al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 112–115.

1112 For a longer version of the story, with the names of the father (Mardānshāh) and the son (Mihr Hurmuz), see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1058–1060 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 395–398).

1113 The MSS show no break, but the son's reply has been omitted.

1114 That is, 590–628; on the chronology, see the article by James Howard-Johnston in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Kōsrow II.

1115 On the eight-month reign in 628 of Shīrūya (Shērōē), whose regnal name was Qubādh (II), see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1045–1061 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 381–399).

1116 That is, in 628; a plague, mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:232 (§ 653), is said to have

The Persians made king a son of Shīrūya, a child named Ardashīr, and chose a man named Mih Ādhar Jushnas to care for him and take charge of administering the kingdom.<sup>1117</sup> He administered it well and carried out the task in praiseworthy fashion, and the affairs of the realm ran smoothly. Shahrbarāz, who had been sent to fight the Romans, had, however, become a man of great importance, and he resented the position of | Mih Ādhar Jushnas. He wrote to the Persians that they should send to him certain men whom he named, or he would come to do battle with them. When they did not do it, Shahrbarāz advanced on the capital with six thousand men, besieged its inhabitants, and fought them. Then he took thought and used a ruse to enter the city. He seized the Persian grandees, killed them, dishonored their women, and killed the king, Ardashīr. Ardashīr's reign had lasted a year and six months.

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Shahrbarāz seated himself on the throne and styled himself king. However, when the Persians considered what Shahbarāz had done, they found it outrageous, and said, "Someone like this shall not rule over us." So they attacked him, killed him, and dragged his corpse by the foot.

Having killed Shahrbarāz, the Persians searched for a man of the royal house, but they found none, so they made Būrān, daughter of Kistrā, queen.<sup>1118</sup> She ruled well and spread justice and benevolence. She wrote to the ends of her kingdom, promising justice and benevolence and enjoining good beliefs, rectitude, and honesty. She made peace with the king of the Romans. Her reign lasted a year and four months.

Then Āzarmīdukht, daughter of Kistrā, became queen.<sup>1119</sup> Things went well for her. Farrukh Hurmuzd, the military governor (*iṣbahbadh*) of Khurāsān, said to her: "Today I am the chief of all men and mainstay of the kingdom of Persia. Give yourself to me in marriage!" She said: "It is not right for a queen to give herself in marriage, but, if you wish to approach me, come to me by night." He

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raged in Iraq at the time, and, according to Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif* (ed. Cairo, 1960), 665, Shīrūya himself died of it.

1117 That is, Ardashīr III, who ruled 628–629. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1061, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:233–234 (§ 654), Ardashīr was seven years old at the time of his accession.

1118 Būrān, the daughter of Kistrā II Abarwīz, ruled 630–631. On the chronology, see the article by Marie Louise Chaumont in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Bōrān. Note that al-Ya'qūbī's account of the end of the Sasanian dynasty deliberately passes over details of the Arab conquest of Iraq, which was taking place at this time, postponing the account of it to his treatment of the early caliphate, starting at ed. Leiden, 2:141.

1119 Reigned 631–632; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1064–1065 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 406–407).

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agreed to this. She ordered the commander of her guard to lie in wait for him until he entered and then to kill him. When night fell, he came and entered. Catching sight of him, the commander of the guard asked, “Who are you?” He replied, “I am Farrukh Hurmuzd.” “And what,” he asked, “are you doing at such a time in a place that someone like you must not enter?” | So he struck him, killed him, and threw his body into the courtyard. When the people came in the morning, they found him slain and spread the news about him. His son Rustam—the man who later confronted Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ at (the battle of) al-Qādisiyya—was in Khurāsān, but he came and killed Āzarmīdukht. Her reign had lasted six months.

Then a descendant of Ardashīr, son of Bābak, a man named Kisrā, son of Mihr Jushnas, became king. He had been invited to become king once before but had declined. His residence was in al-Ahwāz. Having been made king, he put on the crown and sat on the throne. They killed him a few days later; he had ruled for not even a month.

The Persian grandees were at a loss for a member of the royal house to make king. Then they found a man named Firūz, a descendant of Anūshirwān on his mother’s side,<sup>1120</sup> and they made him king, out of necessity. When he was seated to be crowned—he had a large head—he said, “How tight this crown is!” The Persian grandees augured evil from his words, so they killed him.

A son of Kisrā named Farrukhzād Khusraw came forward; he had escaped to Nisibis when Shīrūya went on his killing spree. He was crowned and became king. He was of noble character and reigned for a year.

Then they found Yazdajird, son of Kisrā, whose mother was a cupper with whom Kisrā had lain; she had produced Yazdajird, but they had augured evil and had hidden him. Necessity now made them turn to him, so they brought him out, although their affairs were troubled and the leaders of his realm were inclined to reject him. After four years of his reign, Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ appeared before al-Qādisiyya, and he sent out Rustam against him.<sup>1121</sup> Then the Muslims reached al-Madā’in, the capital, on the day of Nawrūz,<sup>1122</sup> for which the Persians had prepared with all manner of dishes and beautiful decorations. The Persians were routed. Yazdajird fled, but the Muslims continued to pursue

1120 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1066 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 408): “He was the son of Ṣahārbukht, daughter of Yazdāndādh, son of Kisrā (1) Anūshirwān.”

1121 Al-Ya’qūbī defers details of the Muslim conquest of Iraq until his account of the caliphate of ‘Umar; see especially ed. Leiden, 2:161–165.

1122 The Persian New Year festival, falling at the vernal equinox.

him until they reached Marw. He entered a mill, but the owner of the mill killed him.<sup>1123</sup> His reign, until he was killed, had lasted twenty years.

The Persians used to venerate fires. They did not wash with water after relieving themselves, but only with oil.<sup>1124</sup> They did not put doors on their palaces; their only doors were curtains, with guards protecting them from men. They ate only to the accompaniment of *zamzama*, which means “faint speech.”<sup>1125</sup> They married their mothers, sisters, and daughters, thinking that this was a gift to them, a way of honoring them, and a way of drawing close to God in them.<sup>1126</sup> They did not have bathhouses or privies. They venerated water, fire, the sun, the moon, and all the (other) luminaries.

They reckoned the seasons by their months and their feast days. Autumn among them consisted of the months of Shahrīvar, Mihr, and Ābān; winter consisted of Ādhar, Day, and Bahman; spring consisted of Isfandārmudh, Farvardin, and Ardībihisht; and summer consisted of Khurdādh, Tīr, and Murdādh. In autumn they used to add five days that they called the days of Andargāh; thus the year came to three hundred and sixty-five days, their months being thirty days. Their New Year is the day of Nawrūz, which is the first day of Farvardin, which falls in Nīsān and Ayyār, when the sun has passed into Aries; it is the day of their greatest festival. The day of Mihrajān falls on the sixteenth day of the month of Mihr. Between Nawrūz and Mihrajān there are one hundred and seventy-five days: five months and twenty-five days. Mihrajān comes in Tishrīn 11.

1123 On the reign of Yazdajird III, the last Sasanian ruler of Iran (reigned 632–651), see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1067 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 409–411); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 148–149; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:234 (§ 655).

1124 Arabic *tastanjī* refers specifically to washing the anus after defecation. The taboo on using water for this purpose accords with the Zoroastrian prohibition on polluting water.

1125 *Zamzama*, an Arabic word meaning “a confused noise,” came to designate the intoning of Zoroastrian prayers and scriptures (“droning”). Zoroastrian priests observed ritual silence during meals, which were accompanied by the recitation of scriptures in a low tone. See the article by M. Morony in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Madjūs*, and the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zamzama*. Curiously, the account in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:108–109 (§ 533) explains such mealtime silence medically, as a way of insuring proper digestion, and dates the custom to the days of Kayūmarth.

1126 On the question of such consanguineous marriages (Pahlavi *xwēdōdah*) and to what extent they were practiced outside royal and noble families and perhaps the clergy, see the article by P. O. Skjærvø in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Marriage ii. Next-of-Kin Marriage in Zoroastrianism.

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The Persians used to give a name to each of the days of their months. These are the *rūzāt*. The first of them is Hurmuz; then Bahman, Ardībihisht, Shahrivar, Isfandārmudh, Khurdādh, Murdādh, Day-ba-Ādhar, Ādhar, Ābān, Khūr, Māh, Tīr, | [Jūsh], Day-ba-Mihr, Mihr, Surūsh, Rashn, Farvardīn, Bahrām, Rām, Bād, Day-ba-Dīn, [Dīn], Ard, Ashtādh, Āsmān, Zāmyādh, Mārasfand, and Anīrān.<sup>1127</sup>

The doctrine held by the majority of them, as transmitted from Zoroaster, whom they claim was their prophet, is that the existence of Light eternally has never ceased; they give it the name Zurvān. He thought of Evil because of a slip on his part about which he (Zoroaster) taught them.<sup>1128</sup> Because the beautiful can change into the ugly and the fragrant into the malodorous, so the Eternal, according to them, is not immune to alteration and corruption in part, though not in its entirety. When the Eternal thought of Evil, he sighed deeply; that Sorrow emerged from within him and took shape before him. They call that Sorrow that took shape before the Eternal by the name of Ahriman; they also call Zurvān Hurmuz.<sup>1129</sup> They say that Ahriman wanted to fight Hurmuz; Hurmuz, however, was loath to do so, lest he do evil, so he made peace with Ahriman on condition that he would make over to him the creation of everything harmful and corrupt.<sup>1130</sup> They assert that they are two bodies and two spirits and that, between them, there is a gap of rancor, as the two of them can never meet. Hurmuz, they say, is Light, the maker of bodies and their spirits; Ahriman makes only that which is harmful in these substances, such as venom in reptiles, as well as rage, anger, disgust, malevolence, aggression, rancor, and fear in animals. Thus God is the maker of substances and of their permanent accidents.<sup>1131</sup>

1127 The bracketed names, missing from the MSS, are supplied by the Leiden editor on the basis of other sources; see, for example, al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 44. On the significance of these names and logic behind the series, see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 158–159.

1128 The syntax of the Arabic is strained; the text may be unreliable.

1129 Al-Ya'qūbī's account here presents an essentially monotheistic version of Iranian religion—Zurvān and Hurmuz are one and the same, eternal and good, while Ahriman, the power of evil, is a lesser emanation—as opposed to a dualistic doctrine that presents Hurmuz/Ahuramazda and Ahriman as coeternal.

1130 Possibly, “that the creation of everything harmful and corrupt be made over to him.” The Arabic verb can be read as either active or passive.

1131 That is, Hurmuz/Ahuramazda (here called simply God) is the maker of substances and their permanent accidents, while Ahriman is responsible for the evil affections (passions) that overcome the good nature of these substances.



At the beginning of the reign of Ardashīr Bābakān,<sup>1132</sup> the residences of the Persian kings were in Iṣṭakhr, one of the districts of Fārs. Afterward, the kings moved about until the reign of | Anūshirwān son of Qubādh, who settled at al-Madā'in, in the land of Iraq, which became the royal residence. Learned astrologers and physicians agreed that there was no healthier, better, and more temperate place than that site and the part of the region of Babylon near it.

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The provinces that the Persians ruled and where their authority held sway included the following:

The districts of Khurāsān: Naysābūr, Herat, Marw, Marw al-Rūd, al-Fāryāb, al-Ṭālaqān, Balkh, Bukhārā, Bādghīs, Bāward, Gharjīstān, Ṭūs, Sarakhs, and Jurjān. Over these districts was a governor whom they called the Iṣṭahbadh of Khurāsān.

The districts of al-Jabal:<sup>1133</sup> Ṭabaristān, al-Rayy, Qazwīn, Zanjān, Qumm, Iṣbahān, Hamadhān, Nihāwand, al-Dīnawar, Ḥulwān, Māsabadhān, Mihrajān-qadhaq, Shahrāzūr, al-Šāmaghān, and Ādharbayjān. These districts had a military commander called the Iṣṭahbadh of Ādharbayjān.

Kirmān, and Fārs and its districts:<sup>1134</sup> Iṣṭakhr, Shīrāz, Arrājān, al-Nawbandajān, Jūr, Kāzarūn, Fasā, Dārābjird, Ardashīr Khurra, and Sābūr.

Al-Ahwāz and its districts: Jundaysābūr, al-Sūs, Nahr Tīrā, Manādhīr, Tustar, Īdhaj, and Rām Hurmuz. Over them was a military commander called the Iṣṭahbadh of Fārs.

The districts of Iraq, which had forty-eight subdivisions on the Euphrates and the Tigris.<sup>1135</sup> The Euphrates watered Bādūrayyā, al-Anbār, Bahrasīr, al-Rūmaqān, Upper al-Zāb, Lower al-Zāb, Middle al-Zāb, Zandaward, Maysān, Kūthā, Nahr Durqīṭ, Nahr Jawbar, Upper al-Fallūja, | Lower al-Fallūja, Bābil, Khuṭarniya, al-Jubba, al-Badāt, al-Saylaḥīn, Furāt Bāduqlā, Sūrā, Barbismā,

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1132 The manuscripts here have Ardashīr ibn ("son of") Bābakān, which may have resulted from a copyist's error, as Bābakān by itself means "son of Bābak." Al-Ya'qūbī's earlier references to him have been correct in form. Curiously, al-Dīnawarī, in *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 44, has the same mistake, but immediately follows it with the correct genealogy: "He is Ardashīr b. Bābak b. Sāsān the Younger ..." as in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:813.

1133 Al-Jabal (the Mountain), occurring more frequently in the plural as al-Jibāl (the Mountains), is a general term for the western part of Persia, corresponding roughly to ancient Media. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Jebāl.

1134 Because all of the districts in the following list belong to Fārs province, the list of districts for Kirmān has apparently fallen out of the text.

1135 "Subdivisions" translates Arabic *ṭassūj*, from Persian *tasōk* (one-quarter), the regular word for subdivisions of a *kūra* (here translated as "district"). See the article by M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭassūdī. Note that al-Ya'qūbī's list names only forty-seven subdivisions. For other, more complete, listings see Ibn Qudāma and Ibn Khurdādhbih.

Nahr al-Malik, Bārūsmā, and Nistar. The Tigris watered Nahr Būq, [Nahr Bīn,]<sup>1136</sup> Buzurjsābūr, Upper al-Rādhān, Lower al-Rādhān, al-Zābiyayn, al-Daskara, Birāzrūz, Silsil, Mahrūdḥ, Jalūlā', Upper al-Nahrawān, Middle al-Nahrawān, Lower al-Nahrawān, Jāzir, al-Madā'in, al-Bandanijīn, Rustuqubādh, Abazqubādh, al-Mubārak, Bādūrāyā, and Bākūsāyā. They have a fourth military commander called the Iṣpahbadh of the West. The last of the Persian outposts along the Euphrates was al-Anbār; then one reached the outposts of the Romans. Along the Tigris [...],<sup>1137</sup> then one reached the outposts of the Romans. However, the Persians on occasion would enter Roman territory surreptitiously, while the Romans sometimes would enter Persian territory.

The whole name applying to each king of the Persians was Kisrā; and when they named him and mentioned him, they would say "Kisrā Shāhanshāh," meaning "King of Kings."<sup>1138</sup> They called the vizier *buzurj farmadār*, meaning "the one in charge of affairs."<sup>1139</sup> They called the scholar who was in charge of the ordinances of their religion *mōbadh mōbadhān*, meaning "the scholar of scholars."<sup>1140</sup> The first of them to whom the name was applied was Zoroaster. They called the keeper of the fire the *hirbadh*. They called the secretary *dabīrbadh*.<sup>1141</sup> They called the great one among them<sup>1142</sup> the *iṣpahbadh*, meaning "the chief," and the one | beneath him was the *fādūsban*, meaning "the repeller of

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<sup>1136</sup> Supplied by the Leiden editor.

<sup>1137</sup> There is a lacuna in the text, although the MSS show no space.

<sup>1138</sup> Kisrā was the Arabicized version of the proper name of two prominent rulers of the later Sasanian dynasty, Khusraw Anūshirwān and Khusraw Aparwīz. The Arabs came to treat the name in its Arabic form as a title held by every ruler of the dynasty, although there is no evidence that it was so used among the Persians. The title *shāhanshāh* (properly, *shāhān shāh*, king of kings) is indeed ancient and can be traced through the Sasanians and Arsacids back to the Achaemenids. See the articles in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kisrā (M. Morony), and s.v. Shāh "King," and *Shāhanshāh* (F. C. de Blois). The most detailed examination of the Arabic historians' lists of Persian administrative titles may be found in A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 265, 518–526.

<sup>1139</sup> Middle Persian *vuzurg-framadhār* (chief giver of commands).

<sup>1140</sup> Arabic *ʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* (chief scholar), the head of the Zoroastrian priesthood. The title *mōbadh* derives from an older form *magupat* (ruler of magi). For the history of the term and the office, see the article by M. Guidi and M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mōbadh*.

<sup>1141</sup> The title *dabīrbadh* means "chief secretary," an ordinary secretary being simply a *dabīr*. For a history of the term, see the article by Aḥmad Tafāẓẓoli in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. *Dabīr*.

<sup>1142</sup> The antecedent of the pronoun is unspecified. While it might refer to the subject of the sentence (that is, the Persians called the great one among themselves ...), it makes more sense as "the great one among military ranks."

enemies.”<sup>1143</sup> They called the head of a province the *marzbān*. They called the head of districts the *shahrj*.<sup>1144</sup> They called the masters of warfare and leaders of armies the *asāwira*.<sup>1145</sup> They called the person in charge of the *maḏālim* the *shāhrīšt*.<sup>1146</sup> And they called the head of the chancery the *mardmārghadh*.<sup>1147</sup>

### The Kingdoms of the North

[When Peleg, son of Eber, son of Shelah, son of Arpachshad, son of Shem, son of Noah, divided] the earth among the descendants of Noah, the children of Gomer, son of Tubal, [son of Japheth, son of Noah] went out traveling to the east.<sup>1148</sup> A group of them, the children of Nā‘ūmā,<sup>1149</sup> crossed toward the north,

<sup>1143</sup> The *iṣpahbadh* as military chief has already been mentioned. The term *fādūsban* appears to go back to Pahlavi *pādgōsbān*, of uncertain meaning. See the article by Mansour Shaki in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Class System iii. In the Parthian and Sasanian Periods.

<sup>1144</sup> Pahlavi *shahrīg*, apparently referring to a rank superior to that of *dihqān*; see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 140.

<sup>1145</sup> Literally, “horsemen,” from an Arabic plural of *suwār*, a loanword from Middle Persian *aswār*, pl. *aswārān* (horsemen, cavalry). See the article by P. O. Skjærvø in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Aswār.

<sup>1146</sup> Literally, “They called the master of the *maḏālim* the *shāhrīšt*.” The reference is clearly to a judicial office, but the exact meaning is unclear. The *maḏālim* was an institution that took various shapes at various times in the Islamic world. It essentially was a system of justice outside the regular *qāḏīs*’ courts and received petitions against official and unofficial abuses of power; cf. the article by J. S. Nielsen in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Maḏālim*. The etymology and meaning of *shāhrīšt* are unclear. Christensen, who translated the term as “juges de paix” (*L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 265, 300) added, “mais nous n'avons pas d'information sur l'activité et la compétence de ces fonctionnaires.”

<sup>1147</sup> The title for the head of the chancery (*dōwān*) is certainly corrupt. The Leiden editor conjectured an original reading of *al-mardmānbadh*, but this does not correspond to any known title. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 524–525, referring to this passage, conjectured an original reading of *Ērān-āmārkār*, “préposé comptable de l'empire.”

<sup>1148</sup> The bracketed words were added by the Leiden editor. Parallel, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:154 (§ 311). The translation follows the reading of M, *fī sirat al-mashriq*, instead of the Leiden editor’s emendation *fī yusrat al-mashriq* (to the left of the east).

<sup>1149</sup> Probably to be restored as Togarmah (cf. Genesis 10:3); in unpointed Arabic script, the two words could easily be confused. The association of Togarmah with peoples of the north goes back at least to Ezekiel 38:6 (“Togarmah of the north quarters”). Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:154 (§ 311), has *Ar‘ū*.

bearing left; they spread out in the country and became several kingdoms: the Burjān, the Daylam, the Tatur, the Ṭaylasān, Jilān, Filān, the Alān, the Khazar, the Dūdāniyya, and the Arman. The Khazars, who had taken over most the territory of Armenia, had a king called Khāqān; he had a deputy called Yazīd Balāsh<sup>1150</sup> in charge of al-Rān, Jurzān, al-Basfurrajān, and al-Sīsajān. These districts were called Armenia IV, which Qubādh, the king of the Persians, conquered. It came into the possession of Anūshirwān, up to the Alān Gates, a hundred farsakhs, containing three hundred and sixty cities. The Persians took possession of Bāb al-Abwāb, Ṭabarsarān, and al-Balanjar; they built the city of Qālīqalā and many other cities and settled them with people from Fārs. Then | the Khazars retook what the Persians had taken from them, and it remained in their hands for a time. Then the Romans overcame them and installed over Armenia IV a king named al-Mawriyān.<sup>1151</sup> They divided into several fiefdoms, with each leader among them in his own fortress and stronghold. These are well-known kingdoms of theirs.

Some of Gomer's descendants crossed Transoxiana; they spread out in the land and became different kingdoms and many nations.<sup>1152</sup> Belonging to them are al-Khuttal, al-Ruwāsān,<sup>1153</sup> al-Ushrūsana, al-Sughd, al-Farghāna, al-Shāsh, the Karluk Turks,<sup>1154</sup> the Tughuzghuz, the Kimāk Turks,<sup>1155</sup> and Tibet. Among the Turks there are groups that possess villages, cities, and fortresses. Others live in the high mountains and in the steppes, like the Bedouins; they have long hair, and their dwellings are felt tents. When they go on raids, one tent has twenty fighters. They shoot arrows and never miss. Their homes extend continuously from the first districts of Khurāsān to the mountains of Tibet and the mountains of China.

1150 The reading is conjectural.

1151 This is the conjecture of the Leiden editor; the MSS have "al-Marzbān." Al-Mawriyān would refer to Maurianus, the Byzantine commander of Armenia in 653/654.

1152 More detailed parallel, probably from a common source, in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:154 (§ 312).

1153 Retaining the reading of the manuscripts, rather than the Leiden editor's emendation to al-Qawādiyyān. Cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 304, and Minorsky, *Hudūd*, xxxi–xxxiii, 332, 336, which identify the region as Ruwēsān. It may be the same as the region of Rīvshārān mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih, 36, 40, and by Yāqūt, 2:171, or as Rāvshār in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1875.

1154 The manuscripts read *al-Turk wa-Kharlukhiyya* ("the Turks and the Karluks"), almost certainly a mistake for *al-Turk al-Kharlukhiyya* ("the Karluk Turks"). On this Turkish tribal group in Central Asia, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḳarluḳ*.

1155 On this early Turkish people living in western Siberia, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Kimāk*.

As for Tibet, it is a large country, greater than China. Their kingdom is mighty; they are people of craftsmanship and wisdom, rivaling the craftsmanship of China. In their country there are gazelles whose navels are musk.<sup>1156</sup> They are idol worshippers and have fire temples. Their prowess is so great that nobody goes to war with them.

### The Kings of China<sup>1157</sup>

Experienced transmitters, learned men, and others who have traveled to the land of China and lived there long enough to understand the affairs of the Chinese, to read their books, and to become acquainted with the accounts of their ancient authorities, | having seen (such information) in their books, heard 1:205  
it from their (oral) accounts, or (observed it) written over the gates of their cities and on the temples of their idols and inscribed in gold on stone, have stated that the first to rule China was Šayin<sup>1158</sup> son of Bā'ūr son of Yaraj son of 'Āmūr<sup>1159</sup> son of Japheth son of Noah son of Lamech.<sup>1160</sup> He had built a ship<sup>1161</sup> in imitation of

1156 Musk, a secretion from a scent gland located between the genitals and the navel of male musk deer, was exported from Tibet and used in perfumes. See the article by A. Dietrich in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Misk.

1157 For another early Arabic description of China, see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:154–173 (§ 311–355). This section of al-Ya'qūbī's text has been translated and compared to al-Mas'ūdī, without commentary, in G. Ferrand, “Les relations de la Chine avec le golfe Persique avant l'hégire,” in *Mélanges Gauthier-Demombynes*, 131–140. As Ferrand indicates, al-Ya'qūbī and al-Mas'ūdī had a common source for some of their information. A general introduction to the subject of Islamic writers and China can be found in the article by C. E. Bosworth, M. Hartmann, and R. Israeli in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Šīn.

1158 Al-Ya'qūbī (or his source) has provided China (*al-Šīn* in Arabic) with an eponymous first ruler (*al-Šā'in*). Previous examples of similar etymologies include the derivation of the Arabic name for the Greeks (*al-Yūnāniyyūn*) from their purported ancestor *Yūnān* (ed. Leiden 1:161) and of the name of the Romans (*al-Rūm*) from an ancestor *Rūm* (1:164). Below (1:210), the first ruler of Egypt (*Miṣr* in Arabic) is named *Miṣr*. In fact, the Arabic name for China (*al-Šīn*) resembles the name of the Ch'in dynasty, which ruled from 221 to 206 BCE. See Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 237, n. 3.

1159 Perhaps to be read Ghāmūr, for Gomer, as above, ed. Leiden, 1:13.

1160 Here as elsewhere when discussing ethnic origins, al-Ya'qūbī is concerned to trace their genealogy back to Noah, the point being that as all of humanity apart from the family of Noah was drowned in the flood, all the peoples of the world can be traced back to his dispersed descendants.

1161 Arabic, *fulk*. The choice of this term, rather than the more common term for ship

Noah's ship, and accompanied by many of his children and kinsmen he set sail and crossed the sea. When he came to a certain place of which he approved, he settled there and called it al-Šīn, naming it after himself. He had many offspring and his descendants multiplied. They adhered to the religion of his people, and his dynasty continued without interruption for 300 years.<sup>1162</sup>

One of these (kings) was 'Arūn,<sup>1163</sup> who erected buildings and practiced craftsmanship. He initiated the custom of building gilded temples and set within them an image of his father, placing it in the place of honor of the temple. Whenever he entered, he prostrated himself before that image to venerate the image of his father. Šāyin had a name whose meaning in Arabic is Son of Heaven.<sup>1164</sup> It was beginning in this time that idols were worshipped in China. The reign of 'Arūn lasted 140 years.<sup>1165</sup>

Another of them was 'Ayīr,<sup>1166</sup> who traveled the length and breadth of China, built great cities, and erected domed temples of bamboo<sup>1167</sup> and gilded copper. He made an image of his father from gold, crowned with a diadem of gems, lead, and inlaid copper. All the people of his kingdom, in the cities and countryside, adopted this image, saying, "The subjects must make an image of a king who ruled them from heaven and dealt justly with them." The reign of 'Ayīr lasted 130 years.

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(*saḡīna*) is significant as being the word used for ship generally in the Qur'ān and specifically for Noah's ark, e.g. Qur'ān 7:64. See Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 57–60.

1162 Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:156 (§ 316), where the story of the eponymous founder of China is not given and where the first king to rule in the Chinese capital (Yānšū in al-Mas'ūdī's rendering) is given the otherwise unattested name Naštartās (vocalization and reading uncertain).

1163 Al-Ya'qūbī now jumps to the T'ang dynasty (r. 618–907 CE) and several rulers on whom he has found information. Unfortunately, the Arabic transmission of the names is so ambiguous and defective that it is impossible to assign them to particular Chinese rulers.

1164 Arabic, Ibn al-Samā'.

1165 The corresponding king in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:156–157 (§ 316), named 'Awūn or 'Arūn, is given a reign of 250 years.

1166 The reading is uncertain, as the ductus in M is undotted. The corresponding name in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:157 (§ 317), is 'Aythadūn (vocalization uncertain), which Pellat, the editor of al-Mas'ūdī (see 7:433 of his edition) conjectured was originally Ghan-thay-dūn, standing for Ghwāng Tai T'ong (r. 627–649, modern transliteration Taizong).

1167 Following M: *al-khayzurān*. The Leiden editor conjectured an original reading of *al-jandalāt*, "stones."

Another of them was ‘Aynān,<sup>1168</sup> who wronged the people of his kingdom with foul chastisement and expelled them to islands in the sea. They used to go | 1:206 from those islands to places where there were fruits for them to eat, but where they also found wild animals. Eventually they became friendly with the animals and the latter became friendly with them; they would ravish the animals and sometimes the animals would ravish their women, so that misshapen creatures arose among them. The first generation died out, and then one generation after another came and went; knowledge of their original languages faded away, and they began to speak something incomprehensible. In the islands from which one crosses over to the land of China this phenomenon was extremely pronounced, and many peoples (speaking different languages emerged). ‘Aynān was given a name whose meaning in Arabic is “He of Evil Constitution.” His reign lasted 100 years.

Another of them was Kharābāt,<sup>1169</sup> who came to power when he was of a young age. Then he grew older and more experienced, his authority increased, and he became a good ruler. He sent an embassy representing him to Babylonia and those parts of the land of the Romans adjoining it to familiarize themselves with its traditions of wisdom and craftsmanship. He sent with them samples of the crafts of China, the silken garments and other things made there, and such devices<sup>1170</sup> and other items as had been brought from (adjoining) lands, and ordered them to bring back to him every craft and novelty from Babylonia and the land of the Romans and to familiarize themselves with the laws of the people’s religion. This was the first time that the goods of China entered the land of Iraq and adjoining lands and merchants set out across the Sea of China for trade. Much impressed by the elegant Chinese wares brought to them, the kings built ships and used them to engage in trade. That was the first time that merchants entered China. The reign of Kharābāt lasted 60 years.

Another of them was Tūtāl.<sup>1171</sup> The people of China say that on the gates of their cities they found it written that no king like him had ever ruled them.

1168 Sic M. The corresponding name al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:157 (§ 318), is given as ‘Aythanān (vocalization uncertain), which Pellat identified with Hinen-T’ong (r. 713–756).

1169 Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:157–158 (§ 319), gives the name as Ḥaratān (vocalization uncertain) and describes his expedition to the west—in al-Mas‘ūdī’s account a naval expedition. Pellat identified him with Mou-T’ong (r. 821–825).

1170 Arabic, *al-ālāt*. Sic ed. Leiden, emending on the basis of the parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī; M reads *al-āfāq*, “the horizons,” which is problematical.

1171 According to al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:158–160 (§ 320–323), Tūtāl (the reading is uncertain) was the son of the previous ruler and reigned 150 years. Similar events are assigned to his reign.

1:207 They regarded him with such affection as they had never bestowed on any other king. It was he who established for them every | tradition they follow in their religious rites, social customs, crafts, laws, and precepts. His reign lasted 78 years. When he died, the people continued to weep for him for a long time and to carry him on thrones of gold and carts of silver. Then they prepared aloes, ambergris, sandalwood, and other aromatics for him, set them alight, and cast him into the flames. His retainers even began to throw themselves into the fire because of their grief for him and their loyalty to him. This became a custom among them. They placed his image on their dinars, which they call *al-kawnah*,<sup>1172</sup> and images of him were also placed over the entrances to their homes.

The land of China is an expansive one. One who wishes to travel to China crosses seven seas, each of which has a color, odor, fish, and wind not to be found in the sea that follows it.<sup>1173</sup> The first of these seas is the Sea of Persia,<sup>1174</sup> which one travels beginning at Sīrāf. Its terminal point is Ra's al-Jumjuma,<sup>1175</sup> which is a strait where divers fish for pearls. The second sea, which begins at Ra's al-Jumjuma, is called Lārawī.<sup>1176</sup> It is a great sea; in it lie the islands of the Waqwāq<sup>1177</sup> and other Zanj peoples, and on those islands there are kings. This sea can be navigated only by the stars.<sup>1178</sup> It has enormous fish, and concerning

1172 In M the word is undotted. The reading is uncertain.

1173 On the route described here, see Kennedy, *Historical Atlas*, map 60; also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:156 (§ 315), where it is stated that it took three months to reach China by sea.

1174 Arabic, *Baḥr Fāris*, here meaning the Persian Gulf, though the term could also refer to the Indian Ocean. The port of Sīrāf lay on the coast of Fārs province, some 200 km south of Būshahr, near the modern village of Ṭāhirī. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sīrāf.

1175 Arabic for 'Cape of the Skull.' This appears to be the reading of M (though undotted) and it is the reading of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:177 (§ 362); ed. Leiden reads Ra's al-Jumḥa. Neither name corresponds to an attested name, although clearly the Strait of Hormuz is meant. The pearl beds lie about 300 to 400 km to the southwest.

1176 That is, the Arabian Sea. Cf. al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 29–30; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:177–179 (§ 362–367); al-Rāmhurmuzī, *Ajā'ib al-Hind*, 229 (Excursus A).

1177 Waqwāq was an island or group of islands said to be inhabited by a dark-skinned people (*Zanj* is one of the names for blacks). Many candidates have been proposed off the coast of Africa and in the Indian Ocean. Al-Ya'qūbī may have the Maldives in mind. See the article by F. Viré in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wāḳwāḳ.

1178 The point is that the direct route across the Arabian Sea to the Malibar coast of southern India crosses the high seas, where there are no landmarks to establish one's bearings. Ships often preferred to "coast," sailing close to shore just at the horizon as



it there are many amazing stories of things beyond description.<sup>1179</sup> Then comes the third sea, which is called Harkand.<sup>1180</sup> In it lies the island of Sarandīb,<sup>1181</sup> which has gemstone,<sup>1182</sup> rubies, and other precious (stones). In this sea lie islands that are ruled by princes, who in turn are ruled by a king. On the islands in this sea there is bamboo and cane.<sup>1183</sup> The fourth sea is called Kalāh Bār,<sup>1184</sup> a shallow sea in which there are enormous serpents. Sometimes even ships sailing with the wind are wrecked in this sea. In it lie islands on which camphor trees grow. The fifth sea is called Salāhit; it is a vast sea | about which many amazing stories are told.<sup>1185</sup> The sixth sea is called Kardanj and receives much rain.<sup>1186</sup> The seventh sea is called the Šankhay<sup>1187</sup> Sea and also Kanjalā, i.e., the Sea of China.<sup>1188</sup> It can only be traversed on a south wind. Then (mariners)

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- seen from shore to avoid being seen by pirates, and hopping from port to port. See Udovitch, *Time, the Sea and Society*, 541–545; Conrad, “Islam and the Sea,” 133.
- 1179 See, e.g., al-Sīrāfi, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 39; al-Rāmhurmuzī, *ʿAjāʾib al-Hind*, *passim*.
- 1180 That is, the Bay of Bengal. For possible derivations of the Arabic name, see R. Hartmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baḥr al-Hind. See also al-Sīrāfi, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 30–34.
- 1181 That is, Ceylon. The Arabic name is derived ultimately from Sanskrit Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon Island). See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sarandīb.
- 1182 Arabic, *al-jawhar*, here probably ivory.
- 1183 Arabic, *qanā*, the material used to make long spears, which in Arabic are called *qanāt*, from the material from which they were made.
- 1184 The Andaman Sea. Cf. al-Sīrāfi, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 37; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:181–182 (§ 374); al-Rāmhurmuzī, *ʿAjāʾib al-Hind*, 255–262 (Excursus B). The western coast of the Malay Peninsula was a staging and trading region marking the midpoint on the route between China and the Middle East. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūj*, 1:166 [§ 336]) explains that traders from Iraq, Iran, and Oman routinely continued on to China; the Chinese, on the other hand, conducted their business on the Malay coast and then returned, though in earlier times they had proceeded to the Persian Gulf, landing at such ports as Sīrāf, al-Ubulla, and Basra. The merchant Sulaymān confirms that Chinese ships were being loaded in Sīrāf in his time (al-Sīrāfi, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 35).
- 1185 The Malacca Strait, between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Al-Yaʿqūbī seems to have confused this body of water with the Andaman Sea, since it is the latter that is quite expansive, and the former that could be said to be shallow (literally, “it has little water”).
- 1186 This toponym often refers to the Gulf of Thailand, but al-Yaʿqūbī seems to have in mind the southern reaches of the South China Sea. Cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:182 (§ 375), where this sea is called Baḥr Kanduranj.
- 1187 Following the reading M (undotted) and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:177 (§ 361). Pellat, in his index (*Murūj*, 6: 430) sees the word as reflecting Chinese Tchang-Khai. Ed. Leiden, seeing it as a variant of the next name, points it as Šanjā or Šanjay.
- 1188 That is, the South China Sea. See al-Sīrāfi, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 38.

come to a freshwater sea<sup>1189</sup> that has military garrisons and populated regions, and finally they reach the city of Khānfū.<sup>1190</sup>

One who wishes to travel to China overland proceeds by the Balkh River and crosses the lands of Soghdia, Farghāna, al-Shāsh,<sup>1191</sup> and Tibet until he reaches China.<sup>1192</sup>

The king resides in a palace of his, living in seclusion. His chief of security, the chief of his tax affairs, the chief of his military guard, and the chief of his information office are eunuchs; in fact, most of his retainers are eunuchs and are very trustworthy.<sup>1193</sup> The tax revenue comes from a capitation tax that they levy on every adult male on a per capita basis, because they allow no man not to have a trade: if someone is unable to work because of illness or old age, they maintain him from the king's purse. They revere their dead and grieve for them for long periods. Their punishment for most crimes is death: they execute liars, thieves, and adulterers, except if they belong to a circle of eminent individuals. If someone accuses any tax official<sup>1194</sup> of acting unjustly and the accusation against him is proven to be true, that official is executed; otherwise, the one who accused him, if he has deliberately lied, is executed.<sup>1195</sup>

China has three land frontiers and one by sea. The first frontier is with the Turks and Tughuzghuz,<sup>1196</sup> with whom they were always waging wars; then they

1189 That is, the estuary of the Pearl River, leading from the sites of modern Hong Kong and Macau to the city of Guangzhou (Canton). According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:163–164 (§329), it took six days to sail from the sea up this estuary to Canton. Cf. al-Sīrāfi, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 60; and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels* (trans. Beckingham), 4:894.

1190 The Arabic name resembles closely the Chinese Guangzhou (Canton). On the Arabs' knowledge of this city see al-Sīrāfi, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 36.

1191 Al-Shāsh is the Arabic name for Tashkent and the surrounding area. See the article by W. Barthold et al. in *Er*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tashkent.

1192 On the overland route to China, see Albert Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, 77–116; Christoph Baumer, *Southern Silk Road: In the Footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin*. As can be seen here, al-Ya'qūbī seems to have had almost no information about overland travel to China. From Baghdad the usual route would have been the much faster (and less expensive) maritime route down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf, and then by sea to China. But cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:186 (§385), where he says that in Balkh he met an old man who had visited China many times and had never traveled by sea.

1193 Cf. al-Sīrāfi, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 64; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:167 (§337).

1194 Emending to read, *ʿāmil min al-ʿummāl*. M reads, *ʿāmil al-ʿummāl*, “the chief of the tax officials.” Ed. Leiden has *ʿāmil al-aʿmāl*, perhaps to be rendered “the governor,” or more generally any government official.

1195 Cf. al-Sīrāfi, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, 52–53, 54, 62.

1196 Arabic, *Tughuzghuz*, from Turkish Tokuz Oghuz (Nine Oghuz), originally a group of

agreed on terms of peace and confirmed the treaty with marriages. The second frontier is Tibet.<sup>1197</sup> Between Tibet and China there is a mountain on which stand military outposts where (Chinese) garrisons stand guard against Tibet and where Tibetan garrisons stand guard against China, all of them in a zone between the frontiers of the two lands.<sup>1198</sup> | The third frontier faces a people 1:209 called the Mānasās, who have an isolated kingdom in a vast land. It is said that their land is so vast in length and breadth that it would take several years to cross it either way. No one is known to live beyond them, and they are on good terms with the people of China. The single seaward frontier, which is the way by which the Muslims come, consists of the various seas that we have mentioned.

Their religion involves the worship of pagan idols, the sun, and the moon, and they have feast days dedicated to their idols. The most important of these feasts, called al-Zārār, comes at [the beginning of] the year.<sup>1199</sup> They go out to a gathering place, prepare food and drink there, and then they bring forth a man who has dedicated himself to that great idol and to all his desires and has been allowed to have whatever he wants. He is brought before the idol, and, having put something highly inflammable on his fingers, he burns his fingers with fire and allows them to serve as a lamp at the feet of the idol, until he himself is consumed in the flames and falls away dead. (His corpse) is then cut up, and whoever is able to gain possession of a splinter of bone or a fragment of his clothing considers it a triumph. Then they bring another man who wishes to dedicate himself to the idol for the new year to come and take the other's place. He dons the (special) clothing, and the people beat cymbals in his honor. Then they disperse, eat and drink and celebrate for a week, and then return home.

The month in which this feast takes place is called Janāḥ and is the first day of June. The Chinese also have a computation,<sup>1200</sup> and the months are called

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nine clans. Al-Ya'qūbī's mention of warfare ended by a peace apparently refers to the peace between the ruler of the eastern Turks, Bilgä Qaghan, and the T'ang emperor Hiuan-tsang in 721–722 (see the article by Edith Ambrose et al. in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Turks; also the article by Cl. Cahen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghuzz). See also Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, 263–277.

1197 Arabic Tubbat, Tibbat, or Tibat. On the source of the name and early Islamic knowledge of and contact with the area, see the article by M. Gaborieau et al. in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tubbat.

1198 See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, 254–263.

1199 The MSS read simply *fī l-sana*, “in the year,” or perhaps, “annually,” which the Leiden editor has emended to read *fī awwal al-sana*.

1200 Arabic, *wa-lil-ṣīn ḥisābun ayḍan*. This could mean, “China also has a computation,” or “China has a computation differently.” Al-Ya'qūbī or his source may be referring to the Chinese method for intercalation to keep the calendar of lunar months synchronized with the solar year.

by different names according to a computation that they have understood. The first of them is ...<sup>1201</sup>

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### The Coptic and Other Kings of Egypt

When Bayšar son of Ham son of Noah left Babylonia with his sons and the people of his family—they were thirty souls: his four sons Mišr, Fāriq, Māj, and Nāj,<sup>1202</sup> along with their wives and children—he went with them to Manf.<sup>1203</sup> Bayšar was old and weak, and Mišr was his eldest son and the one dearest to him, so he appointed him his successor and enjoined him to treat his brothers well. Mišr took possession for himself and his sons (of a territory) the distance of two months' (journey) in all four directions. The limit of this territory was from al-Shajaratān, between Rafaḥ and al-ʿArīsh, to Aswān in length, and from Barqa to Ayla in breadth. Mišr remained ruler after his father for a long time and had four sons: Quṭṭ, Ashmun, Atrīb, and Šā. He divided the shores of the Nile among them and granted each a domain for that son and his offspring to possess. After Mišr there ruled:<sup>1204</sup> Quṭṭ b. Mišr, then Ashmun b. Mišr, then Atrīb b. Mišr, then Tadāris b. Šā, then Mālīq b. Tadāris, then Ḥarāyā b. Mālīq, [then ...],<sup>1205</sup> then his brother Mālayā b. Ḥarāyā, then Lūṭish b. Mālayā. When Lūṭish died, his daughter Ḥurayā ruled. When she died, a paternal cousin of hers named Dulayqā bt. Māmūm ruled.

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The sons of Bayšar multiplied and the land was filled with their offspring. When they made women their rulers, the ʿAmāliqa, kings of Syria, became covetous of them. | The king of the ʿAmāliqa, who was, at that time, al-Walīd b. Dūmaʿ, invaded them and overran the country. (The people) were willing

1201 Twelve names follow in the MSS, written mostly without dots and therefore ambiguous. The Leiden editor notes that the names seem to have nothing to do with the Chinese language.

1202 Thus in M; ed. Leiden emends the last two names to Māḥ and Yāḥ on the basis of the parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:85 (§ 806).

1203 That is, Memphis.

1204 A similar king list is given in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:86 (§ 807), with some differences in orthography and order of names. Another version of the list can be found in G. Wiet, *L'Egypte de Murtadi fils du Gaphiphe*, 22. The name Quṭṭ, also given as Qibṭ, is the origin of the Arabic and English designation for the Christian inhabitants of Egypt, Qibṭī (Copt). It is also the origin of the Greek name for Egypt (Αἴγυπτος), the ultimate source of English "Egypt."

1205 A name has fallen out of al-Yaʿqūbī's list. It can be restored from al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:86 (§ 808), as Kalkan b. Ḥarāyā (Kharbātā in al-Masʿūdī).

to accept him as their ruler, and he remained in power for a long time. After him there reigned another of the 'Amāliqa named al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd, who was the pharaoh of Joseph. Then another of the 'Amāliqa named Dārim b. al-Rayyān ruled. Kāsīm b. Ma'dān ruled after him. Then the pharaoh of Moses, al-Walīd b. Muṣ'ab, ruled. The authorities have disagreed about his genealogy. Some have said that he was a man of the tribe of Lakhm; others that he was from some other Yemenite tribe, or that he was from the 'Amāliqa, or that he was from the Copts of Egypt and was named Ṣalmā.<sup>1206</sup> He was the one whose dealings with Moses were related by God (in the Qur'ān).<sup>1207</sup> He [lived] a long time, until he said, *"I am your lord, the Most High."*<sup>1208</sup> God then drowned him and his armies in the Sea of al-Qulzum.<sup>1209</sup>

When God drowned Pharaoh and those with him, there remained in the land only children, slaves, and women; these agreed to designate as their ruler a woman named Dalūka.<sup>1210</sup> Fearful that the kings of the world would encroach on her territory, she built a wall encircling all of the land of Egypt—villages, fields, and cities.<sup>1211</sup> She undertook many public works, and her reign lasted twenty years. Then there reigned:<sup>1212</sup> Darkūn b. Balūṭis, Būdas b. Darkūn, Luqās b. Būdas, and Danayā b. Būdas. Then Namādis b. Marīnā reigned, who was so tyrannical and arrogant that they killed him. Then there reigned Balūṭis b. Manākīl, then Mālīs b. Balūṭis, and then Būla<sup>1213</sup> b. Manākīl, the lame pharaoh who captured the king of Jerusalem and treated the Israelites as no one before had done. He behaved arrogantly, and his excesses reached a level that no one | before him, after Pharaoh, had ever reached. Then, however, his mount threw

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1206 Unpointed in the mss and possibly to be read Ṭalmā, as in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:87 (§809).

1207 Cf. Qur'ān 7:103–138, 20:9–80, 26:9–68, 28:3–40, 40:23–54, 43:46–56, 79:15–26.

1208 Qur'ān 79:24.

1209 The Red Sea, so named from the town of Qulzum (ancient Clysma) near Suez.

1210 On her, see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:87–93 (§809–819).

1211 According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:87 (§809), the ruins of this wall could still be seen in his day (332/943). It was known as Ḥā'it al-'Ajūz (The Old Woman's Wall).

1212 A similar king list is given in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:93 (§819), with differences in orthography and order of names.

1213 Sic M; ed. Leiden, Nūla; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:93 (§819), Balūna. Al-Ya'qūbī has already narrated the episode above, ed. Leiden, 1:70. The pharaoh was Necho II (RSV Neco, r. 610–595 BCE); the "king of Jerusalem" was Jehoahaz (2 Kings 23:31–35, 2 Chronicles 36:1–4). The name "Pharaoh the Lame" (Arabic, Fir'awn al-A'raj) derives ultimately from a Jewish folk etymology of the Egyptian name transliterated into Hebrew as Nākō (RSV Neco), as if from the Hebrew adjective *nākē* (smitten, stricken).

him and broke his neck. Then there ruled Marīnūs, then Laqās<sup>1214</sup> b. Marīnūs, then Qūmas b. Laqās. Then there reigned the lame Manākīl Ūdāma,<sup>1215</sup> who was L\_\_\_\_\_.<sup>1216</sup> Nebuchadnezzar attacked him and put him to flight, devastated Egypt, and enslaved its people.

Afterward, they continued under Roman rule, and they converted to Christianity at that time. Then Persia conquered Syria in the days of Anūshirwān; they ruled them for ten years, but then the Romans prevailed. The people of Egypt therefore paid a tax to the Romans and a tax to Persia in order to avoid the depredations of both. Then Persia left Syria, and authority over them passed to the Romans, and so they adopted the Christian religion.

The sage of the Copts was Hermes the Copt. The Copts were the masters of the temples, the ones who used to write in the temple script; that script still survives [...],<sup>1217</sup> but in our own time people lack the knowledge to read it.<sup>1218</sup> The reason for this is that none of them could write it except for the elite, and they forbade the common folk (to learn it). It was their sages and priests who used it, for in it lay the secrets of their religion and the principles of their creed, of which no one but their priests could gain knowledge. They did not teach it to anyone, except when the king ordered that they do so. Therefore, when the Romans conquered the Egyptians and exercised absolute power and authority over them, they ceased from the endeavors and tasks that they previously had undertaken and encouraged (the people) to give priority to the religious principles of the Greeks. As a result, their language was corrupted, and their speech mixed with that of the Romans. Then the Romans converted to Christianity and impelled them to do likewise, and so everything that had to do with their religion and customs disappeared. The Romans killed the Egyptians' priests and learned men, so that those who used to be able to understand that writing perished, while those of them who survived were forbidden to teach it

1214 Sic M; ed. Leiden, following al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:93 (§ 819), reads Naqās.

1215 Sic M; ed. Leiden, Adadāma (vocalization uncertain). His identity is uncertain, although a resemblance to the Egyptian ruler Urdamane (Egyptian Tantamani, r. 664–653 BCE) mentioned in the Assyrian annals is possible.

1216 The name, approximately ten letters long, is completely undotted in the MSS and cannot be read.

1217 Ed. Leiden indicates a lacuna here, but there is no evidence for it in M, and the text does not seem to be disturbed.

1218 The Arabic word used here for “temple” is *birbā*, pl. *barābī*, from Coptic *perpe*; it remains the word in Egyptian Arabic for pharaonic temples. The “temple script” (*khaṭṭ al-barābī*) is hieroglyphic.

or study it. For this reason no one among them or anyone else can be found | 1:213  
who can read it.

Their religion involved the worship of the stars and the belief that they (the stars) direct the course of events according to their own choosing. They held that destinies are a matter of the stars and that the latter bring good and bad fortune; this is because they claimed that the stars were their gods, which brought them life and death and provided them with sustenance and drink. One of their beliefs was that spirits are immortal and were in the highest paradise (before birth) and that once in every 36,000 years everything in the world ceases to exist. This will be caused either by soil, by which they mean the earth with its earthquakes and cave-ins, or by fire, that is by incineration and hot wind, or by wind, that is by a widespread, foul, thick corrupting air that obstructs breathing because it is so thick, causing animals to perish and every green and living thing to wither. Then nature, including every kind of green and living thing, is restored to life,<sup>1219</sup> and the world returns after having fallen to ruin.

They also held that these spirits are divine; they come down and enter into the idols, so that the idols speak, but this was only a deceit that they employed to deceive their common folk, and they concealed the real reason that their idols seemed to speak. By performing a certain technical procedure, using drugs, and resorting to ingenious mechanical devices, their priests were able to make them whistle and utter sounds through a process in which they spoke from the throat of the idol as if it were from the throat of a bird or beast. The voice of that idol thus would be like the sound made by its species of animal.<sup>1220</sup> Then the priests would translate this sound coming from the idol as they wished, depending on the conclusion they had reached from astrology and physiognomy.<sup>1221</sup>

They also have it that when the spirits issue forth,<sup>1222</sup> they proceed to these deities, which are the planets, who cleanse and purify them if they are guilty of any wrongdoing, and then they rise to paradise and to the place where they

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1219 Accepting the Leiden editor's emendation, *yahyā* (or *tahyā*), for MSS *tarmī* (casts, shoots).

1220 This apparently refers to the fact that many Egyptian statues combined human bodies with animal heads.

1221 Arabic, *firāsa*, the art of deducing moral character and psychological conditions from the configuration of the human body (e.g., birth marks and lines on the palm) or of finding hidden natural objects. See the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Firāsa*.

1222 That is, from their bodies at death.

1:214 used to be.<sup>1223</sup> They also say that the planets used to speak to their prophets and teach them | that the spirits descend to the idols, dwelling within them and giving word of events before they occur. They had an amazing and profound sagacity by which they were able to make the common folk believe that they could speak with the planets and that these would inform them of what was going to happen. But the real reason for (their wisdom) was their excellent knowledge of the secrets of astrology<sup>1224</sup> and their correct understanding of physiognomy. They were rarely wrong, although they claimed to know such things from the planets and that these informed them of what would happen—which is false and absurd.

When the Greeks ruled them, they (the Copts) entered into their religious community. Then the Romans ruled them, and they converted to Christianity.

The kingdom of the Copts was the land of Egypt. Among the districts of Upper Egypt were:<sup>1225</sup> Manf, Wasīm, al-Sharqiyya, al-Qays, al-Bahnasā, Ahnās, Dalās, al-Fayyūm, Ushmūn, Ṭahā, Abshāya, Huww, Qifṭ, al-Aqṣur, and Armant. Among the districts of Lower Egypt were: Atrīb, ‘Ayn Shams, Tanwā, Tumayy, Banā, Būṣīr, Samannūd, Nawasā, al-Awsiya, al-Bujūm, Baṣṭa, Ṭarābaya, Qurbayṭ, Ṣān, Iblīl, Sakhā, Tīda, al-Afraḥūn, Naqīza, al-Basharūd, Ṭuwwa, Upper Manūf, Lower Manūf, Damsīs, Ṣā, Shabās, al-Badhāqūn, Ikhnā, Rashīd, Qarṭasā, Kharibtā, Tarnūṭ, Maṣīl, and Malaydash.

1:215 The Copts reckon their year according to a calendar of 365 days. | They have twelve months of thirty days each; their year also has five days which they call intercalation.<sup>1226</sup> The first of the months of the Copts, which they have made the beginning of their year, is [Tūt]; they call the first day of this month Nayrūz, and they say that it was on this day that the populating of the earth began. These are the names of their months: Tūt, Bāba, Hatūr, Kiyahk, Ṭūba, Amshīr, Baramhāt, Barmūda, Bashans, Ba’ūna, Abīb, and Misrā. The five days that they intercalate fall between Misrā and Tūt. The script in which the Copts write is something between the Greek and the Roman, and it looks like this ...<sup>1227</sup>

1223 That is, before birth.

1224 Literally, “of the secrets that belong to the ascensions (*tawālī*).”

1225 Cf. Kennedy, *Historical Atlas*, Map 29. Many of the following names have been badly transmitted in the MSS and cannot be identified. Cf. al-Ya’qūbī’s detailed description of Egypt in the *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 330–340. In the following list “al-Aqṣur” (modern Luxor) anachronistically reflects the name given by the Arabs to the city—*al-Aqṣur* means “the palaces” in Arabic, referring to the temple complexes at the site.

1226 Arabic, *nasī’*.

1227 M at this point gives the letters of the Arabic alphabet in their usual Arabic order with



## The Kingdoms of the Berbers and the Africans

The Berbers and the Africans are descendants of Fāriq son of Bayṣar son of Ham son of Noah. When their kinsmen<sup>1228</sup> assumed sovereignty in the land of Egypt, occupying (the territory) from al-ʿArīsh to Aswān in length and from Ayla to Barqa in breadth, (Fāriq and his family) proceeded toward the Maghrib.<sup>1229</sup> When they had traveled through the land of Barqa, they took control of the countries (beyond it), each clan of them subduing a country, until they spread over the land of the Maghrib. The first of them to rule was Luwāta, in a land called Ajdābiya in the mountains of Barqa, and Mazāta ruled in a land called Waddān—these people trace their descent to their (eponymous) forefather.<sup>1230</sup> One of their clans, the Hawwāra, traveled on to a land called Tawargha and ruled there, and others, the Badhraʿa, went to the land of Armik. Another clan, called the Maṣālīn, | went to Ṭarābulus, and yet another clan, called the Wahīla, 1:216 traveled on to the land west of Ṭarābulus. But the route became too ...<sup>1231</sup> for them, and therefore one group, called the Barqashāna, set out for al-Qayrawān, while others, those called the Kutāma and the ʿAjīsa, turned north and arrived at Tāhart. Another group, who were called the Nafūsa and the Lamāya, set out for Sijilmāsa, and still another group, called the Lamṭa, set out for the mountains of Hakkār;<sup>1232</sup> the latter were named the ʿUbālāt and lived in the desert without houses. One group, called the Maknāsa, set out for Ṭanja, and another, called the Madāsa, set out for al-Sūs al-Aqṣā.

One group of Berbers and Africans have stated that they are descended from Barbar b. ʿAylān b. Nizār; others have said that they are from the Judhām and the Lakhm.<sup>1233</sup> Their homes had been in Palestine, but a certain king drove them

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an attempt to write their Coptic counterparts under each letter. For the most part, these drawings look nothing like actual Coptic letters.

1228 Arabic, *ikhwatuhum*, literally “their brothers,” referring to Fāriq’s brother Miṣr and his family, as explained by al-Yaʿqūbī earlier (ed. Leiden, 1:210).

1229 That is, North Africa west of modern Benghazi.

1230 Al-Yaʿqūbī here traces the names of the important Berber tribes of Luwāta and Mazāta to eponymous ancestors.

1231 The reading and the meaning are uncertain. Ed. Leiden reads *istaʿlat* (became [too] high).

1232 Sic M; ed. Leiden, Hakkān.

1233 That is, these Berbers and North Africans claimed Arab descent. Nizār was the common ancestor of the greater part of the Arab tribes of the north; Judhām and Lakhm were Arab tribes of Yemeni descent.

out. When they arrived in Egypt, the kings of Egypt forbade them to settle there; so they crossed the Nile, headed west, and spread over the land. Others have said that they are from Yemen. A certain king banished them from the land of Yemen to the farthest lands of the Maghrib. Each group promotes its own story, and God knows best where the truth in this lies.

### The Kingdoms of Ethiopia and the Sudan

1:217 When the descendants of Noah dispersed from the land of Babylonia, the descendants of Ham son of Noah set out for the Maghrib and traveled from the bank of the Euphrates toward the land of the setting of the sun.<sup>1234</sup> | When they crossed the Nile, the descendants of Kush son of Ham—they were the Ethiopians and the Sudanese<sup>1235</sup>—split into two groups. One group of them, the Nubians, the Buja, the Ethiopians, and the Zanj, traveled due south,<sup>1236</sup> and one group, the Zaghāwa, the Ḥ\_\_\_\_,<sup>1237</sup> the Qāqū, the Marawiyyūn, the Maranda, the Kawkaw, and the Ghāna, headed west.<sup>1238</sup> As for the Nubians, when they came to the west bank of the Nile and went beyond<sup>1239</sup> the kingdom of the Copts, who were the descendants of Bayṣar son of Ham son of Noah, they established their sovereignty there.

1234 Parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:110 ff. (§ 844 ff.)

1235 Arabic, *al-Sūdān* (the Blacks), designates the dark-skinned peoples of Africa in general, not only those of present-day Sudan.

1236 Arabic, *al-tayman bayn al-mashriq wa-l-maghrib*, “the south between the east and the west.” *Tayman* (south) is borrowed from Syriac.

1237 The reading of the name is uncertain. M reads al-Ḥabash (the Ethiopians) which does not fit the context. C leaves the word undotted. A list of African peoples occurs in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:110 (§ 844) (no name resembling this) and in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1428, where the manuscripts vary between al-Khums and al-Ḥamīsh.

1238 Although identification of these peoples or places is risky, *Marwiyyūn* apparently refers to the people of Meroe, which was the capital of the Nubian kingdom. Maranda may be modern Marendet on the banks of the Niger (cf. Pellat in the index to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 8:675). Kawkaw is modern Gao in Mali, the former capital of the Songhai kingdom (ibid., 8:609). Ghāna was a city of commercial importance located in what is now Mauritania; the modern Republic of Ghana perpetuates the name, though not the location (ibid., 8:543; and R. Cornevin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghāna).

1239 Reading with M, *tajāwazat*; ed. Leiden, *tajāwarat* (became neighbors) is impossible as the context requires a transitive verb such as *tajāwazat* (*tajāwarat* is intransitive).

The Nubians came to comprise two kingdoms.<sup>1240</sup> One of the two was the kingdom of those called the Muqurra;<sup>1241</sup> they were both east and west of the Nile, and their capital was the city of Dunqula.<sup>1242</sup> They were the ones who made peace with the Muslims and paid them the slave tribute.<sup>1243</sup> Their land is a land of date palms, vineyards, and cultivated fields, and the extent of the kingdom is (a journey of) about two months. The second Nubian kingdom comprised those called the 'Alwa;<sup>1244</sup> they were more powerful than the Muqurra. The capital of their kingdom was a city called Sūba, and they had a land that would take about three months (to cross). It is in their territory that the Nile divides into several channels.

### The Kingdom of the Buja

They are between the Nile and the sea and have several kingdoms, with a separate king in each land.<sup>1245</sup>

1240 Parallel in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:126 (§ 873). Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 335–336.

1241 Makuria, in the northern Sudan.

1242 That is, Dongola.

1243 Arabic, *al-baqṭ*, a borrowing from Greek *πάκτον*, itself a borrowing from Latin *pactum* (pact). In 31/651–652, an Arab army led by 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ, the governor of Upper Egypt, invaded Nubia and attacked Dongola. The two sides ultimately agreed to an armistice, which provided for annual exchanges of gifts: the Nubians were to hand over a certain number of slaves, and the Muslims were to present the Nubians with agricultural products of equal value. This arrangement was apparently still in effect in al-Ya'qūbī's time. Although there were mutual exchanges, it was customary for Muslim authorities to regard the *baqṭ*, as al-Ya'qūbī does here, in terms of the Nubian obligation only. See the article by F. Løkkegaard in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baḳṭ; Paul Forand, "Early Muslim Relations with Nubia," in *Der Islam* 48 (1972): 111–121; and Martin Hinds and Hamdi Sakkout, "A Letter from the Governor of Egypt Concerning Egyptian-Nubian Relations in 141/758," in Hinds, *Studies in Early Islamic History*, 160–187.

1244 The 'Alwa kingdom stretched from a little below the confluence of the Nile and the Atbara southward to well beyond the confluence of the White and Blue Niles. Its capital, Soba, was at the site of modern Khartoum, which is where the two main tributaries of the Nile join. See the article by S. M. Stern in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Alwa.

1245 The Buja (the usual modern form of the name is Beja) live between the Nile and the Red Sea (so stated by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:127 [§ 875]). See the article by P. M. Holt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bedja. Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 336–337.

1:218 The beginning of the kingdom of the Buja extends from the frontier at Uswān,<sup>1246</sup> which is the last district under the rule of the Muslims, | due south, to the frontier at Barakāt.<sup>1247</sup> These people are the race called the Naqīs, and the capital of their kingdom is called Hajar.<sup>1248</sup> They are organized into tribes and clans as the Bedouin Arabs are; among these are the tribes of al-Ḥadarāt, Ḥajāb, al-ʿAmāʿir, Kawbar, Manāsa, Rasbaʿa, ʿUrayrayʿa, and al-Zanāfij.<sup>1249</sup> In their land there are gold, gem, and emerald mines. They live on peaceful terms with the Muslims, and the Muslims work in their land in the mines.<sup>1250</sup>

The second kingdom of the Buja is a kingdom called Baqlīn, a broad land with many cities. In their religious practices these people resemble the Magians and Dualists; they call God—may He be glorified and exalted—the Supreme Zabjīr, and Satan they call Ṣaḥā Ḥarāqa.<sup>1251</sup> They are the ones who pluck out their facial hair, pull out their incisors, and undergo circumcision. Their land is a rainy one.

The third kingdom is called Bāzīn. These people border on the Nubian kingdom of ʿAlwa and the Bujan kingdom of Baqlīn, and they are at war with the latter. The crops that they eat are ...<sup>1252</sup> It is their food, and milk.

1:219 The fourth kingdom is called Jārīn. They have a powerful king whose domain extends from the land called Bāḍiʿ on the coast of the Great Sea,<sup>1253</sup> to the Barakāt frontier of the kingdom of Baqlīn, to a place called Ḥall al-Dajāj. They are a people who pull out their upper and lower incisors, saying, “We will not have teeth like those of donkeys.” | They also pluck out their facial hair.

The fifth kingdom is called that of the Qaṭaʿa, which is the last of the kingdoms of the Buja. The kingdom of these people is extensive, stretching

1246 That is, Aswān.

1247 Roughly, the mountainous and desert regions of eastern Sudan, along the Red Sea coast, from Aswan to the Eritrean frontier. Barakāt is modern Wadi Baraka, about midway between Port Sudan and Asmara, on the frontier between Sudan and Eritrea.

1248 Not to be confused with the town of Hajar in the al-Ḥaṣāʾ region of eastern Arabia.

1249 The reading and vocalization of all these names is uncertain. For Ḥadarāt, one should probably read Ḥadārib; the Zanāfij are also historically attested. The other names are uncertain.

1250 Cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:127 (§ 876), who gives the name of the Muslim overseer of the mines in the year 332/943–944.

1251 The correct reading and derivation of these names is unknown.

1252 The Leiden editor indicated a lacuna in the text, where the names of crops have dropped out, although the MSS show no gap. If one assumes no lacuna, one can translate: “Their produce is what they eat; it is their food, as well as milk.”

1253 Bāḍiʿ may be modern Massawa (Maṣawwaʿ) on the Red Sea, although “the Great Sea” suggests a location on the Indian Ocean. M apparently reads, Nāṣiʿ.

from the frontier of a place called Bāḍī‘ to a place called Faykūn. They are fierce-tempered and exceedingly brave. They have a military base called Dār al-Sawā, where there are militia units of battle-hardened young men prepared for war and combat.

The sixth kingdom is that of the Negus.<sup>1254</sup> It is an extensive and important realm whose capital is at Ka‘bar,<sup>1255</sup> to which the Arabs continually come for trade. They have (other) great cities, and their coastal center is Dahlak.<sup>1256</sup> Rulers in the land of Abyssinia are under the authority of the Great King, to whom they give obedience and pay taxes. The Negus adheres to the religion of the Jacobite Christians.<sup>1257</sup>

The frontier of the kingdom of the Abyssinians is the land of the Zanj,<sup>1258</sup> and they have contacts with Sind<sup>1259</sup> and other similar lands. They also have contacts with peoples other than the Zanj in lands bordering Sind and including the Kurk, who are a noble people who live in harmony.

As for the black peoples<sup>1260</sup> who went west and headed toward the Maghrib, passing through various lands, they established several kingdoms.

The first of their kingdoms was that of the Zaghāwa, who settled in a place called Kānim.<sup>1261</sup> They live in cane huts and do not have cities. Their king is called Kākira. One branch of the Zaghāwa is called the Ḥawḍāban,<sup>1262</sup> and these people have a king who is from the Zaghāwa.

There is another kingdom. Its people are called the Mallal; they are hostile<sup>1263</sup> to the ruler of Kānim, and their king is called Mayūsī.

1254 Arabic, *najāshī*, the ruler of Abyssinia (modern Ethiopia). See the article by E. van Donzel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Nadjāshī*.

1255 Also given by al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:127 (§ 877), with a variant Ka‘ban (which apparently is the reading of M). Possibilities for identification are discussed by C. E. Beckingham in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḥabash* (see especially Section iii, “Ḥabash in Muslim Geographical Works”).

1256 An archipelago off the Eritrean Red Sea coast east of Massawa.

1257 That is, the Monophysite theology of the Coptic Church, named after one of its early Syrian proponents, Jacob Burd‘ānā (Arabic, *Bardā‘ī*, d. 578). See the article by H. G. B. Teule in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ya‘kūbiyyūn*.

1258 Al-Zanj is the general Arabic term for the black peoples of East Africa. See the article by G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-Zandj*.

1259 Possibly referring to Sind in modern Pakistan and therefore to trade across the Indian Ocean. However, the reading is far from certain.

1260 Arabic, *al-Sūdān*.

1261 Kānim is a region north of Lake Chad. On the Zaghāwa, see the article by H. T. Norris in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zaghāwa*.

1262 The reading and vocalization are uncertain.

1263 Reading *yubādūna*; the same ductus might be read *yubāddūna* (they barter with).

Then there is the kingdom of al-Ḥ\_\_sha.<sup>1264</sup> These people have a capital called \_\_\_\_r,<sup>1265</sup> the king of which is called Marah.<sup>1266</sup> Affiliated with them are the Qāqū, but the latter are ...<sup>1267</sup> and their king is the king | of \_\_\_\_r.

Then there is the kingdom of the Kawkaw,<sup>1268</sup> which is the greatest, most eminent, and most powerful of the Sudanese kingdoms: all of the (other) kingdoms render obedience (to its king). Al-Kawkaw is also the name of its capital. There are [also] several other kingdoms (whose rulers) render it obedience and acknowledge its leadership, although they are kings over their own lands. These include the kingdom of al-Maraw, an extensive realm whose king resides in a city called al-Ḥayā, as well as the kingdoms of Murdaba, al-Harbar, Ṣanhāja, Badhkarbar, al-Zayānīr, Azūr, and Naqārūt.<sup>1269</sup> All of these trace their descent back to the kingdom of al-Kawkaw.

Then there is the kingdom of Ghāna,<sup>1270</sup> whose king is also very powerful. In his land there are gold mines. Under his authority there are several kings, among them the rulers of the kingdoms of ʿĀm and Sāma, and throughout these lands there is gold.

### The Kings of Yemen

The transmitters and those who claim knowledge about the accounts and circumstances of the various peoples and tribes state that the first ruler from the descendants of Qaḥṭān son of the Prophet Hūd<sup>1271</sup> son of Eber son of Shelah

1264 The scribe of M has written *al-Ḥabasha*, the Abyssinians/Ethiopians, which does not fit the context. C and ed. Leiden leave the middle letter undotted.

1265 M gives a four letter word whose first three letters are undotted and therefore ambiguous. Ed. Leiden follows C in reading Thabīr, but this must be rejected as a scribe's attempt to turn an ambiguous reading into something familiar and Arabic: Thabīr is a mountain near Mecca!

1266 Vocalization uncertain.

1267 The word in the text, *m.ʿw.ly.n*, is unclear in meaning, possibly "dependents," although the grammar is suspicious.

1268 This is the town now known as Gao in Mali on the Niger River. On its history, see the article by R. Cornevin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Gao.

1269 The reading of most of these names is uncertain.

1270 Ghāna was a city of commercial importance located in what is now Mauritania; the modern Republic of Ghana perpetuates the name, though not the location (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 8:543; and R. Cornevin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghāna).

1271 An ancient Arabian prophet mentioned in the Qurʾān and in many legends. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and Charles Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hūd. The insertion of Hūd

son of Arpachshad son of Shem son of Noah was Saba' b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān. The (real) name of Saba' was 'Abd Shams, (but he came to be known as Saba') because he was the first of the Arab kings who ruled and journeyed in the land and took prisoners.<sup>1272</sup> Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān was the first person to be greeted with the salutation, "May you have a pleasant morning. May curses be impotent against you."<sup>1273</sup>

Ḥimyar b. Saba' ruled after Saba'. Ḥimyar's (personal) name was Zayd, and he was the first king to wear a crown of gold inlaid with rubies.

After Ḥimyar, his brother Kahlān b. Saba' ruled. He lived for a long time, until he became senile.

After Kahlān, Abū Mālik<sup>1274</sup> | b. 'Ammīkarib b. Saba' ruled. His reign lasted 300 years. 1:221

After Abū Mālik, Ḥanāda<sup>1275</sup> b. Ghālib b. Zayd b. Kahlān ruled. He was the first person to manufacture *mashrafi* swords,<sup>1276</sup> and at night he put out food for the jinn.<sup>1277</sup> He ruled for 120 years.

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into the genealogy of Genesis 10 is peculiarly Islamic. Genesis 10 ascribes two sons to Eber: "Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided, and his brother's name was Joktan (Yoḡṭān)." Arab tradition either identifies Qaḥṭān and Yoḡṭān as one and the same person or treats them as brothers, thereby giving the southern Arab tribes a biblical ancestry. See the article by A. Fischer in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaḥṭān.

1272 The Arabic explains the name Saba' by a play on words: He was called Saba' because he took prisoners (*sabā al-sabāyā*). Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:193 (§ 995).

1273 Arabic, *In'im ṣabāḥan. Abayta l-la'n*. Used together or separately, both were common pre-Islamic greetings.

1274 M: Malik, but this may simply be an orthographic variant; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:196 (§ 1001), has Mālik.

1275 The reading is uncertain. M has a name written entirely without dots; C points the second letter as *n*; this is the basis of the reading in ed. Leiden. However, from the same ductus, minus the final letter, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:196 (§ 1001), has derived the name *Jabbār* (*r* and *d* are easily confused in Arabic script). An added complication is that the Andalusian writer Ibn Badrūn, who drew heavily on al-Mas'ūdī, read the name as Ḥayyār (according to the edition of Ibn Badrūn prepared by R. Dozy).

1276 High-quality swords of uncertain type. The name may indicate a "highland" (*mashraf*) origin; see, for example, al-Ṭarsūsī, *Tabṣīra*, 51. However, where such an origin is asserted, it is Syria, not Yemen, that is mentioned.

1277 That is, demons of the physical world, who share it with mankind. The point is that Abū Mālik was both generous and clever. The jinn, who favor dark places, come out at night, and when the ruler prepares food for them he demonstrates his hospitality and encourages them to reciprocate by not harming him or his kingdom. Such a tale may suggest a distant memory of evening offerings to demons and gods in pre-Islamic Yemenite religion.

After Ḥanāda, al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Ifrīqīs b. Ṣayfi b. Yashjub b. Saba' ruled for 140 years.

After al-Ḥārith b. Mālik, al-Rā'ish ruled. He was al-Ḥārith b. Shaddād b. Miṭṭāt b. 'Amr b. Dhī Abyan b. Dhī Yaqqdam b. al-Ṣawwār b. 'Abd Shams b. Wā'il b. al-Ghawth b. Ḥaydān b. Qaṭan b. 'Urayb b. Ayman b. al-Humaysa' b. Ḥimyar b. Saba'. He was the first person who raided, seized property, and brought spoils back to Yemen from elsewhere; hence he was called al-Rā'ish,<sup>1278</sup> and the nickname came to prevail. His reign lasted 125 years.

After al-Rā'ish, his son Abraha b. al-Rā'ish ruled. He was called Abraha Dhū Manār, because he traveled toward the west, and whenever he conquered a land, he would light a fire there.<sup>1279</sup> His reign lasted 180 years.

After Abraha, his son Ifrīqīs b. Abraha ruled and followed in his father's ways. His reign lasted 164 years.

After Ifrīqīs, his brother al-'Abd b. Abraha ruled. He was called Dhū l-Adh'ār because he terrified<sup>1280</sup> the enemy and used to advance with a force of warriors of awesome physique. His reign lasted 25 years.

After Dhū l-Adh'ār, al-Hadhād b. Shuraḥbīl b. 'Amr b. al-Rā'ish ruled. His reign  
1:222 lasted | one year.

After al-Hadhād, Zayd, who was Tubba' al-Awwal b. Naykaf, ruled.<sup>1281</sup> He lived a long life and ruled oppressively, unjustly, and arrogantly. The transmitters claim that he lived 400 years, and then Bilqīs killed him.

Bilqīs bt. al-Hadhād b. Shuraḥbīl came to the throne, and her reign lasted 120 years.<sup>1282</sup> Then what happened between her and Solomon occurred, and sovereignty over Yemen passed to Solomon son of David for 320 years. Then Rehoboam son of Solomon son of David ruled for ten years. Then power returned to Ḥimyar, and Yāsir Yan'am b. 'Amr b. Ya'fur b. 'Amr b. Shuraḥbīl came to the throne and his authority became strong. His reign lasted 85 years.

1278 That is, "He who becomes wealthy."

1279 Perhaps as a signal beacon; however, the meaning may simply be that whenever he conquered a town, he set fire to it. The Arabic explains the name *Dhū Manār* ("the possessor of a beacon") as derived from the word for fire (*nār*).

1280 Following ed. Leiden: "he was called *Dhū l-Adh'ār* because he *dha'ara* (terrified) the enemy." Instead of *dha'ara*, M reads *ghazā*, "he raided, attacked," which misses the pun.

1281 That is, Tubba' the First, son of Naykaf. Arabic writers used Tubba' as a dynastic title for the Ḥimyarite rulers of southern Arabia between the late 3rd and early 6th centuries CE. Its derivation is unclear. See the article by A. F. L. Beeston in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tubba'.

1282 Bilqīs is usually identified as the biblical Queen of Sheba whose visit to Solomon is mentioned in the Qur'an (e.g., 27:22–23). Al-Ya'qūbī has already mentioned her visit to Solomon (ed. Leiden, 1:63). See the translation above and the note there.



Then Shammar<sup>1283</sup> b. Ifrīqīs b. Abraha ruled for 53 years.

Then Tubbaʿ al-Aqran b. Shammar b. ʿUmayd<sup>1284</sup> came to the throne. He raided India and intended to raid China. His reign lasted 163 years.

Then Malkīkarib b. Tubbaʿ came to the throne. He raided lands so far away that he scattered his forces to the ends of the earth, advancing them as far as Sijistān and Khurāsān; but then they united against him and killed him. His reign lasted 320 years.<sup>1285</sup>

Then Ḥassān b. Tubbaʿ came to the throne and remained for some time without raiding. Then there occurred what happened between Ṭasm and Jadīs,<sup>1286</sup> and Tubbaʿ marched out to fight them. As he approached them, a man from the Ṭasm who was with him said to him: “They have a woman with them called al-Yamāma, who can see things and never errs. I fear that she will warn them.” So he ordered his companions to cut (branches) from olive trees, and he said, “Let each of you carry a big olive branch behind him.” So each man carried a big branch; and when she saw it, she said, “I see trees walking.” “And can trees walk?” they replied. | “Yes,” she said, “by the Lord of every stone and clod of earth! They are behind the men of Ḥimyar.” But they disbelieved her, and Ḥassān surprised them at dawn and killed them.

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His people wearied of him and his oppressive rule, and so they conspired with his brother, ʿAmr b. Tubbaʿ, to kill him—all except Dhū Ruʿayn, who forbade it—and so he killed him. His reign had lasted 25 years.

After killing his brother, ʿAmr b. Tubbaʿ came to the throne. Unable to sleep and troubled in his mind, he killed all those who had advised him to kill his brother. When he came to Dhū Ruʿayn, the latter said to him, “I advised you not to do it, and I even wrote two lines of verse, which you have.” He had indeed given him a scrap bearing these words:

O who would buy insomnia at the price of sleep?

Happy the man who passes the night in comfort!

<sup>1283</sup> The vocalization is uncertain. Arabic tradition favors Shammar, but Shamir or Shimr are equally possible. For a discussion, see the long note by C. E. Bosworth in his translation of *The History of al-Ṭabarī, v: The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, 142.

<sup>1284</sup> This should be the son of the previous ruler, Shammar, but his grandfather (ʿUmayd) is not the person named as Shammar’s father (Ifrīqīs).

<sup>1285</sup> Cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:198 (§1005).

<sup>1286</sup> This refers to a war famous in Arabian legend. See the article by Wolfhart P. Heinrichs in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭasm.

Ḥimyar has committed treachery and betrayal,  
but God absolves Dhū Ruʿayn of any part in it.

ʿAmr’s reign lasted 64 years.

Then Tubbaʿ b. Ḥassān b. Buḥayla b. Kalikarib<sup>1287</sup> b. Tubbaʿ al-Aqran came to the throne. He was Asʿad Abū Karib, the one who went from Yemen to (attack) Yathrib. Al-Fityawn had taken power over the Aws and Khazraj, imposing great afflictions on them.<sup>1288</sup> Mālik b. al-ʿAjlān al-Khazrajī set out and complained of this to Tubbaʿ, informing him of how the Qurayza and the Naḍir had gained the upper hand over them. Tubbaʿ thereupon marched against them,<sup>1289</sup> killed some of the Jews, and left a son of his among them as his deputy. When they killed the latter, Tubbaʿ led an army against them and made war on them. Now the leader of the Anṣar<sup>1290</sup> was ʿAmr b. Ṭalḥa al-Khazrajī from the Banū l-Najjār. They would fight him by day and offer him hospitality by night—(ʿAmr) would say, “Our people are indeed noble!”<sup>1291</sup> (Tubbaʿ) called together the leaders of

1:224 the Jews and said, “I am going to lay waste | this town,”—meaning Medina—but the rabbis and leaders of the Jews said, “You will not be able to do it.” “Why?” he asked. They answered, “Because it belongs to a prophet from the descendants of Ismāʿīl whose place of emergence will be from beside the Sacred Sanctuary.”

1287 Sic ed. Leiden; M has Kikarib, which may be a scribal error for Malkikarib (b. Tubbaʿ al-Aqran) mentioned above.

1288 Al-Yaʿqūbī could assume that his readers would be familiar with the history of the city of Yathrib, later known as Medina after Muḥammad’s emigration to it. He therefore introduces this story without identifying the principals. More details are added below (ed. Leiden, 1:232). For the benefit of the modern reader: The Aws and the Khazraj were two Arab tribes that had settled in the oasis of Yathrib, which was already occupied by tribes of Jewish agriculturalists, among whom were the Qurayza and Naḍir, mentioned here. The Jews remained dominant over the Arab newcomers until an event in the days of Asʿad Abū Karib, mentioned here, turned the tables. The leader of the Jewish tribes, al-Fityawn, is said to have demanded the *jus primae noctis* of the sister of Mālik b. ʿAjlān of the Khazraj. (Al-Yaʿqūbī’s “imposed great afflictions on them” may be a euphemistic allusion to this.) To defend his honor, Mālik killed al-Fityawn and fled to seek help from the Yemeni king, Asʿad Abū Karib. This precipitated the Yemeni expedition described here. See J. Wellhausen, “Medina vor dem Islam,” in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, IV, 7 ff.

1289 Accepting Houtsma’s emendation, *fa-sāra Tubbaʿ*; the MSS read, *fa-sāqa Tubbaʿan* (“he urged Tubbaʿ” sc. to attack them), and there may be no need to emend.

1290 That is, the Khazraj and the Aws, so called because they later became “helpers” (Anṣār) of the Prophet Muḥammad after his emigration. The term seems anachronistic here, but the anachronism is common.

1291 That is, they combine the virtues of valor and generosity.

So he departed, taking a group of Jewish rabbis with him. When he drew near Mecca, a delegation from the tribe of Hudhayl came to him and said, "This sanctuary in Mecca contains money, treasures, and gems, so why don't you attack it and take what is in it?"—but what they intended was that he should do so and God would slay him. It has been said that some people had in fact advised him to demolish it and transport its stones to Yemen, to use them to build a sanctuary there that the Arabs would venerate. Tubba' summoned the Jewish rabbis and mentioned this to them. They said, "We know of no sanctuary in the world dedicated to God except this one, and no one means it harm but that God slays him." That very night he fell ill, and the rabbis said to him, "If you have harbored any evil intentions against this sanctuary, abandon them and treat it with respect." So he abandoned the plans he had made, and God took away his illness. He killed those who had advised him to demolish it. He circumambulated it and venerated it, slaughtered animals, and shaved his head. In a dream he saw (someone saying), "Cover it!" So he covered it with coarse cloth, but found it repellent. (Again) he dreamt, "Cover it!" So he covered it (this time) with embroidered drapery and recited a poem about it:

We covered the sanctuary that God has declared sacred  
 with fine embroidered cloth to drape over it.  
 And in the ravine we slaughtered six thousand animals,  
 toward which you see the people coming.  
 And we commanded that you should not bring near the Ka'ba  
 any dead animal or blood that is fettered.<sup>1292</sup>  
 Then we circumambulated the sanctuary seven times and seven,  
 and we prostrated ourselves at the Maqām.<sup>1293</sup>  
 We remained there for seven days of the month,  
 and we fashioned a key for its door.

Then he returned to Yemen, accompanied by the Jewish rabbis, and he and his people converted to Judaism. His reign lasted 78 years. 1:225

Then the kings of Qaḥṭān split up, and various different men became kings. One of those (who rose to power in this way) was 'Amr b. Tubba', but then they

1292 Arabic *maṣfūdā*. The meaning is unclear.

1293 This apparently refers to the Maqām Ibrāhīm, (Abraham's Standing Place), where Abraham is said to have worshipped. The phrase occurs in Qur'ān 2:125, where Muslims are commanded to take it as a place of prayer. The most common identification is of a stone in the Meccan sanctuary. See the article by M. J. Kister in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maqām Ibrāhīm.

deposed him and installed as king Marthad b. ‘Abd Kalāl, the brother of Tubba‘ on his mother’s side. He remained for 40 years.

Then Walī‘a b. Marthad ruled for 37 years.<sup>1294</sup>

Then Abraha b. al-Šabbāḥ ruled. He was one of the wisest and most learned<sup>1295</sup> of the kings of Yemen. His reign was 73 years.<sup>1296</sup>

Then ‘Amr b. Dhī Qayqān<sup>1297</sup> ruled.

Then Dhū l-Kalā‘ ruled.

Then Lakhī‘a Dhū Shanātir ruled, one of the foulest and most corrupt of the kings of Ḥimyar. He used to do as did the people of Lot.<sup>1298</sup> He would send for a youthful prince, disport himself with him, and then look out expectantly in an upper room of his with a toothstick in his mouth. Things went on like this until he sent for Dhū Nuwās b. As‘ad, to disport himself with him. Dhū Nuwās came in—he had a knife with him—and when the two were alone, Dhū Nuwās jumped on him, killed him, and cut off his head, which he set in the place from which the king liked to look out. When he came out, the soldiers at the gate shouted to him, “Dhū Nuwās, it wasn’t so bad, was it?” He said, “It was bad for the owner of the head.” So they looked, and there was the head; so they knew that he had killed him, and they made Dhū Nuwās king. The reign of Dhū Shanātir had lasted 27 years.

Then Dhū Nuwās b. As‘ad ruled—his real name was Zur‘a. He was arrogant and was “the Master of the Ditch.”<sup>1299</sup> This took place for the following reason:

1294 Ed. Leiden (C) and al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:199 (§1006), read 39 years; but M clearly reads 37.

1295 Emending to *a‘lamihim*. The MSS read *aghlaḏihim*, “the coarsest, crudest of them,” which does not fit the context. In M the word looks as if a careless scribe wrote *a‘lamihim*, “the most learned of them,” and then thoughtlessly added a stroke turning the *m* into a *ḏ* (undotted). This is the most likely reading, given that in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:199 (§1006), Abraha b. al-Šabbāḥ is called *‘allāma* (very learned).

1296 Ed. Leiden emends to 93, apparently on the basis of the parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:199 (§1006). However, the MSS clearly read 73, and al-Mas‘ūdī reads, “His reign was 93 years, but some have said it was less than that.”

1297 The MSS have Qay‘ān; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:199 (§1006) has Qayfān. The Leiden editor has emended on the basis of the reading in Ibn Badrūn.

1298 That is, he practiced sodomy. Cf. Qur‘ān 7:80.

1299 Arabic, *ṣāḥib al-ukhdūd*. The expression, in the plural (*aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd*, masters/people of the ditch) occurs in Qur‘ān 75:4 as part of a narrative usually interpreted to refer to the Christians martyred at Najrān in November 523 CE by Dhū Nuwās. Although other interpretations of the phrase are possible (see the article by Christian Julien Robin in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur‘ān*, s.v. [Al-]Ukhdūd), al-Ya‘qūbī clearly sees the Qur‘ānic story as referring to historical events during the reign of Dhū Nuwās.

Dhū Nuwās was an adherent of the Jewish religion, and a man named ‘Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir, a Christian, came to Yemen and openly professed his religion there. Whenever he saw someone sick or infirm, he would say, “I will pray to God for you, that He will cure you and that you will turn from | the religion of your people”—and He would do so. Thus the ranks of those who followed him swelled. When word of this reached Dhū Nuwās, he began to search out those who professed this religion, digging the ditch for them in the ground, burning them with fire and slaying them with the sword until he had exterminated them. But one of them made his way to the Negus, who was an adherent of the Christian religion, and the Negus sent an army to Yemen under the command of a man named Aryāt—they numbered 70,000, and with Aryāt in his army was Abraha al-Ashram.<sup>1300</sup> Dhū Nuwās marched out to confront him, and when they met, Dhū Nuwās was put to flight. When he saw that his forces had been scattered and put to flight, he struck his horse and plunged with it into the sea. This was the last that was ever seen of him. Dhū Nuwās had ruled for 68 years. 1:226

Aryāt the Ethiopian entered Yemen and remained there for several years. Then Abraha al-Ashram challenged his rule, and the Ethiopians became disunited: one party sided with Aryāt and the other with Abraha. They marched forth for war, each side rallying around its leader. When they met, Abraha said to Aryāt: “What do we gain, Aryāt, by killing the people between us? Come forth in single combat against me, and I against you, and whichever of us strikes down his opponent, to him the latter’s army shall return, leaving the latter.”<sup>1301</sup> So each one stepped forth to fight his opponent in single combat. Aryāt struck Abraha with his short spear and slashed him between the eyes, but then one of Abraha’s young men struck Aryāt a blow and killed him. The Ethiopians in Yemen agreed to accept Abraha; however, when word of this reached the Negus, he fell into a rage and swore that he would tread his land with his own feet unless he clipped off his forelock.<sup>1302</sup> So Abraha shaved his head and sent (the

1300 The name means “Abraha of the Split Nose,” and al-Ya’qūbī will soon mention the combat that caused this wound. See the article by Uri Rubin in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abraha.

1301 The Arabic has a tangle of pronouns. Literally: “... whichever of us strikes down his fellow, to him shall his army return from him.” The sense, however, is clear.

1302 The most obvious interpretation of al-Ya’qūbī’s wording of the story would be that the Ethiopian ruler vowed to occupy Yemen or else cut off his own forelock as a mark of failure and disgrace. However, the parallel in al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:200 (§1008), reads: “He swore by Christ that he would cut off his [viz. Abraha’s] forelock, spill his blood, and tread his soil, i.e., the land of Yemen.” Moreover, the continuation of the story in al-Ya’qūbī implies that the forelock to be clipped belonged to Abraha—“He (the Negus)

forelock) to the Negus, along with a sack of earth from his land, saying, “I am only your servant, as was Aryāt; we disagreed over who should exercise your authority, but each of us was obedient to you.” The Negus was satisfied with his response.

1:227 Sayf b. Dhī Yazan went to Qayṣar<sup>1303</sup> to raise an army to fight the Ethiopians; he waited there seven years for a reply. Then Qayṣar replied and said, “They are a people | who adhere to the Christian religion: I will not fight them.” Then he went to Kisrā,<sup>1304</sup> who sent him some prison inmates, along with a leader named Wahriz. He fought the Ethiopians, killed Abraha the Ethiopian, conquered the country, and made Sayf b. Dhī Yazan b. Dhī Aṣbaḥ king.<sup>1305</sup> Sayf was the one concerning whom Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt said:<sup>1306</sup>

No one truly seeks vengeance except Ibn Dhī Yazan:  
 he remained at sea for years because of his enemies.  
 He came to Heraclius<sup>1307</sup> when his own might had departed,  
 but he did not secure from him the matter of which he spoke.  
 Then he turned to Kisrā after a seventh year—  
 truly you went far, traveling resolutely—

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swore that he (the Negus) would tread his (Abraha's) land, or (else, i.e., unless) he (Abraha) clipped off his forelock (as a sign of disgrace).” In the Arabic, the use of the energetic mode instead of the subjunctive after *aw* in the sense of “unless” is unusual, but this seems to be the sense.

1303 “Caesar,” the generic term in Arabic for the Roman (Byzantine) emperor.

1304 That is, the Sasanian ruler of Iran.

1305 Another version of the story can be found in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:202–204 (§1015–1018); also al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:945–958.

1306 Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt was a pre-Islamic poet from the tribe of Thaḳīf who lived until the lifetime of Muḥammad. He is said to have been familiar with the Jewish and/or Christian scriptures and to have renounced idolatry. See GAS 2:298–300, and the article by J. E. Montgomery in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt. The poem quoted here is more usually ascribed to Umayya's father, Abū l-Ṣalt and can be found with variants and more verses in Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa-l-shuʿarāʾ*, 281; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 44; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:956–957 (translated by C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 249–250). One verse is given in al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 3:186, in the biography of Umayya, but with the note that the verse is really by Umayya's father, Abū l-Ṣalt, and a full discussion of the circumstances of its composition can be found in the biography of Abū l-Ṣalt in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 16:75.

1307 This is an apparent anachronism as Heraclius reigned 610–641 CE.

Until he came bringing the Sons of the Free,<sup>1308</sup> himself at their head.  
Hurry on! truly you hastened, much traveled.<sup>1309</sup>

At the beginning of their kingdom the kings of Yemen used to practice the religion of idol worship. Later they professed the religion of the Jews and recited the Torah; this was because some Jewish rabbis came to them and taught them the religion of Judaism. They did not leave Yemen except to raid (other) lands and then would return to the domain of their kingdom.

The districts of the land of Yemen are called *mikhhlāfs*,<sup>1310</sup> and they number 84. These are their names: al-Yaḥṣibayn,<sup>1311</sup> Yaklā, Dhīmār, Ṭamu', 'Iyān,<sup>1312</sup> Ṭamām, | Hamal, Qudam, Khaywān, [Sinhān, Rayḥān,]<sup>1313</sup> Jurash, Ṣa'da, al-Akhrūj, Mujayyah,<sup>1314</sup> Ḥarāz, Hawzan, Qufā'a, al-Wazīra, al-Ḥujr, al-Ma'āfir, 'Unna, al-Shawāfī, Jublān, Waṣāb, al-Sakūn, Shar'ab, al-Janad, Maswar, al-Thujja, al-Muzdara',<sup>1315</sup> Ḥayrān, Ma'rib, [Ḥaḍūr],<sup>1316</sup> 'Ulqān, Rayshān, Jayshān, al-Nihm, Baysh, Ḍankān, [Qurbā,]<sup>1317</sup> Qanawnā, Raniyya,<sup>1318</sup> Zanīf, al-'Ursh, al-Khaṣūf, al-Sā'id, Balja,<sup>1319</sup> al-Mahjam, al-Kadrā', al-Ma'qir, Zabīd, Rima', al-Rakb, Banī Majīd, Lahj, Abyan, al-Wādiayn,<sup>1320</sup> Alhān, Ḥaḍramawt, Muqrā,

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- 1308 Arabic, *Banū l-Aḥrār*, referring to the Persian forces who assisted in the expulsion of the Ethiopians from Yemen and then settled in the country. On the Persian term possibly underlying the Arabic, see Bosworth's note in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 249–250.
- 1309 The meaning of the second half of the verse is unclear, and the versions differ wildly, which is usually a sign of faulty transmission.
- 1310 Arabic *mikhhlāf* (pl. *makhhlāf*) is a geographic term specific to Yemen. It apparently is related to the Sabaic (Old South Arabian) term *kh.lf*, meaning “vicinity of a town.” See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mikhhlāf*. Al-Ya'qūbī gives a similar list in *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 317–318, where there is a more extensive critical apparatus. Both lists give only 74 districts.
- 1311 Thus M and *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 317. Houtsma accepted the variant “al-Yaḥḍibīn” in his edition of the *History*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, lists a *Mikhhlāf* al-Yaḥṣibiyyīn.
- 1312 Thus vocalized by Houtsma, who distinguishes it from the more common 'Ayyān, which he says is a different place, “although al-Ya'qūbī may have confused the two places” (note to *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 318).
- 1313 Added from the *Geography*.
- 1314 *Geography*, 318: Majnaḥ.
- 1315 *Geography*, 318: al-Mazra'.
- 1316 Added from the *Geography*.
- 1317 Not in M. Added by Houtsma in ed. Leiden, but on what basis is unclear, as the name is not in the *Geography*.
- 1318 Conjectural reading. *Geography*: Yaba.
- 1319 *Geography*, 318: Balḥa, which is Mawr.
- 1320 *Geography*, 319: Bayn al-Wādiayn.

1:229 Ḥays, Ḥaraḍ, al-Ḥaqlayn, ‘Ans, Banī ‘Āmir, Ma’dhin, Ḥumlān, Dhī | Jura, Khaw-lān, al-Sarw, al-Dathīna, Kubayba, and Tabāla.

Among the coastal districts are:<sup>1321</sup> ‘Adan, which is the port of Ṣan‘ā’, al-Mandab, Ghalāfiqa, al-Ḥirda, al-Sharja,<sup>1322</sup> ‘Aththar,<sup>1323</sup> al-Ḥamaḍa,<sup>1324</sup> al-Sir-rayn, and Judda.

These are the lands and regions of the kingdom of Yemen. Sometimes they invaded other lands, but then they would return to their own territory.

Yemen comprises many tribes, if the Quḍā’a are included among them. It has been reported that a man asked the Messenger of God, “Messenger of God, which are more numerous, Nizār or Qaḥṭān?”<sup>1325</sup> He replied, “(It depends on) what the Quḍā’a wish, and at this time the Quḍā’a assert that they are descendants of Malik [b.] Ḥimyar.”<sup>1326</sup>

Here are the main tribes of Yemen, along with those from Nizār—Quḍā’a, Judhām, Lakhm, Bajīla, and Khath‘am—who entered among them.<sup>1327</sup> The first whose name was memorialized and whose rank was acknowledged was SABA’ b. Yashjub b. Ya‘rub b. Qaḥṭān. Among his sons were KAHLĀN b. Saba’ and ḤIMYAR b. Saba’.

Among the tribes of KAHLĀN are:<sup>1328</sup>

- ṬAYYI’ b. Udad b. Zayd [b. ‘Arīb] b. Kahlān
- AL-ASH‘AR b. Udad b. Zayd

1321 Cf. the similar list in *Geography*, 319.

1322 *Geography*, 319: Sharja, which is Sharjat al-Qariṣ.

1323 *Geography*, 319: ‘Athr. Yāqūt gives ‘Aththar, but mentions the other vocalization.

1324 *Geography*, 319: al-Ḥasaba.

1325 That is, which are more numerous, the northern Arab tribes (descendants of Nizār) or the southern Arab tribes (descendants of Qaḥṭān)?

1326 That is, that they belong to the southern tribes, who outnumber the northern ones. On the differing opinions about the affiliation of the Quḍā’a, see the article by M. J. Kister in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Quḍā’a.

1327 Uncertainty about northern or southern affiliation could be a product of shifting political alliances. As C. E. Bosworth notes in his article “Djudhām” in *ET*<sup>2</sup>: “Djudhām: an Arab tribe which in Umayyad times claimed descent from Kahlān b. Saba’ of Yemen and relationship with Lakhm and ‘Āmila; this certainly corresponded with the prevailing political alliances. However, the north Arab tribes claimed that Djudhām, Quḍā’a and Lakhm were originally of Nizār but had later assumed Yemenī descent.” Bajīla and Khath‘am were also of notoriously uncertain ancestry (see the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Badjila).

1328 Cf. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:176.



- ‘ANS b. Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad
- JUDHĀM, LAKHM, and ‘ĀMILA, who were sons of ‘Amr b. ‘Adī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd
- [MADHḤIJ b. Udad b. Zayd] b. ‘Arīb b. Kahlān

Among the tribes of MADHḤIJ are:<sup>1329</sup>

- SA‘D AL-‘ASHĪRA b. Madhḥij
- MURĀD b. Madhḥij
- AL-NAKHA‘ b. ‘Amr | b. ‘Ula b. Jald b. Madhḥij
- ḤAKAM and JU‘FĪ, sons of Sa‘d al-‘Ashīra b. Madhḥij
- KHAWLĀN b. ‘Amr b. Sa‘d al-‘Ashīra b. Madhḥij
- ZUBAYD b. al-Ṣa‘b b. Sa‘d al-‘Ashīra b. Madhḥij
- HAMDĀN, whose name was Awsala b. Khiyār b. Rabī‘a b. Mālik [b. Zayd] b. Kahlān
- KHATH‘AM and BAJĪLA, sons of Anmār b. Arāsh<sup>1330</sup> b. ‘Amr b. al-Khiyār<sup>1331</sup> b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān
- [AL-AZD b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān]

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Among the tribes of AL-AZD are:<sup>1332</sup>

- ‘AKK b. ‘Udhthān<sup>1333</sup> b. al-Dīth b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Azd, although ‘Akk is also traced back to ‘Adnān b. Udad
- AL-‘ATĪK b. Asd b. ‘Amr b. al-Azd
- GHASSĀN, who was Māzin b. al-Azd

1329 Cf. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:258.

1330 The MSS here have Nizār, which is an interesting mistake, as Anmār sometimes is made the son of Nizār b. Ma‘add b. Adnān. However, the rest of the genealogy is the one normally traced from Anmār through Arāsh back to Kahlān.

1331 The MSS read al-Ḥibār, but the name is unknown to the genealogists. Read as al-Khiyār, although this man was the uncle, not the father of ‘Amr.

1332 Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:176.

1333 ‘Akk is another example of a tribe with two genealogies, one northern, one southern. ‘Udhthān (the link needed for a southern genealogy) and ‘Adnān (the link needed for the southern genealogy) have the same ductus in Arabic script, and M conveniently neglects to dot the letter that would distinguish them. As the southern genealogy is being asserted here, one should read ‘Udhthān. However, al-Dīth (if that is the correct reading) belongs to the northern genealogy; so the genealogy here seems confused. In his article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Akk, W. Caskel explains how the confusion may have arisen.

Among the tribes of GHASSĀN are:<sup>1334</sup>

- KHUZĀ'A, who was Rabī'a b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru' al-Qays b. Tha'laba b. Ghassān
- [...] <sup>1335</sup> b. Wādī'a b. 'Imrān b. 'Āmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru' al-Qays
- AL-AWS and AL-KHAZRAJ, sons of Ḥāritha b. Tha'laba [b. 'Āmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru' al-Qays b. Tha'laba] <sup>1336</sup> b. Ghassān <sup>1337</sup>

Among the tribes of ḤIMYAR are:

- QUḌĀ'A, who, according to what the genealogists claim, was [the son of] <sup>1:231</sup> Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān, and Nizār was given the *kunya* Abū Quḏā'a. <sup>1338</sup> |

[Among the tribes of QUḌĀ'A are:] <sup>1339</sup>

- NAHD b. Zayd b. Layth b. Sūd b. Aslum b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḏā'a
- JUHAYNA b. Zayd b. Layth b. Sūd b. Aslum b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḏā'a
- 'UDHRA b. Sa'd b. Zayd b. Layth b. Sūd b. Aslum b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḏā'a
- SALĪḤ b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḏā'a
- KALB b. Wabara b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān [b.] 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḏā'a
- AL-QAYN b. Jasn b. al-Asad b. Wabara b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān
- TANŪKH, who was Mālik b. Fahm b. Taym Allāh b. al-Asad b. Wabara b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān

These are the main tribes of QUḌĀ'A.

One of [the tribes descended from of] Ḥimyar b. Saba <sup>1340</sup> was AL-ṢADIF b. Sahl b. 'Amr b. Qays b. Mu'āwiya b. Jusham b. Wā'il b. 'Abd Shams b. al-Ghawth

<sup>1334</sup> Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:176.

<sup>1335</sup> Although there is no gap in the MSS, one or more names must have fallen out here.

<sup>1336</sup> Present in M, but omitted by haplography in C and therefore in ed. Leiden.

<sup>1337</sup> At this point, M and C insert in the margin a line of poetry by the Khazrajī poet Ḥassān b. Thābit, praising his tribe: "Ḥassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī said, 'We are the descendants of al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān, and are men of glorious deeds.'" The poem can be found in the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit, 1:482 (no. 320, v. 8).

<sup>1338</sup> A *kunya* is a name given to a man or woman on the basis of the person's first child. For a man it takes the form, Abū (Father of) N.; for a woman, Umm (Mother of) N. Of course, if one accepts this genealogy, Quḏā'a belonged to the northern Arabs, descendants of 'Adnān, and not to Ḥimyar at all.

<sup>1339</sup> Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:279.

<sup>1340</sup> Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:274.

b. Qaṭan b. ‘Arib b. Zuhayr b. al-Hamaysa’ b. Ḥimyar b. Saba’ b. Yashjub b. Ya‘rub b. Qaḥṭān. People in Ḥaḍramawt disagree about them. Some have said that they were one of the ancient peoples who became extinct, such as Ṭasm, Jadīs, ‘Imlāq, ‘Ād, Thamūd, ‘Abs al-Ūlā, Awbār, and Jurhum.<sup>1341</sup>

The dispersal of the people of Yemen in the various lands and their exodus from their homelands was because of the violent flood.<sup>1342</sup> According to what the transmitters have reported, this began when ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru’ al-Qays b. Tha‘laba b. Māzin b. al-Azd, who was leader of the tribe and a soothsayer,<sup>1343</sup> saw that the land of Yemen was going to be flooded. He therefore pretended to be angry at one of his sons, sold his dwellings, and departed with his family. | He made his way to the land of the ‘Akk, and then they moved on to Najrān, where the Madhḥij fought them. They then left Najrān and passed through Mecca, which was occupied in those days by the Jurhum, who fought them and drove them out of the territory. So they made their way to al-Juḥfa,<sup>1344</sup> and then moved on to Yathrib, where al-Aws and al-Khazraj, the sons of Ḥāritha b. Tha‘laba b. ‘Āmir, remained behind and were (later) joined by a group of the Azd other than the two sons of Ḥāritha, some of whom settled on the outskirts,<sup>1345</sup> while others entered with them, and so the Azd became dispersed in Yathrib.

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1341 In genealogical lore these tribes were the primordial Arabs, the first to speak Arabic after the confusion of tongues at Babel.

1342 Arabic, *al-sayl al-‘arim*: This refers to the rupture of the great dam at Ma‘rib, about 150 km east of Ṣan‘ā. The event will be mentioned again at ed. Leiden, 1:234. The dam, which supported a flourishing agriculture, had been breached several times before, but always repaired. The final breach, after which the dam fell into disuse, probably took place in the early 7th century. The syntax of the Arabic shows that by the time of al-Ya‘qūbī, the phrase *al-sayl al-‘arim* was understood as a noun plus an adjective, something like “the violent flood.” The Qur’ān, where the event is mentioned at 34:16, reads, *sayl al-‘arim*, “the flood of *al-‘arim*,” which led some commentators to treat al-‘Arim as a place-name. However, Yāqūt mentions that the word, according to some, meant “dam,” and this is confirmed by the Sabaean inscriptions, where *‘r:m* is the word for dam. See the article by W. W. Müller, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mārib, Ma‘rib.

1343 Arabic, *kāhin*. For a discussion of the development of the term and the functions of the *kāhin* in the Arabian milieu (mostly divining the future) see the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kāhin.

1344 Al-Juḥfa is a town near the Red Sea coast, about 150 km north of Mecca.

1345 Reading with M: *khalfan* (first letter undotted, but *tanwīn*, the suffix *-n*, clearly written). The term normally designates people who have left their tribal encampment to search for water, leaving their possessions behind, but the idea of contrasting those who settled outside the main part of the city and those who mingled with its earlier

Yathrib was the residence of the Jews, who quarreled with (the newcomers) and dominated them by their superior numbers. They overwhelmed them to the point that a Jew would come to the house of an Anṣārī,<sup>1346</sup> and the latter would not be able to protect his family and property from him. Finally, one of them, a man called al-Fiṭyawn, entered the house of Mālik b. al-ʿAjlān,<sup>1347</sup> and the latter attacked him and killed him. He then went to one of the kings of Yemen and complained to him about what they were enduring from the Jews. The king set out against them with his army and slaughtered many of the Jews. Thus the situation of the Aws and the Khazraj was set right. They planted date palms and built houses.

The rest of the people (led by ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir) headed on to Syria and eventually came to the land of al-Sarāt; the Azd Shanūʿa remained in al-Sarāt and the surrounding area, but some tribes of them went on to Oman.<sup>1348</sup> The first of them to arrive in Oman was Mālik b. Fahm b. Ghanm b. Daws b. ʿUdthān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Zahrān b. Kaʿb b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Azd. Mālik married a woman of the ʿAbd al-Qays, who bore him several sons. His youngest son is said to have killed him when he was with him among some of his camels: Mālik b. Fahm set out to make his rounds among the camels; his son looked up and, taking him for a thief, shot him with an arrow | and killed him. His mother was named Salīma. Mālik b. Fahm is reported to have said:

I taught him to shoot every day,  
and when his arm grew strong he shot me.

After the death of Mālik b. Fahm, (those already) in Oman were joined by a group of clans of the Azd, including al-Rabīʿa and ʿImrān, (who were the) Banū

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inhabitants seems to imply this translation. Ed. Leiden reads, *ḥulafāʾ*, “(they became) allies.”

1346 That is, one of the Aws or Khazraj—another example of the apparently anachronistic application of the term Anṣār (“helpers,” sc., of the Prophet Muḥammad) to the Aws and Khazraj even before the rise of Islam.

1347 Allusion has already been made to this incident at ed. Leiden, 1:223, above. Al-Yaʿqūbī leaves the reader to deduce from the phrase “and the latter would not be able to protect his family and property” that al-Fiṭyawn’s visit was not friendly; in fact, he intended to claim the *jus primae noctis* from Mālik’s sister, which explains Mālik’s attacking him.

1348 See Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:217a; also the article by G. Strenziok in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Azd. Note that al-Yaʿqūbī’s condensed narrative makes it seem that al-Sarāt was located in Syria; it was, in fact, located to the north of Yemen, but only as far north as the ʿAsīr highlands of western Arabia.

‘Amr b. ‘Udayy b. Ḥāritha b. ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir—these were Bāriq and Ghālib; also Yashkur b. Qays b. Ṣa‘b b. Duhmān, and groups from ‘Āmir and Ḥawāla. When they arrived in Oman, they spread as far as al-Baḥrayn and Hajar.

In the land of Tihāma lived the Azd tribe of al-Jadara, who were descendants of ‘Amr b. Khuzayma b. Jī‘thima b. Yashkur b. Mubashshir b. Ṣa‘b b. Duhmān b. Naṣr b. Zahrān b. Ka‘b b. al-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Azd. (They received their name) because ‘Amr built the wall of the Ka‘ba, and so was given the name al-Jādir.<sup>1349</sup> One group of them journeyed to Herat<sup>1350</sup> in the land of Khurāsān.

Ghassān set out for Syria and settled in al-Balqā’. A group of the Salīḥ was already in Syria; they had become tributaries of the Romans and had converted to Christianity. Ghassān asked them whether they could join them by doing the same; so the Salīḥ wrote to the emperor of the Romans, and he agreed that the Ghassān might do so. Afterward, their relations with the emperor’s governor in Damascus deteriorated, and the Roman ruler attacked them with a force of Quḍā’a Arabs on behalf of the Roman emperor. Ghassān requested a truce, and the emperor of the Romans agreed to this—the leader of Ghassān at that time was Jafna b. ‘Aliyya b. ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir. Ghassān converted to Christianity and remained in Syria, confirmed in their sovereignty by the Roman ruler.

Descendants of Ḥawāla | b. al-Hinw b. al-Azd made their way to al-Mawṣil 1:234 and settled there.

Seeing that their land would be flooded by the Dam of Ma‘rib (if it burst), the people of Yemen reinforced it and guarded it. But when God sent against them the mighty flood, the water burst through upon them from the burrow of a rat that had been digging in the dam and drowned them.

### The Kings of Syria

Syria was the domain of the kingdom of the Israelites. The first to rule in Damascus is said to have been Bālāgh b. Ba‘ūr. Then Yūbāb, who was Job the Righteous, the son of Zārah, ruled, and the events that God has related concerning him took place.<sup>1351</sup> Then Mīnasūs ruled—the Israelites made war

1349 That is, “the Wall-Builder.” *Jadara* is a plural of *jādir*. Cf. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:217, where this figure is named as ‘Āmir b. ‘Amr b. Jā‘thima.

1350 Arabic *Harāt*, in modern Afghanistan.

1351 Al-Ya‘qūbī’s insertion of Job into the list of the kings of Syria is based on two biblical passages, both in the Septuagint version, rather than the Masoretic text: Genesis 36:31–39 and Job 42:17a–e. Where the Hebrew text of Genesis 36:32 calls the first king “who

on them. Then Fūsīs,<sup>1352</sup> who was from Ludd, ruled. Then the kingdoms were interrupted, and there were the kings of Israel. Eventually they became extinct, the Romans conquered their kingdom, and the people left their territory.

The Quḍāʾā were the first of the Arabs to arrive in Syria. They went to the kings of the Romans, and the latter made them rulers. Initially the kingship belonged to (the tribe of) Tanūkh b. Mālik b. Fahm b. Taym Allāh b. al-Asad b. Wabara b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍāʾa. They adopted the Christian religion, and the king of the Romans made them rulers over the Arabs that were in Syria. The first of them to rule was al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAmr [b. Mālik; then] the Banū Salīḥ b. Ḥulwān | b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍāʾa overwhelmed them and remained in power for a time.

When the Azd dispersed, with elements of them going to Tihāma, Yathrib, Oman, and other lands, the Ghassān made their way to Syria and arrived in the land of al-Balqāʾ. They asked the Salīḥ whether they might join with them in offering their obedience to the king of the Romans and whether they might remain in the land according to the same terms of privileges and obligations as they had. So the head of the Salīḥ, who at the time was Duhmān b. al-ʿAmlaq, wrote to the king of the Romans, who at the time was \_\_\_\_\_,<sup>1353</sup> with his residence at Antioch. The latter agreed to their request and specified terms to which they had to adhere. They continued thus for a time, but then a dispute broke out between them and the king of the Romans over the tribute that the king of the Romans was collecting. Finally, a man of the Ghassān named Jidhʿ struck an agent of the king of the Romans with his sword and killed

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reigned in the land of Edom, before any king reigned over the Israelites,” Bela son of Beor, the Septuagint reading is Balak son of Beor, who corresponds to al-Yaʿqūbī’s Bālagh b. Baʿūr. The identification of his successor (Genesis 36:33), Jobab son of Zerah (al-Yaʿqūbī’s Yūbāb b. Zārah) with the biblical Job is based on Job 42:17b–d (Septuagint): “... previously his [viz. Iob’s] name was Iobab ... and he in turn had as father Zare, a son of the sons of Esau ... And these are the kings who reigned in Edom, which country he too ruled: first Balak the son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dennaba, and after Balak, Iobab, who is called Iob, and after him Hasom, who was a leader from the Thaimanite country, and after him Hadad son of Barad ...” (NETS Translation). Al-Yaʿqūbī, or his source, apparently identified Dennaba as Damascus. Parallel: al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:231 ff. (§ 1076 ff.).

1352 Or, Fawsīs: sic M, although the first letter is undotted and therefore the word might be read Qawsīs/Qūsīs. Ed. Leiden follows C in reading Hawṣīr.

1353 The reading in M is completely undotted and cannot be read. Ed. Leiden has *Nawshar* (vocalization uncertain), with a note suggesting a possible reading of Naṣṭūrus on the basis of a reference to Reiske’s 1847 *Primae lineae historiae regnorum Arabicorum et rerum ab Arabibus medio inter Christum et Muhammedem tempore gestarum*.

him; whereupon one of the Ghassān said, "Take from Jidh' whatever he gives you"—which became a proverb.<sup>1354</sup> The Roman governor thereupon launched a campaign against them. They kept fighting him for a long time in Buṣrā in the territory of Damascus; then they made their way to al-Muḥaffaf.<sup>1355</sup> When the king of the Romans saw how they endured war and resisted his armies, he did not want there to be a breach in their defenses.<sup>1356</sup> So when the tribesmen requested a truce, provided that no king from another people should rule them, the king of the Romans accepted these terms and made Jafna b. 'Aliyya b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir king over them. Relations between them and the Romans were good and harmony prevailed in their affairs. The first king from Ghassān to enjoy glory and fame after Jafna b. 'Aliyya was al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith | b. Ghadaḇ b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj b. Ḥāritha b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Tha'laba b. Ḥāritha b. 'Adī b. Imru' al-Qays b. Māzin b. al-Azd. After him there ruled al-Ḥārith al-Akbar<sup>1357</sup> b. Ka'b b. 'Aliyya b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir. This Ka'b was Jafna; he was the son of Māriya, and his mother Māriya was the daughter of 'Ādiyā b. 'Āmir. Then his brother, al-Ḥārith al-A'raj,<sup>1358</sup> who settled in the Jawlān, ruled. Then his brother al-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar<sup>1359</sup> ruled. Then Jabala b. al-Mundhir ruled. Then al-Ḥārith b. Jabala ruled. Then al-Ayham b. Jabala ruled, and then Jabala b. al-Ayham. Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir b. al-Ayham was made ruler of al-Urdunn; the residence of Jabala was Damascus. Concerning Jabala b. al-Ayham and his family, Ḥassān b. Thābit says:<sup>1360</sup>

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How magnificent the troop with whom I drank  
one day in Jilliḳ<sup>1361</sup> in days of old!

1354 The circumstances behind the proverb are as follows: The Roman tax collector, a member of the Salīḥ named Sabīṭ, refused to accept the sword that Jidh', one of the Ghassān, offered to him as a pawn in lieu of the tax payment, whereupon Jidh' unsheathed the sword and killed Sabīṭ. The proverb means something like, "Take whatever is offered to you, and don't press for more." See al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-Amthal*, s.v. *khudh*; also the article by Irfān Shahīd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salīḥ.

1355 Sic C and ed. Leiden (vocalization unknown); in M the word is completely undotted. The place is unknown. Houtsma's suggestion of al-Mukhaffiq is impossible, as that is in the eastern part of the Arabian peninsula, far from Damascus.

1356 That is, by alienating such valiant fighters who could be used to defend the Roman borderlands.

1357 That is, al-Ḥārith the Elder.

1358 That is, al-Ḥārith the Lame.

1359 That is, al-Ḥārith the Younger.

1360 The poem may be found in Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān* 1:74 no. 13 v. 7, 15, 11–13.

1361 Jilliḳ was a fertile and well-watered site 12 km south of Damascus; the Ghassānids made

Unsullied in honor, noble in reputation,  
 proud in bearing, men of the first rank.  
 The descendants of Jafna surrounded the grave of their forefather,  
 the grave of the noble, most excellent son of Māriya.  
 They are visited so often that their dogs do not growl,  
 and they do not bother to ask about the approaching figure.<sup>1362</sup>  
 To the one who arrives at al-Barīṣ to join them  
 they serve water of Baradā mixed with smoothest wine.<sup>1363</sup>

### The Yemenite Kings of al-Ḥira

The transmitters and scholars have said that when the people of Yemen dispersed, Mālik b. Fahm b. Ghanm b. Daws pressed on until he settled in Iraq in the days of the factional rulers.<sup>1364</sup> He encountered Arab tribesmen of the

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Maʿadd and other tribes | in al-Jazīra, and they made him king for twenty years. Then came Jadhīma al-Abrash.<sup>1365</sup> He practiced divination and fashioned two idols called al-Ḍayzanān. He attracted various Arab clans to his ranks and proceeded with them to the land of Iraq, where lay the territory of Iyād b. Nizār, whose domains extended from the land of al-Jazīra to the land of al-Baṣra.<sup>1366</sup>

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it into a major encampment. The village of Kiswa now occupies the site. See the article by Nikita Elisséeff in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djillik*.

1362 The verse praises their generosity. So many guests come to them that their watchdogs no longer growl at the approach of a visitor, and they themselves grant hospitality without asking who the visitor is.

1363 Al-Barīṣ and Baradā are rivers of Damascus.

1364 Arabic, *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*. The term is more familiar from the history of Muslim Spain, where it designated the regional rulers (*reyes de taifas*) who emerged after the decline of the Córdoba caliphate. The term as used here refers to the regional rulers of the east during the Parthian or Arsacid period. According to the accounts in Arabic historians (see, for example, al-Yaʿqūbī's account, ed. Leiden, 1:179), Alexander the Great, having defeated Darius, appointed local rulers over each district of the dismembered Persian empire, and these local rulers, called *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, continued to govern until the rise of the Sasanian dynasty under Ardashīr in 538 CE. See the article by M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif*.

1365 The name means Jadhīma the Speckled (a euphemism for leper). He apparently was a historical figure of the third century CE, although many legends have been attached to his name. According to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:213 (§ 1037), Jadhīma was the son of Mālik b. Fahm. See the article by I. Kavar in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djadhīma al-Abrash* or *al-Waḍḍāḥ*.

1366 That is, all of central and southern Iraq.



The latter fought Jadhīma, but he managed to advance as far as a district called Baqqa on the banks of the Euphrates near al-Anbār. The district was ruled by a woman named al-Zabbā', who had utterly renounced (sexual relations with) men.<sup>1367</sup> When Jadhīma came to the land of al-Anbār and his forces joined him there, he said to his companions, "I have decided to send word to al-Zabbā', so that I might marry her and join her kingdom [to] mine." A retainer of his named Qaṣīr<sup>1368</sup> said to him, "If al-Zabbā' were a woman who married men, someone would have gotten to her before you." But Jadhīma wrote to her, and she wrote back to him, saying, "Come to me and I will make you my husband." He therefore set out to go to her. Qaṣīr said to him: "I have never seen a man before you being led in procession to a woman.<sup>1369</sup> Here is your mare al-ʿAṣā; I have readied her, so mount her and save yourself!" But Jadhīma did not do it. When he came into the presence of al-Zabbā', she exposed her thigh and said, "Do you see (here) the behavior of a bride?" He said, "(I see) the behavior of a treacherous, uncircumcised whore." Al-Zabbā' then cut him to pieces, and Qaṣīr rode the mare al-ʿAṣā to safety.

When Jadhīma was killed, his sister's son, ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Naṣr b. Rabīʿa b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmam b. Numāra b. Lakhm, took his place as king. Qaṣīr said to ʿAmr, "Don't *you* disobey me!" "Say whatever you think best," replied ʿAmr. | Qaṣīr said, "Chop off the end of my nose, cut off my ears, and then leave me (to do as I think best)." So ʿAmr did this. Qaṣīr then went to al-Zabbā' and said: "I was a sincere advisor to Jadhīma as I saw best and to ʿAmr, his sister's son, to the point that I made him king—and my reward from him was that he did to me what you see! So I have come to you to be of service to you; hopefully God will cause ʿAmr to be killed by your hand." He kept deceiving her until she sent him on trading journeys, from which he returned time after time with

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1367 Al-Zabbā' is the Arabic form of the name of Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra whose rule ended with her defeat by the Roman emperor Aurelian in 272 CE. Her story, embellished with novelistic and sensational details, occurs also in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:217–223 (§1046–1057) and al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:756–768. An attempt to extricate fact from fiction was made by Irfan Shahīd in his article in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Zabbā'.

1368 Qaṣīr b. Saʿd b. ʿUmar became famous in Arabic lore as the type of the clever but disregarded advisor, and many proverbs were attributed to him.

1369 The Arabic refers to the ancient custom of leading the bride in a solemn procession (*zaffa*) to the bridegroom. Qaṣīr is drawing attention to the ominous reversal of roles implicit in Jadhīma's traveling to the residence of al-Zabbā', whose reputation as a hater of men must have been known. In the parallel accounts, al-Zabbā' initiates matters as part of an elaborate plot by her to take vengeance for her father's battlefield death at the hands of Jadhīma.

great profits. Pleased by this, she began to trust him. When her trust in him was complete, he went to ‘Amr and said, “Seat the men in the chests.”<sup>1370</sup> So he loaded four thousand men armed with swords onto two thousand camels and brought them into al-Zabbā’s city—‘Amr was among them. He distributed the chests among the houses of her companions and brought several of them into her residence. When night fell, the men emerged and killed al-Zabbā’ and many of her courtiers. ‘Amr b. ‘Adī ruled for 55 years.

[Then Imru’ al-Qays b. ‘Amr ruled for 35 years.]<sup>1371</sup>

Then his brother, al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amr, ruled for 87 years.

Then ‘Amr b. Imru’ al-Qays b. ‘Amr b. ‘Adī ruled for 40 years.

Then al-Mundhir b. Imru’ al-Qays—he was Muḥarriq<sup>1372</sup>—ruled. He was given this name because he took a group of men who had made war on him and burned them, and so he was called Muḥarriq.

Then al-Nu‘mān ruled. He was the one who built al-Khawarnaq.<sup>1373</sup> One day while he was sitting there gazing out at what lay before him—the Euphrates and the date palms, gardens, and trees beside it—he remembered death and said, “Of what use will this be when death descends and one departs this world?” He therefore became an ascetic and renounced his kingdom. It was to him that ‘Adī b. Zayd was referring when he said:<sup>1374</sup> |

Consider the lord of al-Khawarnaq, how he gazed out  
one day—and part of right guidance is taking thought.  
His state made him rejoice: all that he ruled,  
and the broad river, and al-Sadīr.<sup>1375</sup>

1370 That is, put the warriors into the chests (*ṣanādiq*) normally used to hold merchandise, so that when al-Zabbā’ sees the loaded camels she will think that Qaṣīr is returning from another successful trading journey.

1371 Inserted by the Leiden editor.

1372 That is, Burner.

1373 A palace in southern Iraq about 2 km east of Najaf. Built by the Sasanians in the fifth century, it was renowned among the Arab tribes of the region. It was enlarged and used by the early ‘Abbāsids, but was probably already in ruins by al-Ya‘qūbī’s time. See G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 75–76; also the article by Louis Massignon in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khawarnaq*.

1374 ‘Adī b. Zayd (d. c. 600) was a pre-Islamic Christian poet of al-Ḥīra in southern Iraq who was for a time in the service of the Sasanians. The lines are part of a longer poem cited in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 2:36, and in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:853–854. See the articles by F. Gabrieli in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Adī b. Zayd, and by Tilman Seidensticker in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Adī b. Zayd.

1375 Another palace near Khawarnaq. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 75;

But his heart became troubled, and he said:

“What delight can there be for a living creature fated to die?”

After him, Mundhir b. al-Nu‘mān ruled for 30 years. Then ‘Amr b. al-Mundhir ruled. He was the one in whose presence al-Ḥārith b. Ḥālim killed Khālid b. Ja‘far b. Kilāb. (‘Amr) vowed to shed his blood and went in search of him; al-Ḥārith therefore went in search of his son, who was being nursed among the Āl Sinān, and killed him.

Then ‘Amr b. Mundhir the Second ruled. He was the son of Hind and was nicknamed Muḍarriṭ al-Ḥijāra.<sup>1376</sup> He divided time into two kinds of days: a day for hunting and a day for drinking. When he sat down to drink, the people would have to stand waiting at his door until his drinking party broke up. On this subject Ṭarafa b. al-‘Abd said:<sup>1377</sup>

Would that we had, instead of King ‘Amr,

a little goat bleating around our camp!

You have divided your time into a time for ease—

thus time is (always going back and forth between) being just or unjust.

We have one day and the stone curlew<sup>1378</sup> another:

the wretched ones can fly off, but we cannot fly.<sup>1379</sup>

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Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2:50–91; and the article by Louis Massignon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khawarnaq*.

1376 This ‘Amr was frequently called ‘Amr b. Hind to distinguish him from other members of his ruling house. The nickname Muḍarriṭ al-Ḥijāra (he who makes stones emit [sounds like] farts) was said to have been given to him because of the fear he inspired (so Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:405). See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Amr b. Hind.

1377 Ṭarafa b. al-‘Abd was a famous pre-Islamic poet. Little is known about his life, beyond the much embroidered story of his premature death. The poem (No. 9 in Seligsohn’s edition of the *Dīwān*) is satirical. A later hand has added two verses in the margin of the MSS of al-Ya‘qūbī; they have been omitted here as unlikely to belong to the original text of al-Ya‘qūbī’s History. See *GAS* 2:115–118, and the article by J. E. Montgomery in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭarafa.

1378 Arabic, *kirwān* or *karwān*. The designation for several members of the family of thick-knees (Burhinidae), birds of arid habitats. Because of the plaintive call of the Egyptian member of the family, the birds are well-known in rural folklore to this day in the Middle East.

1379 This alludes to the fact that on his hunting days ‘Amr b. Hind would kill the first man that he encountered.

As for their day, it is a day of evil:  
 the falcons pursue them in the lowland.  
 As for our day, we remain on our mounts  
 waiting, neither alighting nor departing.

1:240 Ṭarafa kept satirizing ‘Amr and his brother Qābūs, referring to them in vile terms, while composing amorous verses about ‘Amr’s sister and defaming her. Among the things he said about ‘Amr was:<sup>1380</sup>

The vilest of kings are all well-known,  
 and the basest of them in filth are  
 ‘Amr, and Qābūs, and the son of their mother.  
 The one who comes to them will be detained for foul abuse.  
 He who comes is someone who does not fear his own shame:  
 ‘Amr and Qābūs are two brides’ slaves.<sup>1381</sup>  
 In the morning ‘Amr goes about his business,  
 having shaken, as a mare, what belongs to a man.<sup>1382</sup>

Al-Mutalammis was an ally of Ṭarafa and used to assist him in composing satires. ‘Amr said to them, “You two have stayed as guests for a long time, and I am out of money here; but I have written on your behalf to my governor in al-Baḥrayn to give each of you 100,000 dirhams.” So each of them took a letter. Al-Mutalammis became suspicious of ‘Amr’s intentions, and when they reached the canal at al-Ḥīra and met a young Christian lad, al-Mutalammis asked him, “Are you good at reading?” “Yes,” he said. Al-Mutalammis said, “Read this letter.” Lo and behold it said: “When al-Mutalammis reaches you, cut off his hands and feet.” So al-Mutalammis threw away the letter and said to Ṭarafa, “Your letter

1380 The poem does not occur in the *Dīwān* of Ṭarafa. Seligsohn added it in an appendix to his edition and attempted a translation (p. 83), but much, apart from the poem’s obscenity and its imputation of homosexuality to ‘Amr and Qābūs, remains unclear. A recent attempt to deal with the poem is a useful commentary by Sa’di al-Ḍināwī in his *Sharḥ Dīwān Ṭarafa b. al-‘Abd*, 166–167.

1381 Arabic, *qaynatā ‘urusin*, slave girls who look after the bride’s dwelling and wedding outfit—an accusation of weakness and effeminacy.

1382 Arabic, *wa-qad khaḍkhaḍa mā li-l-rijālī ka-l-farasī*. The sense is uncertain. It may mean that ‘Amr has been “mounted” as a mare by a stallion. Al-Ḍināwī, *loc. cit.*, suggests reading *ka-l-farisī*, “like one who desires to be covered,” but the particular form he suggests, *faris*, is not given by the dictionaries.

contains the same.” But Ṭarafa said, “He would not dare to treat my tribe in such a manner; I am more powerful in that land than ‘Amr.” Ṭarafa therefore continued to the governor of al-Baḥrayn, who, when he read the letter, cut off his hands and feet and crucified him.

Then his brother Qābūs b. al-Mundhir ruled, and then al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir (ruled) for four years.

These kings ruled on behalf of the Persian shahs,<sup>1383</sup> to whom they rendered obedience and submitted tax payments. The tribes of Ma‘add were united against them, and the most obstinate in the opposition were the Ghaṭafān and the Asad b. Khuzayma. A man of the Ma‘add would come to them | as a visitor, and they would welcome and honor him; such visits by tribal dignitaries included al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-‘Absī, al-Ḥārith b. Ḍālim al-Murrī, Sinān b. Abī Ḥāritha, and the poet al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī. The kings used to glorify the poets and exalt their rank because of how the latter gave them lasting glory and fame. Al-Nābigha was the foremost of the poets in the eyes of these kings, but then he made an amorous allusion to the wife of al-Mundhir in the ode of his in which he says:<sup>1384</sup>

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The veil fell, though she had not meant to drop it;  
then she reached for it and warded us off with her hand.

Al-Mundhir swore to shed al-Nābigha's blood, and the latter fled to Syria to the kings of the Ghassān. Later he begged forgiveness from al-Mundhir in a poem of his in which he says:<sup>1385</sup>

You are like the night that will overtake me  
even if I imagine that the place distant from you is spacious.

He also said:<sup>1386</sup>

1383 Arabic, *al-akāsira*, the plural of *kisrā*. Originally a proper name (Persian, Khusraw) in Arabic it was used as a title for all the Persian rulers of the Sasanian dynasty. Since “Kisrās” is awkward in English, the more common “shahs” has been substituted in the translation.

1384 Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, *Dīwān*, 147, v. 1; Arazi and Masalha, *Six Early Arab Poets*, 6, v. 4.

1385 Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, *Dīwān*, 84, v. 2; Arazi and Masalha, *Six Early Arab Poets*, 12, v. 2.

1386 Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, *Dīwān*, 29, v. 3; Arazi and Masalha, *Six Early Arab Poets*, 4, v. 19.

I was told that Abū Qābūs<sup>1387</sup> threatened me—  
and who can feel safe when he hears the lion's roar?

1:242 Allied with al-Mundhir was a family of the tribe of Imru' al-Qays b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, and one member of this family was 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī, an orator and poet who could write both Arabic and Persian.<sup>1388</sup> Al-Mundhir had placed his son al-Nu'mān among them; they provided him with a wet-nurse, and he was under their protection. The Persian shah wrote to al-Mundhir to send him a group of Arabs to translate documents for him, and so al-Mundhir sent him 'Adī b. Zayd and two of his brothers, who joined the ranks of the shah's secretaries and translated for him. When al-Mundhir died, the shah asked 'Adī b. Zayd, "Does anyone remain from this family | who would make a good king?" "Yes," replied 'Adī, "al-Mundhir had thirteen sons, any of whom would be suitable for what the king intends." So he sent to have them brought, and they proved to be among the handsomest of [al-Mundhir's] family, except al-Nu'mān, who was ruddy, freckled, and short. He had been raised by the family of 'Adī b. Zayd, and his mother was a captive named Salmā, who was said to be from the Kalb. 'Adī b. Zayd gave each of them lodging by himself, but he gave preference in lodging to al-Nu'mān's brothers over al-Nu'mān, making it appear to them that he had no hopes for al-Nu'mān. He would speak privately with each them, saying: "If the king asks you, 'Can you manage the Arabs for me?' say to him, 'No one can manage them for you but al-Nu'mān.'" <sup>1389</sup> To al-Nu'mān he said: "If the king

<sup>1387</sup> Abū Qābūs was the *kunya* of al-Mundhir.

<sup>1388</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī here begins his narrative of the events that led up to the battle of Dhū Qār. Parallels: al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:225–227 (§1065–1069); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1015–1037; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 2:38–43; see also the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhū Qār.

<sup>1389</sup> Sic M, but there is a textual problem. The reading in M looks like the negative *lan*, followed by a verb whose first letter appears to be *yā'*, rather than *nūn* as in ed. Leiden. The sense, which has been followed in this translation, would therefore be, "No one can manage them for you but al-Nu'mān." The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1017–1018, lacks the negative and reads the verb in the 1st person plural (initial *nūn*), yielding, "We can manage them, except al-Nu'mān." And in fact these are the very words that the brothers say in al-Ya'qūbī's account to the king when they come before him. But even if one deletes the offending *lan* in the first occurrence, the meaning is ambiguous. To what does the exception refer? Is it, "We, except al-Nu'mān, can manage them?" or, "We can manage them, except al-Nu'mān, whom we cannot manage?" Nöldeke in his 1879 translation of this section of al-Ṭabarī opted for the latter and put al-Nu'mān into the accusative case (Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 315). The clearest explanation of what is going on can be found in the parallel in *Kitāb al-*

asks you about your brothers, say to him, 'If I am incapable of managing them, I am even less capable of managing the Arabs.'"

Now among the sons of al-Mundhir there was a man named al-Aswad. His mother was from the Banū l-Ribāb, and he was an impressive man. He had been raised by a family from al-Ḥīra called the Banū Marīnā, who were notables. One of them was a man named 'Adī b. Aws b. Marīnā, who was a troublemaker and a poet. He would say to al-Aswad b. al-Mundhir, al-Nu'mān's brother: "You know that I want the best for you. What I want and desire is that you do the opposite of whatever 'Adī b. Zayd says, for, by God, he never gives you sincere advice." But al-Aswad paid no heed to what he said.

When the shah ordered 'Adī to admit them into his presence, he did so one by one, and the shah saw men whose like he had never seen before. When he asked them, "Can you manage for me what you used to manage?" they said, "We will manage the Arabs for you, except al-Nu'mān." When al-Nu'mān came into his presence, he saw an ill-favored<sup>1390</sup> man, and he spoke to him, saying, "Can you manage the Arabs for me?" "Yes," he replied. "And how will you | deal with your brothers?" asked the shah. He replied, "If I am incapable of managing them, I am even less capable of dealing with anyone else." So the shah made him king, gave him a robe of honor, and dressed him in pearls. When al-Nu'mān emerged, having been made king, 'Adī b. Aws b. Marīnā said to al-Aswad, "Here is the result of your acting against good advice!"

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Al-Nu'mān went forth having been made king despite 'Adī b. Marīnā. The latter commanded certain of al-Nu'mān's courtiers and companions to make references before him to 'Adī b. Zayd. They were to say that 'Adī b. Zayd was claiming that the king was his underling, that he himself had brought him to power, that but for him he would never have come to power, and such things.

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*Aghānī*, 2:22–23, which makes it clear that 'Adī from the beginning favored al-Nu'mān and arranged an elaborate deception, beginning with the better lodging he gave to the other brothers. In the *Aghānī* account, 'Adī sends word to al-Nu'mān, saying, "I intend to make no one else but you king; do not be put off by the preference I am going to give your brothers over you in accommodation, for I am going to deceive them by it." 'Adī instructed the brothers to dress in their finest clothing and display their best table manners in the king's presence. When he asked whether they could take care of the Arabs, they were to say yes; and when he asked them what they would do if one of them became disobedient, they were to show their prowess by saying that none of them would be strong enough to deal with another. Al-Nu'mān, on the contrary, was instructed to wear dusty traveling clothes, wolf his food, and boast of his ability to deal with his brothers. The ruse paid off, and the king chose the rough-looking al-Nu'mān.

1390

Ed. Leiden follows the MSS in reading *wasīman*, "handsome," but surely this is a copyist's error for the reading in al-Ṭabarī and the *Aghānī*, *damīman*, "ugly, ill-favored."

They spoke incessantly in the presence of al-Nu‘mān, provoking his irritation and anger against ‘Adī b. Zayd. Al-Nu‘mān therefore wrote to ‘Adī, “I enjoin you to come and visit me.” So ‘Adī took leave of the shah and came to him. When he reached al-Nu‘mān, the latter ordered him to be cast into a prison where no one could have access to him. Now ‘Adī had two brothers at the shah’s court, one named Ubayy, the other Sumayy. Both were at the shah’s court—one rejoicing over his destruction, the other desiring his welfare. ‘Adī began to compose poetry in his place of confinement, appealing to al-Nu‘mān’s compassion, reminding him of inviolability (as a guest), and admonishing him with the example of kings of the past. But none of this did him any good. His enemies from the Marīnā family took to provoking al-Nu‘mān against him by saying to him, “If he gets away, he will kill you and be the cause of your destruction.”

Having despaired of meeting with any good at the hands of al-Nu‘mān, ‘Adī wrote to his brother:

Carry this word to Ubayy, however far he may be—  
     for sometimes what a man has learned can kill him<sup>1391</sup>—  
 That your brother, the dear one of your heart,  
     about whom you were so solicitous while he was safe,  
 Is in the hands of a king, bound with iron,  
     whether justly or unjustly.  
 May you not be found to be like a woman with a child  
     who when she finds no one to suck (her breast) sucks it herself.<sup>1392</sup>  
 Stay where you are! Stay where you are! If you come to us  
     you will sleep a sleep in which there is no dream.<sup>1393</sup>

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He also wrote to his son, ‘Amr b. ‘Adī, who enjoyed the shah’s favor:

For whom does a night become long on account of a prisoner,  
     distressful because he is riven with penetrating grief?  
 What is the iniquity of a man with fetters on his neck,  
     and on his legs long links of chains?

1391 Thus in M. The more common reading of the second part of the line (al-Ṭabarī and the *Aghānī*) is: “and is what a man has come to know of any use to him?”

1392 The simile is proverbial for someone who undertakes a task incumbent on someone else. The point is that Ubayy should not come himself to al-Nu‘mān’s court to seek his brother’s release. The line is discussed in al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, ccclix.

1393 That is, you will die.



May your mother, O 'Amr, be bereaved of you after me!  
 Will you sit while I am bound, and not go on the attack?  
 Does it not grieve you that your father is a miserable captive  
 and you are all on your own? May a ghou! make off with you!  
 A daughter of al-Qayn b. Jasn<sup>1394</sup> sings to you in madness,  
 and wine is your companion.  
 Were you the prisoner—may you not be so!—  
 Then all of Ma'add would know what I have to say.  
 If I perish, I have conferred great benefit upon my people,  
 all of it good and fine.  
 I have not fallen short in the quest for achievements,  
 whether the fate of death cuts me short or grants long life.

So his brother and his son and those on their side went to the shah and spoke to him about 'Adī, and the shah wrote a letter to al-Nu'mān, commanding him to release 'Adī, and dispatched a messenger with it. Ubayy b. Zayd asked the messenger to begin by (visiting) 'Adī. So the messenger began by (visiting) 'Adī, who said to him, "If you leave me, I shall be killed." "Certainly not," replied the messenger, "al-Nu'mān will not dare to defy the king." Meanwhile, al-Nu'mān received word that the shah's messenger had gotten to 'Adī; so when the messenger left 'Adī, al-Nu'mān sent someone to kill 'Adī, pressing a pillow over 'Adī's face until he died. Then al-Nu'mān told the messenger that 'Adī had already died; he gave him gifts and rewards and gained assurances from him that all he would tell the shah was that he had found 'Adī dead. Then al-Nu'mān wrote to the shah to inform him that 'Adī had died.

'Amr b. 'Adī used to translate documents for the shah. | Now the shah sought a slave girl; he gave a description of the kind of girl he wanted, but none could be found for him. So 'Amr b. 'Adī b. Zayd said to him, "O King, your servant al-Nu'mān has more daughters and female relations of [this description] than the king could ever desire, but he holds himself superior to the king and claims to be better than he." So the shah sent to al-Nu'mān, commanding him to send him his daughter, so that he might marry her. Al-Nu'mān said, "Are there not among the wide-eyed ones<sup>1395</sup> of the Sawād and Persia enough to meet the needs of the king?" When the messenger returned, he told the shah what al-Nu'mān had said. The shah asked, "What does he mean by 'wide-eyed ones'?" 'Amr b. 'Adī

1:245

1394 That is, a singing girl.

1395 Arabic, *ṭn*, a poetic epithet for the largest of the antelopes, the *mahāh*, considered as a type of feminine gracefulness and beauty.

b. Zayd replied, “He means cows,<sup>1396</sup> so as to avoid sending his daughter to the king.” Furious at this, the shah said, “Many a servant has risen to greater heights than he, but has come to ruin in the end.”

When word of this reached al-Nu‘mān, he prepared himself. The shah held back from him for a month, and then he wrote to him to come to him. Knowing what the shah had in mind, al-Nu‘mān took up his weapons and whatever else he could carry and made his way to the two mountains of the Ṭayyi’—he was married to Su‘dā bt. Ḥāritha<sup>1397</sup>—and asked the Ṭayyi’ for protection from the shah, but they said, “We have no power against him.” So he departed. All the Arab tribes refused to receive him; so in the end he encamped in the valley of Dhū Qār in the territory of the Banū Shaybān. There he met Hānī’ b. Mas‘ūd b. ‘Amir b. ‘Amr b. Abī Rabī‘a b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān. He gave him his weapons, entrusted him with his daughter and the other women of his family, and then he made his way to the shah and presented himself at his gate. The shah ordered that he be bound in chains and sent to Khāniqīn.<sup>1398</sup> ‘Amr b. ‘Adī b. Zayd met him and said, belittling him, “Nu‘aym,<sup>1399</sup> | I have fastened for you tethering stakes that only a wild young stallion could uproot.”<sup>1400</sup> Al-Nu‘mān replied, “I hope ...”<sup>1401</sup> When he was brought to Khāniqīn, he was cast under the feet of elephants and trampled to death and then given to the lions to eat.

1396 Arabic, *baqar*. This is the ordinary word for domestic cattle. In a way, this is correct, as the *mahāh* is also called “wild cow,” but by leaving out “wild” ‘Amr cleverly turns a poetic way of referring to graceful women into an insult.

1397 She was from the tribe of Ṭayyi’ and therefore al-Nu‘mān could claim protection. Cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 329, n. 2.

1398 A town about 160 km northeast of present-day Baghdad, on the border between modern Iraq and Iran. The point was to take him far from his former sphere of influence in southern Iraq.

1399 Nu‘aym is the diminutive of al-Nu‘mān, and its use here is meant as an insult.

1400 There is a play on words here. Arabic *ākhiyya* (pl. *awākhin*) is a stake with a tether firmly sunk into the ground so that an animal tied to it cannot escape, but metaphorically it is a sacred right that cannot be escaped, i.e., the son’s right and duty to avenge his father’s murder. The parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:227 (§ 1068), reads, “I have fastened for you a tethering stake that a wild young stallion could not uproot.”

1401 There is no lacuna, but the text and the meaning are so opaque that one can only conjecture the meaning. A rough stab at a translation and interpretation, accepting the emendation of the Leiden editor, is, “I hope that you have yoked to it a camel that is pregnant.” This would be a kind of prophetic reference made by al-Nu‘mān at the point of death to the coming battle of Dhū Qār, in which the Arabs, by defeating the Persians, will symbolically avenge the death of al-Nu‘mān. Unfortunately, none of the parallels includes this riposte by al-Nu‘mān.

The shah sent word to Hānī' b. Mas'ūd, saying, "Send me the property of my servant that you have, as well as his weapons and daughters." When Hānī' did not do it, the shah sent an army against him. The Rabī'a assembled and the battle of Dhū Qār took place. The Arabs tore the Persians to pieces, and this was the first time that the Arabs triumphed over the Persians. It has been transmitted from the Messenger of God that he said, "This was the first day<sup>1402</sup> on which the Arabs obtained their just due from the Persians, and it was because of me that they were given victory."

### The War of Kinda

There were wars between the Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt that wiped out most of them. Kinda rallied around two men, one of whom was Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. al-Nu'mān b. Wahb. Leading the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya was 'Amr b. Zayd, and Shuraḥbīl b. al-Ḥārith led the Sakūn. The Ḥaḍramawt rallied around several leaders, including Mas'ar b. Musta'ir, Salāma b. Ḥujr, Sharāḥīl b. Murra, and others after these. All these leaders passed away, but the war among (their followers) persisted, and their men perished.<sup>1403</sup> It lasted so long that it ground them down—the killing was especially great among the Kinda. The Ḥaḍramawt took as their king 'Alqama b. Tha'lab, who was only a boy at the time, so the Kinda | relented somewhat and were loathe to fight the Ḥaḍramawt. The people of Yemen<sup>1404</sup> passed into a state of dispersal and fragmentation, and when they scattered and spread through the lands, each group made its leader their king. 1:247

When the Kinda reached the territory of the Ma'add, they allied with them. Then they took as their ruler—the first of their kings—a man called Murti' b. Mu'āwiya b. Thawr. He ruled for twenty years.

Then his son Thawr b. Murti' became king, but he lasted only a short time before he died.

After him, Mu'āwiya b. Thawr became king.

Then al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya became king; his reign lasted forty years.

Then Wahb b. al-Ḥārith ruled for twenty years.

1402 That is, battle-day.

1403 Reading with M: *wa-faniyat rijāluhum*; ed. Leiden emends unnecessarily to *wa-fattanāt rijālahum* (and it [sc. the war] tested their men).

1404 That is, the tribes claiming "southern" descent.

Then Ḥujr b. ‘Amr Ākil al-Murār<sup>1405</sup> ruled for twenty-three years. He was the one who created the alliance between the Kinda and the Rabī’a. Their alliance took place at al-Dhanā’ib.

Then ‘Amr b. Ḥujr ruled after him for forty years. He, along with the Rabī’a, raided Syria. Al-Ḥārith b. [Abī] Shamir<sup>1406</sup> encountered him [in battle] and killed him.

Then al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amr ruled after him—his mother was the daughter of ‘Awf b. Muḥam<sup>1407</sup> al-Shaybānī.<sup>1408</sup> He settled in al-Ḥira and divided his kingdom among his sons, who were four in number: Ḥujr, Shuraḥbīl, Salama al-Ghalfā’, and Ma’dikarib. He made Ḥujr king of the Asad and Kināna; Shuraḥbīl king of the Ghanm, Ṭayyī’, and al-Ribāb; Salama al-Ghalfā’ king [of the Taghlib and al-Namir b. Qāsīt; and Ma’dikarib king]<sup>1409</sup> of the Qays b. ‘Aylān. They used to compete for superiority with the kings of al-Ḥira. When al-Ḥārith was killed, his sons arose with whatever forces they could muster and determined to fight al-Mundhir until they had taken their due from him.<sup>1410</sup> When al-Mundhir saw that they were gaining mastery over the land of the Arab tribes, he became jealous of them on this account and provoked conflict among them. He sent presents to Salama al-Ghalfā’, and then guilefully sent someone | to Shuraḥbīl who told him, “Salama is more important than you; look at these presents that are coming to him from al-Mundhir!” So he waylaid (the caravan bringing) the presents and seized them. (Al-Mundhir) then provoked conflict between the two of them until they went to war. Shuraḥbīl was killed, and the Tamīm and Ḍabba were defeated<sup>1411</sup> with him. When this happened, the people were afraid to say to his brother Salama, “Your brother has been killed.” He, however, began to hear things they were saying. Grieving at the killing of his brother and regretting the fact that al-Mundhir had only wanted them to kill each other, he said.<sup>1412</sup>

1405     Ākil al-Murār (Eater of Bitter Herbs) is a nickname that he received on account of his behavior in his rage at his wife’s infidelity. See *Aghānī*, 8:63, for two versions of the story.

1406     Cf. *Aghānī*, 8:65: full name al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir al-Ghassānī.

1407     *Aghānī*, 8:65: Muḥallim.

1408     Parallels with many variations: *Aghānī*, 8:63 ff. and 11:63 ff.

1409     The text in brackets was added by the Leiden editor on the basis of *Aghānī*, 11:64.

1410     For the circumstances of al-Ḥārith’s death in 528 CE and the role in it of his rival al-Mundhir, the Lakhmid ruler of al-Ḥira whom the Persians once had deposed in favor of al-Ḥārith, but later reinstated, see *Aghānī*, 8:63–64; also the article by I. Shahīd and A. F. L. Beeston in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kinda.

1411     Reading with M: *fa-kubita*. Ed. Leiden, *wa-kānat* (were).

1412     Longer version with variants in *Aghānī*, 11:63.

My flank draws away from my bed,  
 as a galled camel shrinks from stony ground.  
 Because of word that has reached me, my tears  
 do not cease to flow, and I cannot swallow my drink.

The Banū Asad became estranged from Ḥujr b. ‘Amr, and his manner of dealing with them became offensive. Ḥujr was married to Fāṭima bt. Rabī‘a, the sister of Kulayb and Muhallil; she bore him (his daughter) Hind, and when he began to fear for his life he mounted her (on a camel).<sup>1413</sup> The Banū Asad then came together to kill him, and they did kill him. Various tribes of the Banū Asad claimed [to have killed Ḥujr]—the person who took charge of the affair for the Banū Asad was ‘Ilbā’ b. al-Ḥārith, a member of the Banū Tha‘laba. Imru’ al-Qays b. Ḥujr was away at the time, and when word of his father’s murder reached him, he gathered a band of warriors and set out for the Banū Asad.<sup>1414</sup> On the night before the morning on which he planned to attack them, he encamped with his band and startled a flock of sandgrouse, which flew up from their resting places and passed by the Banū Asad. The daughter of ‘Ilbā’ said, “Never have I seen so many sandgrouse as tonight!” ‘Ilbā’ replied, “Had the sandgrouse been undisturbed, they would have become drowsy and fallen asleep,” a saying that became proverbial. Realizing that a hostile force had drawn close to him, ‘Ilbā’ departed. The next morning, Imru’ al-Qays fell upon the Kināna and attacked them, crying: “Vengeance!” (His victims) replied, “By God, we are only some men of the Kināna.” Imru’ al-Qays therefore said:<sup>1415</sup> |

1:249

Alas my soul’s sorrow, after (the escape) of foemen  
 who (by their death) would have sated my soul, but were not slain!  
 Their luck protected them by means of their father’s sons,<sup>1416</sup>  
 and the punishment descended on the more unfortunate ones.

1413 Cf. *Aghānī*, 8:66: “When Ḥujr became afraid of the Banū Asad, he asked ‘Uwayr b. Shajna, one of the Banū ‘Uṭārid b. Ka‘b b. Sa’d b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, to give refuge to his daughter Hind bt. Ḥujr and his children.”

1414 The story of how Imru’ al-Qays avenged his father’s death (a father who for his part had almost killed Imru’ al-Qays) became the stuff of legend. See the article by S. Boustany in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Imru’ al-Qays b. Ḥudjir.

1415 Imru’ al-Qays, *Dīwān*, 138–139; *Aghānī*, 8:69.

1416 That is, the Banū Asad were protected from their fate by Imru’ al-Qays’s mistaken slaying of the Banū Kināna, to whom the Banū Asad were related.

‘Ilbā’, choking on his own spittle, eluded the horses;  
 had they overtaken him, the milk skin would have become empty.<sup>1417</sup>

It was at this time that ‘Abīd b. al-Abraṣ al-Asadī said, referring to Imru’ al-Qays b. Ḥujr, in a long ode:<sup>1418</sup>

O you who threaten us with abasement  
 and death for the killing of your father:  
 Do you claim, falsely and lyingly,  
 that you have killed our chieftains?  
 It were better for you to shed tears for Ḥujr,  
 the son of Umm Qaṭām, rather than for us.  
 When the straightening-clip bites into  
 the head of our lance, we leap back.<sup>1419</sup>  
 We defend what we ought to defend, while some of  
 the foemen fall one after another.<sup>1420</sup>

About this subject ‘Abīd also says, in a long ode of his:<sup>1421</sup>

O you who ask about our glory,  
 you are weak in judgment, ignorant of us!  
 If reports about us have not reached you,  
 then<sup>1422</sup> ask about us, O you who ask.  
 Ask Ḥujr about us, on the morning of the fray,  
 the day his fleeing<sup>1423</sup> band turned back,<sup>1424</sup>

1417 A metaphorical way of saying that he would have become a corpse, as empty of breath as an empty milk skin is empty of milk.

1418 Cf. *Aghānī*, 19:85; ‘Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, *Dīwān* (ed. Lyall), p. 27, no. 7, v. 1–5.

1419 The straightening clip (*thiqāf*) was a device to hold a spear shaft or bow during the shaping process. The line means that when someone tries to parry our lance-thrust, the deflected shaft springs back and kills him.

1420 Arabic: *bayna bayna*, variously glossed. Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:288a: “fall, one after another, in a state of weakness, not regarded as of any account.”

1421 ‘Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, *Dīwān*, p. 72, no. 26, v. 9–13.

1422 Reading with M *fa-s’al*; ed. Leiden has *wa-s’al* (and ask).

1423 Reading with M and the *Dīwān*, *al-jāfilu*, as opposed to ed. Leiden, *al-ḥāfilu* (numerous).

1424 Reading with M *tawallā*; ed. Leiden has *ta’attā* (prepared itself).

The day they encountered Sa'd in the thick of the fighting,  
 and Kāhil galloped in pursuit of him.<sup>1425</sup>  
 They brought his throng to drink from hard dry lances,  
 (bloodied) until they looked like burning flames.

When Imru' al-Qays found he had no strength against the Banū Asad and their allies from the Qays, he made his way to Yemen and stayed there for a time, drinking constantly with his boon companions. One day he looked out from his vantage point and noticed a rider approaching. He asked him, "From where have you come?" "From Najd," he said. So Imru' al-Qays gave the man some of what he was drinking. When the wine took effect, the man raised his voice and said:<sup>1426</sup> |

1:250

We gave Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr cups of grief to drink,  
 until he became accustomed to subjection.  
 Drinking sweet wine and sweet-voiced singers diverted him;  
 the vengeance he sought for Ḥujr was too difficult for him.  
 That, by my life, was an easier way for him  
 than (facing) trenchant swords and dusky spears.

Startled at hearing this, Imru' al-Qays said, "O brother of the people of the Ḥijāz, who is the author of this poem?" "Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ," was the reply. "You have spoken the truth," said Imru' al-Qays. Then he took to horse. He sought help from his kinsmen, and they reinforced him with five hundred men from the Madhḥij. Then he set out for the land of the Ma'add. He fell upon certain tribes from the Ma'add, killed al-Ashqar b. 'Amr, who was the chief of the Banū Asad, and drank from his skull. As Imru' al-Qays said in a poem of his:<sup>1427</sup>

Say to the Dūdān, the slaves of the rod:  
 "What beguiled you about the intrepid lion?"<sup>1428</sup>

1425 For *wa-ḥāwalat* read *wa-jāwalat*, with the *Dīwān*.

1426 'Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ, *Dīwān*, p. 83 no. 8.

1427 Imru' al-Qays, *Dīwān*, pp. 119–122, no. 16 v. 3, 9.

1428 The verse is addressed to the Banū Dūdān, a clan of the Banū Asad, from whom Imru' al-Qays exacted vengeance for his father's death. Contemptuously, he calls them "slaves of the rod" because, according to a well-known proverb, slaves could be disciplined only by being beaten. "The intrepid lion" is either the poet himself or a reference to his father. The fact that the tribal name, Banū Asad, meant "Sons of the Lion" introduces yet another level of wordplay.

O you who would inquire about our nature,  
 the one who knows is not like the one who is ignorant.  
 Wine has become permissible for me, who previously was a man  
 whose mission kept him from drinking it.<sup>1429</sup>

The tribes of Ma'add pursued Imru' al-Qays, and the men who had been on his side went away. Word reached him that al-Mundhir, the king of al-Ḥīra, had sworn to shed his blood, so he decided to return to Yemen; but he feared the Ḥaḍramawt. The Banū Asad and the tribes of Ma'add pursued him. When he realized that he had no way to escape al-Mundhir's reach, that the tribes of the Ma'add were all agreed on hunting him down, and that it would not be possible for him to return (to Yemen), he made his way to Sa'd b. al-Ḍibāb al-Iyādī, who was Kisrā's<sup>1430</sup> governor over certain districts of Iraq, and hid with him for a time, until Sa'd b. al-Ḍibāb died. When Sa'd died, Imru' al-Qays left for the Two Mountains of the Ṭayyī', where he met Ṭarīf b. [...] al-Ṭayyī' and asked him for protection. "By God," Ṭarīf replied, "I have nothing in the Two Mountains but the place of my campfire." Imru' al-Qays stayed with a clan of the Ṭayyī'. He kept moving about, | spending time with the Ṭayyī', then with the Jadīla, then with the Nabhān. Finally he made his way to Taymā' and stayed with al-Samaw'al b. 'Ādiyā,<sup>1431</sup> whom he asked for protection. But al-Samaw'al said to him, "I do not give protection against kings, nor am I able to fight them." So Imru' al-Qays deposited some armor with him and departed to seek out the king of the Romans. Ultimately he reached Caesar,<sup>1432</sup> the king of the Romans, and asked for his assistance, and the latter sent him back with seven hundred sons of patricians.<sup>1433</sup> Imru' al-Qays had praised Caesar (in his verse), but then

1429 This refers to the poet's vow not to drink wine until he had exacted vengeance for his father's death.

1430 Kisrā (a generic name in Arabic for all the shahs of Sasanian Iran) is probably Khusraw Anūshirwān (r. 531–579).

1431 On al-Samaw'al b. 'Ādiyā, a famous pre-Islamic Jewish-Arab poet who lived in the castle of Ablāq in Taymā', see the article by Th. Bauer in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Samaw'al b. 'Ādiyā.

1432 Arabic, *Qayṣar*, a generic title for all the Roman emperors.

1433 Arabic, *abnā' al-baṭāriqa*, literally, "sons of the *baṭriqs*." *Baṭriq* is an Arabicized form of the Roman title *patricius*. Originally a dignity conferred by the emperors for exceptional service to the state, it was used in Arabic as the regular term for a Byzantine commander. In other words, Imru' al-Qays came back from his visit to the "king of the Romans" accompanied by a force of seven hundred (ed. Leiden, nine hundred) military officers. On the term, see the article by Irfan Kavar in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Baṭriq*.



al-Ṭammāḥ al-Asadī went to Caesar and said to him, “Imru’ al-Qays has reviled you in his poetry and called you an uncircumcised peasant.” Caesar therefore sent Imru’ al-Qays a suit of clothes that had been sprinkled with poison. When he donned the clothing, his skin broke out in sores. Knowing that his death was nigh, he said:<sup>1434</sup>

My old sickness has returned to me at night, coming in the darkness;  
 I fear that my sickness will increase and that I shall suffer a relapse.  
 Al-Ṭammāḥ from the remoteness of his land set his sights  
 to clothe me with his stealthy illness.  
 Would that it were a soul that could die all at once!  
 But it is a soul that falls away in gasps.

These verses are part of a long ode by him. He also said about his condition:<sup>1435</sup>

Send word to the children of Ḥujr b. ‘Amr,  
 and to that clan who live apart:  
 That I have remained as long as a soul may remain,  
 and have not been worn down by stones or by iron.  
 If I were perishing in the land of my people,  
 I would say, “Death comes by right; no one lives forever.”  
 But I have perished in the land of a foe,  
 Far away, remote from your dwellings:  
 In the land of Syria,<sup>1436</sup> with no close kin,  
 And without a patron to lend assistance or be generous.

Imru’ al-Qays died in Anqira,<sup>1437</sup> in the land of the Romans.

### The Descendants of Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm

The only reason we have postponed an account of Ismāʿīl and his descendants and brought our accounts of the nations to a close with them is that God 1:252

1434 Imru’ al-Qays, *Dīwān*, 105–108, no. 13, v. 5, 13, 11; *Aghānī*, 8:73.

1435 Imru’ al-Qays, *Dīwān*, 212–214, no. 46, v. 1–4, 6.

1436 *Dīwān*: “In the land of the Romans,” which is accurate historically but may be a later correction.

1437 This is Greek Ancyra, modern Ankara.

brought prophecy and kingship to a close with them, and their history is continuous with that of the Apostle of God and the caliphs.<sup>1438</sup>

The transmitters and scholars have stated that Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm was the first to speak Arabic, rebuild the Sacred Sanctuary of God<sup>1439</sup> after his father Ibrāhīm, and perform the rites (of the pilgrimage). He was the first to ride thoroughbred horses, which previously ran wild and were not ridden. Some of them have said that Ismāʿīl was the first one to whom God granted the ability to speak Arabic. When he reached boyhood, God gave him the Arab bow, with which he shot and struck every target at which he aimed. When he attained maturity, God brought a hundred mares out of the sea; these remained grazing in Mecca for as long as God willed, then God drove them to Ismāʿīl, who awoke one morning to find them at his door. People's mounts had previously been common hacks, but now Ismāʿīl reined, rode, and bred the (thoroughbreds), and he and his sons and descendants rode them. Concerning Ismāʿīl one of the poets of the Maʿadd says:

Our forefather, before whom no horses were ridden,  
and before whom no elder knew how they should be ridden.

It is said that these horses were called the "thoroughbreds of Mecca" (*ajyād Makka*) for the following reason. The horses were there, and then God revealed to Ismāʿīl that he should go to the horses, which he did, and there remained not a single mare that did not allow him to take hold of her forelock. He rode them, as also did his descendants; Ismāʿīl was the first man to ride horses and the first to make use of them.<sup>1440</sup>

He was also the first to banish transgressors from the Sanctuary. He said, "I declare it to be evil (*uʿarribuhū*).<sup>1441</sup>" Because of this they were called the Arabs (*al-ʿAraba*).<sup>1441</sup>

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1438 Like all Muslim historians of the medieval Middle East, al-Yaʿqūbī sees history as culminating with the rise of Islam. The Prophet Muḥammad was regarded as a descendant of Ismāʿīl, so it was appropriate that al-Yaʿqūbī's history of the ancient nations should conclude with Ismāʿīl and his progeny, leading directly to an account of Muḥammad and the rise of Islam. Parallel: al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:352 ff.

1439 The Kaʿba in Mecca, considered to have been built by Ibrāhīm and his son Ismāʿīl.

1440 These legends concerning the role of the ancient Arabs in the domestication of the horse were common and played an important part in asserting the nobility of Ismāʿīl and his family.

1441 There is a play on words here, involving the root ʿr.b.

When the Banū Qaḥṭān b. ʿĀmir, who were kinsmen of the Jurhum b. ʿĀmir, arrived in Yemen and established their authority there, the Jurhum themselves went to the land of Tihāma.<sup>1442</sup> There they became neighbors of Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm, who married al-Ḥanfāʾ bt. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī, who bore him twelve sons: Qaydār, Nābit, Adbīl, Mibsām, Mishmaʿ, Dūmā, Massā, Ḥadād, Taymā, Yaṭūr, Nāfis, and Qaydmā.<sup>1443</sup> These names vary in spelling and pronunciation because they are translated from Hebrew. When Ismāʿīl had completed one hundred and thirty [years], he died and was buried in the Ḥijr.<sup>1444</sup> 1:253

When Ismāʿīl died, authority over the Sanctuary after him passed to Nābit b. Ismāʿīl; it is also said that Qaydār assumed authority, and after Qaydār Nābit b. Ismāʿīl. The descendants of Ismāʿīl then dispersed, seeking more room in other lands, but one group devoted themselves entirely to the Sanctuary, saying, “We will not depart from the Sanctuary of God.” The descendants of Ismāʿīl had already dispersed when Nābit died, so authority over the Sanctuary was assumed by al-Muḍāḍ b. ʿAmr al-Jurhumī, the (maternal great-) grandfather of the descendants of Ismāʿīl. This was because those of Ismāʿīl’s descendants who remained in the Sanctuary were only children. When al-Muḍāḍ assumed authority, al-Samaydaʿ ibn Hawbar challenged him, but al-Muḍāḍ triumphed over him, so al-Samaydaʿ went to Syria—he was one of the kings of the ʿAmāliqa. Authority remained in the hands of al-Muḍāḍ until he died.

Al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ ruled after him. Then ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ ruled. Then al-Muʿtashim<sup>1445</sup> b. al-Ḍalīm ruled. Then al-Ḥawās b. Jaḥsh b. Muḍāḍ ruled. Then ʿIdād b. Ṣadād b. Jandal b. Muḍāḍ ruled. Then Finḥaṣ b. ʿIdād b. Ṣadād ruled. Then | al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ b. ʿAmr ruled—he was the last of the Jurhum to rule. The Jurhum became tyrannical, oppressive, and unjust, and they behaved wantonly in the Sanctuary, so God sent a plague of tiny ants<sup>1446</sup> against them, and every last one of them was destroyed by it. 1:254

The descendants of Ismāʿīl spread through the lands, subduing all who opposed them, but they granted the kingship to the Jurhum as they were

1442 Tihāma is the Red Sea coastal region of the Arabian peninsula, loosely including Mecca.

1443 Cf. Genesis 25:12–16; similar lists in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 1:69 (§ 116) and 2:164 (§ 944); al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:351–352.

1444 The Ḥijr is the area immediately around the Kaʿba.

1445 Sic M; C and ed. Leiden: al-Muʿtasim.

1446 Arabic: *al-dharr*; the same word occurs in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1121, which is more graphic: “Tiny ants followed in the tracks of those of them who survived, penetrated into their ears, and destroyed them.” Cf. the longer account of the history of the Kaʿba in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1130 ff.

related through a maternal uncle; the Jurhum remained obedient to them in their days. In the days of the Jurhum, only descendants of Ismāʿīl were in charge of the affairs of the Kaʿba, which was Jurhum's way of glorifying them and acknowledging their status. Those who were in charge of the Kaʿba after Nābit were Amīn, then Yashjub b. Amīn, then al-Hamaysaʿ, and then Udad.<sup>1447</sup> The latter's reputation increased among his tribe and he rose to high standing; he took the Jurhum to task for their actions, and it was in his time that the Jurhum perished. Then there was ʿAdnān b. Udad, followed by Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān. The descendants of ʿAdnān then scattered through the lands. Some of them made their way to Yemen: these included the ʿAkk, al-Dīth, and al-Nuʿmān. ʿAkk had a son by a daughter of Argham b. Jumāhir al-Ashʿarī; then he died. His descendants survived him, and they traced their descent through their maternal uncles and their family.

ʿAdnān was the first to set up sacred stones<sup>1448</sup> and cover the Kaʿba. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān was the noblest of the descendants of Ismāʿīl in his time. His mother was from the Jurhum, and he never left the territory of the Sanctuary. He had ten sons: Nizār, Quḍāʿa, ʿUbayd al-Rammāḥ, Qanaṣ, Qunāṣa, Junāda, ʿAwf, Awd, Salham, and Janb. Maʿadd bore the *kunya* of Abū Quḍāʿa. Most of his descendants, who were very numerous, traced their ancestry to Yemen.<sup>1449</sup>

1:255 The Quḍāʿa traced their ancestry to the king of Ḥimyar. Quḍāʿa | himself is said to have been born on the bed of Maʿadd. Maʿadd was the first to place a saddle on male and female camels and the first to provide them with a nose-rein.

Nizār b. Maʿadd was the elder and leader of his father's tribe. His residence was in Mecca. His mother was Nāʿima bt. Jawsham b. ʿAdī b. Dubb al-Jurhumīya, and he had four sons: Muḍar, Iyād, Rabīʿa, and Anmār. Their mother was Sawda bt. ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān, although it is said that the mother of Muḍar and Iyād was Ḥayyiya<sup>1450</sup> bt. ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān and that the mother of Rabīʿa and Anmār was

1447 The translation follows the somewhat conjectural emendations of ed. Leiden. In M the list is badly garbled to read something like: "Those who were in charge of the Kaʿba after Nābit were Balyāmīn b. Yashjub, Binyāmīn b. al-Hamaysaʿ, and Ibn Udad."

1448 Arabic *anṣāb*, plural of *nuṣub*: a block of stone over which the blood of sacrifices was poured. Unlike idols, for which Arabic has a separate word (*ṣanam*, plural *aṣnām*), these stones were not carved to represent a god.

1449 Al-Yaʿqūbī has already mentioned the uncertainty about whether certain tribes belonged, through ʿAdnān, to the descendants of Ismāʿīl (the northern Arabs) or were descended from Qaḥṭān, the progenitor of the southern Arabs; see above, ed. Leiden, 1:229–231.

1450 Sic ed. Leiden and, apparently, M. Perhaps to be read Khabiyya, as in al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 6. The reading is uncertain.

Jadāla bt. Waʿlān b. Jawsham al-Jurhumī. When Nizār was on his deathbed, he divided his estate among his four sons and gave his property to Muḍar, Iyād, Rabīʿa, and Anmār. Muḍar and Rabīʿa were the two of pure descent from Ismāʿīl. He gave Muḍar his russet she-camel (*al-ḥamrāʾ*) and other like-colored camels, so he was called al-Ḥamrāʾ; to Rabīʿa he gave his mare (*al-faras*) and other similar horses, so Rabīʿa was called al-Faras. He gave Iyād his sheep and goats and his shepherd's crook; as the animals had coats of black and white (*barqāʾ*), Iyād was called Iyād al-Barqāʾ—he was also called Iyād of the Staff. He gave Anmār a slave girl of his named Bajīla, and so Anmār was named after her. He ordered them that if they disagreed they should refer the dispute to al-Afʿā b. al-Afʿā al-Jurhumī, whose home was in Najrān, and they did so.

As for ANMĀR B. NIZĀR, he married in Yemen, and his children traced their descent through their maternal uncle. Among them were the Bajīla and Khathʿam. Apart from them, none of the descendants of Nizār departed.<sup>1451</sup>

As for RABĪʿA B. NIZĀR, he left his brothers and went to the lands extending from the Baṭn ʿIrq to Baṭn al-Furāt. He had several sons, among them Asad, Ḍubayʿa, Aklub, | and nine others. Their descent is not traced through the Yemenite tribes. The sons of Rabīʿa b. Nizār spread out and had so many sons of their own that their ranks multiplied and the lands were filled with them. The major tribes descended from Rabīʿa are as follows:

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- BUHṬHA b. Wahb b. Julayy b. Aḥmas b. Ḍubayʿa b. Rabīʿa,
- ʿANAZA b. Asad b. Rabīʿa,
- ʿABD AL-QAYS b. Afṣā [b. Duʿmī] b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabīʿa,
- YASHKUR b. Bakr b. Wāʾil b. Qāsiṭ b. Hinb b. Afṣā,
- ḤANĪFA b. Lujaym b. Ṣaʿb b. ʿAlī b. Bakr b. Wāʾil b. Qāsiṭ,
- ʿIJL b. Lujaym b. Ṣaʿb b. ʿAlī b. Bakr,
- QAYS b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba b. ʿAlī b. Bakr,
- TAYM AL-LĀT b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba.

Adjudication and leadership among the Rabīʿa was exercised by the Banū Ḍubayʿa, the descendants of Buhṭha b. Wahb b. Julayy b. Aḥmas b. Ḍubayʿa b. Rabīʿa; then these functions passed to the descendants of ʿAnaza b. Asad b. Rabīʿa, and then to the ʿAbd al-Qays b. Afṣā b. Duʿmī b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabīʿa. The ʿAbd al-Qays then moved and settled in al-Yamāma because of war that broke out between them and the Banū l-Namir b. Qāsiṭ. The Iyād were in

<sup>1451</sup> Probably in the sense of leaving their ancestral descent and tracing their descent through the female line, as implied in the next paragraph.

1:257 al-Yamāma, and so they drove them out.<sup>1452</sup> Leadership [of the Rabīʿa] then passed to the al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ, and then it passed from the al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ and came to the Banū Yashkur b. Ṣaʿb b. ʿAlī b. Bakr. Then | the leadership passed from the Yashkur b. Ṣaʿb and came to the Banū Taghlib and then to the Banū Shaybān.

The Rabīʿa were involved in famous battle days and well-known wars. One of their famous battle days was the Day of al-Sullān. The Madhḥij approached with the intention of raiding the people of the Tihāma and the descendants of Maʿadd who lived there. The descendants of Maʿadd therefore gathered to fight the Madhḥij. The majority [of them] were from the Rabīʿa, so they entrusted their leadership to Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Zuhayr b. Jusham b. Bakr. They encountered the Madhḥij at al-Sullān and put the Madhḥij to flight, and so they emerged victorious.

As for the Day of Khazāz, that was an occasion when the Yemeni tribes approached under the leadership of Salama b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr al-Kindī. The descendants of Maʿadd made Kulayb b. Rabīʿa [b. al-Ḥārith] b. Murra their leader, and when Salama saw how numerous his enemy was he sought the assistance of one of the kings. This ruler reinforced him, and the two sides met at Khazāz, with the descendants of Maʿadd led by Kulayb. The Yemeni forces were routed.

As for the Day of al-Kulāb, Salama and Shuraḥbīl, two sons of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr al-Kindī, went to war with each other. Supporting Salama were the Rabīʿa, and supporting Shuraḥbīl were the Qays, who were outnumbered by the Rabīʿa. The Rabīʿa killed Shuraḥbīl [b. al-Ḥārith] b. ʿAmr and gained the ascendancy.

As for the Days of al-Basūs, they were between the tribes of Shaybān and Taghlib over the killing of Kulayb b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Zuhayr b. Jusham al-Taghlibī by Jassās b. Murra b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān. The conflict became confused<sup>1453</sup> and continued unabated until it wiped them out; it lasted forty years.

As for the Day of Dhū Qār:<sup>1454</sup> when Kisrā Aparwīz killed al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, he sent word to Hānīʾ b. Masʿūd al-Shaybānī, telling him, “Send me

1452 The pronouns in the Arabic text leave the outcome of this conflict unclear.

1453 Reading with M: *fa-rtabakat*; ed. Leiden, *fa-shtabakat*, “it became intricate.”

1454 Al-Yaʿqūbī has already given some of the background for this battle that took place at the watering place of Dhū Qār, near Kufa, sometime between 604 and 611 CE. See the narrative above, beginning at ed. Leiden 1:241. The death of the Lakhmid ruler of al-Ḥīra, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, at the hands of Kisrā Aparwīz has already been mentioned by al-Yaʿqūbī at ed. Leiden 1:245–246. For the parallel accounts, see the note above to ed. Leiden 1:241; see also the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhū Qār.

the kinfolk of my servant al-Nuʿmān that he left in your custody, | as well as his property and weapons!"—al-Nuʿmān had left his daughter and four thousand sets of armor in trust with him. Hānīʾ and his tribesmen refused to do it, and so Kistrā dispatched armies of Arabs and Persians (against them), and they met at Dhū Qār. Ḥanzala b. Thaʿlaba al-ʿIjlī came to them, and they invested him with command over them. Then they said to Hānīʾ, "Your promise of protection is our promise of protection, and we will not break our promise." Then they fought the Persians and put them to flight, along with the Arab tribes allied with them, including Iyās b. Qabīṣa al-Ṭāʾī and others who were tribesmen of Maʿadd and Qaḥṭān. ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Zayd came to Kistrā and told him the news, and he heaved his shoulders and died. This was the first battle in which the Arabs triumphed over the Persians.<sup>1455</sup> 1:258

As for IYĀD B. NIZĀR, he settled in al-Yamāma and had sons who claimed descent among the tribes. The genealogists say that Thaḳīf was Qasī<sup>1456</sup> b. al-Nabt b. Munabbih b. Maṣṣūr b. Yaḳdum b. Afṣā b. Duʿmī b. Iyād and that they themselves claimed descent from the Qays.<sup>1457</sup> The territories of Iyād, after al-Yamāma, included al-Ḥīra, where their dwelling places were al-Khawarnaq, al-Sadīr, and Bāriq.<sup>1458</sup> Then Kistrā expelled them from their dwelling places and settled them in Takrīt, an ancient city on the bank of the Tigris, and then he expelled them from Takrīt to the lands of the Romans—they settled at Anqira in Roman territory. Their leader in those days was Kaʿb b. Māma. Afterward they left (Roman territory). The major tribes of Iyād are four: Mālik, Ḥudhāqa, Yaḳdum, and Nizār.<sup>1459</sup> These are the clans of Iyād, and concerning them al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur al-Tamīmī says:<sup>1460</sup> | 1:259

1455 This sentence paraphrases a well-known tradition from the Prophet, as is noted in the margin of C and M. The tradition has already been quoted by al-Yaʿqūbī above, ed. Leiden 1:246.

1456 Ed. Leiden, M: Qays.

1457 That is, the genealogists placed the tribe of Thaḳīf among the descendants of Iyād b. Nizār, but noted that the Thaḳīf themselves traced their descent to Qays ʿAylan, the son of Muḍar b. Nizār, a brother of Iyād. Al-Yaʿqūbī will give this alternate genealogy below, ed. Leiden 1:260.

1458 Two of these places are famous for their palaces. Al-Khawarnaq, about one mile east of Najaf in Iraq, was the site of a famous palace built by the Lakhmid ruler al-Nuʿmān. Al-Sadīr was nearby. See the article by L. Massignon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khawarnaq.

1459 Sic M and ed. Leiden. The identity of this Nizār (if that is the original reading) is unknown.

1460 Biography, with three verses of the poem cited in *Aghānī*, 11:134–139.

[They were] the people of al-Khawarnaq, al-Sadīr, and Bāriq,  
 and of the battlement-embellished castle at Sindād,  
 People who trod on the tips of their sandals,  
 walking about in striped cloth and flowing garments.  
 The winds have obliterated the place where they had their dwelling,  
 as if they had a rendezvous with time.  
 They settled at Anqira, with the waters of the Euphrates  
 flowing past them, coming down from the mountains:  
 A land favored for its far-extending tenting grounds  
 by Ka'b b. Māma and Ibn Umm Du'ād.

Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī recited part of this poem. He was their best poet, followed by Laqīṭ in Iraq. When word reached (Laqīṭ) that Kistrā had sworn to himself that he would expel the Iyād from Takrīt, which was in the territory of al-Mawṣil, he wrote a letter that he sent to them. In this letter he said:<sup>1461</sup>

Greetings in the letter from Laqīṭ  
 to those of the Iyād who live in al-Jazīra.<sup>1462</sup>  
 The lion is coming to attack you suddenly,  
 so let not herding vile sheep restrain you.<sup>1463</sup>  
 Seventy thousand men have come to attack you,  
 driving their squadrons forward like locusts.

As for MUḌAR B. NIZĀR, he was the lord of his father's progeny, a noble man and a wise adjudicator. It is reported of him that he said to his sons: "He who sows evil will reap regret. The best good is what comes fastest. Make your soul bear what it loathes when it will benefit you, and turn your soul away from its desire when it will harm you. Only patience for as much time as separates two milkings of a camel stands between benefit and harm." The Messenger of God is reported to have said, "Do not revile Muḍar and Rabī'a, for they were Muslims." According to another *ḥadīth* [he said], "They were followers of the religion of

1461 For a parallel account of the attempt by the Persians in the reign of Shāpūr to expel the Iyād and of the poem composed as a warning by Laqīṭ, see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1:295–296 (§ 601–603).

1462 Al-Jazīra is the northern part of the territory between the Tigris and Euphrates.

1463 Reading: *fa-lā yaḥbiskumū sawqu l-niqādi*. In M, the last two lines of the poem are added in a different hand in the margin. The word *yaḥbiskumū* (restrain you) is not clearly written, but is attested in other witnesses to the poem (see the note to the parallel in al-Mas'ūdī). Ed. Leiden emends to *yashghalkumū* (busy you).



Ibrāhīm.” Muḍar b. Nizār begot | al-Yās<sup>1464</sup> b. Muḍar and ‘Aylān b. Muḍar (their mother was al-Ḥanfā’ bt. Iyād b. Maʿadd). ‘Aylān b. Muḍar begot Qays b. ‘Aylān, whose progeny spread far and wide, proliferated, and became numerous and powerful. The major tribes descended from Qays b. ‘Aylān are: 1:260

- ‘ADWĀN b. ‘Amr b. Qays,
- FAHM b. ‘Amr b. Qays,
- MUḤĀRIB b. Khaṣafa b. Qays,
- BĀHILA b. Aṣar b. Sa’d b. Qays
- FAZĀRA b. Dhubyān b. Baghīḍ [b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān b. Sa’d b. Qays],
- SULAYM b. Manṣūr b. ‘Ikrima [b. Khaṣafa] b. Qays,
- ‘ĀMIR b. Ṣaṣa’a b. Mu’āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin,
- MĀZIN b. Ṣaṣa’a b. Mu’āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. ‘Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays,
- SALŪL b. Ṣaṣa’a b. Mu’āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin,
- THAQĪF, who was Qasī b. Munabbih b. Bakr b. Hawāzin (although the lineage of Thaqīf is also traced back to Iyād b. Nizār),
- KILĀB b. Rabī’a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa’a,
- ‘AQĪL b. Ka’b b. Rabī’a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa’a,
- QUSHAYR b. Ka’b b. Rabī’a,
- AL-ḤARĪSH b. Ka’b b. Rabī’a b. ‘Āmir,
- ‘AWF b. ‘Āmir b. Rabī’a b. ‘Āmir,
- AL-BAKKĀ’ b. ‘Āmir b. Rabī’a.

Leadership and adjudication were exercised by the Qays and then passed to the ‘Adwān, the first of whom to adjudicate and lead was ‘Āmir b. al-Ḍarīb. Then these prerogatives passed to the Fazāra, then to the ‘Abs, and then | to the Banū ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa’a, among whom they remained. The Qays were involved in famous battle days and continuous wars, including the Day of al-Baydā’, the Day of Shi’b Jabala, the Day of al-Habā’a, the Day of al-Raqm, the Day of Fayf al-Riḥ, the Day of al-Milbat, the Day of Raḥraḥān, the Day of al-‘Urrā, and the War of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā’ between the ‘Abs and Fazāra. 1:261

1464 The name is vocalized as Ilyās in al-Zubaydī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 7, and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1108, but the evidence points to al-Ya’qūbī’s having read the name as al-Yās, treating the first two letters as the definite article. This is confirmed a few lines later by the phrase *li-l-Yās* (“belonging to al-Yās”), and by the treatment of the name in the following poem (*alā l-Yāsi*, “for al-Yās”). Al-Yās (el-Jās) is the form in which the name appears in Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, 2:254. Another argument for the reading al-Yās is that he is said to have had brother named al-Nās—al-Yās and al-Nās.

Al-Yās b. Muḍar was a most noble man whose excellence became evident. He was the first to rebuke the children of Ismāʿīl for the changes they had made in the traditions of their forefathers. The virtuous deeds he performed led them to view him with a degree of approval that they had not bestowed upon any of the descendants of Ismāʿīl since Udad. He brought them back to the ways of their forefathers until their tradition was completely restored to its original form. He was the first to offer camels as sacrifices to the House, and the first to lay the cornerstone<sup>1465</sup> after the death of Ibrāhīm. The Arabs revered al-Yās as a person of wisdom. Among the sons of al-Yās were Mudrika, whose name was ʿĀmir, Ṭabikha, whose name was ʿAmr, and Qamaʿa, whose name was ʿUmayr—the mother of all of them was Khindif, whose name was Laylā bt. Ḥulwān b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍāʿa. Al-Yās suffered from consumption, and so his wife Khindif said, “If he perishes, may I never live in a land in which he died.” [She swore] that no tent should cast a shadow over her and that she would roam the earth. When he died, she set out wandering through the land until she died of grief. His death took place on a Thursday. She would weep for him; and when the sun rose on that day of the week, she would weep until it set. For this she became the subject of a proverb. Once someone said to a man of the Iyād whose wife had died, “Aren’t you going to weep for her?” He replied:

Had it availed, I would have wept as Khindif wept  
for al-Yās, wailing until her heart was weary.

When the first shafts of sunlight of the (day called) Intimate appeared,  
she wept through the morning and until she saw the sun set.

- 1:262 When he says “Intimate,” he means Thursday, because the Arabs used to call the days of the week by other names than at this time: they called Sunday *al-Awwal* (the First), Monday *Ahwan* (Easy), Tuesday *Jubār* (Great), Wednesday *Dubār* (Lapsing), Thursday *Muʿnis* (Intimate), Friday *ʿArūba* (Manifest),<sup>1466</sup> and Saturday *Shiyār*. They also used to have ten names for the days of the month, one name for each three-night period. The first three days after the sighting of the moon were called al-Ghurār, then al-Nufāl, al-Tusaʿ, al-ʿUshar, al-Biḍ, al-Zulam, al-Khunnas, al-Ḥanādis, al-Muḥāq, and finally Laylat al-Sarār, when the moon was hidden from view. Their names for the lunar months were:

<sup>1465</sup> Arabic *al-rukn* (the corner) is ambiguous. It can refer to any corner or cornerstone of the Kaʿba, but often refers to the corner near which the Black Stone is affixed.

<sup>1466</sup> The Arabic lexicographers tried to give an Arabic etymology for the word as “manifest,” but some recognized that it was simply the Aramaic word for Friday; cf. Syriac *rūbtā*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

Muḥarram	Mu'tamir
Şafar	Nājir
Rabī' al-Awwal	Khawwān
Rabī' al-Ākhir	Wabşān
Jumādā al-Ulā	Ḥanīn
Jumādā al-Ākhira	[Rubbā
Rajab	al-Aşamm
Sha'bān	Ādhil
Ramaḍān]	Nātiq
Shawwāl	Wa'l
Dhū l-Qa'da	Warna
Dhū l-Ḥijja	Burak

Others of the tribal Arabs called the three nights at the beginning of the month Halāl; the next three Qamar, when the moon brightens (*yuqmiru*); the next three Buhr, when it gives light and its color becomes overpowering (*yabharu*); the next three Nuqal; the next three Bīḍ, the next three Dura'; the next three Ḥulam; the next three Ḥanādis; then next three Da'ādī; then the two nights called Muḥāq and Laylat Sarār.

Ṭābikha b. al-Yās begot Udd b. Ṭābikha, and from the descendants of the latter there emerged four tribes: Tamīm b. Murr b. Udd; al-Ribāb, who was 'Abd Manāt b. Udd; Ḍabba b. Udd; and Muzayna b. Udd. The Tamīm b. Murr b. Udd grew so numerous that the lands became filled with them and tribes [of Tamīm] dispersed. | Among the major tribes of Tamīm are: Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt; Ḥaṇẓala b. Mālīk b. Zayd Manāt, who were called the Barājīm; the Banū Dārim; the Banū Zurāra b. 'Udas; the Banū Asad; and 'Amr b. Tamīm. These were the descendants of Udd b. Ṭābikha b. al-Yās b. Muḍar. They were numerous, powerful, courageous, and intrepid; they produced many poets and were elegant speakers. Leadership was exercised by the Tamīm. The first leader among them was Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, followed by Ḥaṇẓala b. Mālīk b. Zayd Manāt. They were involved in famous battle days and well-known wars, including the Day of al-Kulāb, the Day of al-Murrūt, the Day of Jadūd, and the Day of al-Nisār.

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Mudrika b. al-Yās was the lord of the descendants of Nizār, and a man well-known for his virtues and distinction.<sup>1467</sup> His brother Qama'a went out to the Khuzā'a and married among them, and so his descendants came to trace their lineage with them and were among them. Among his sons was 'Amr b. Luḥayy b.

1467 Reading with M *majd*, for ed. Leiden *maḥd*.

Qama'a, who was the first to alter the religion of Ibrāhīm.<sup>1468</sup> Mudrika b. al-Yās begot Khuzayma, Hudhayl, Ḥāritha and Ghālib—their mother was Salmā bt. (al-Aswad b.)<sup>1469</sup> Aslam b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍā'a, though some say that she was the daughter of Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār. As for Ḥāritha, he passed away as a child. The descendants of Ghālib traced their lineage through the Banū Khuzayma. The largest number of the descendants of Hudhayl b. Mudrika was to be found in the Banū Sa'd b. Hudhayl, followed by the Tamīm b. Sa'd, and then the Mu'āwiya b. Tamīm and the al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm. The Hudhayl were brave men who fought in many wars and raids, men of courage, eloquence, and poetry.

1:264 Khuzayma was one of the Arab tribal arbitrators and a man esteemed for his virtue and chieftainship. Khuzayma b. Mudrika begot Kināna (his mother was 'Uwāna bt. Qays b. 'Aylān), as well as Asad, Asada,<sup>1470</sup> and al-Hūn (their mother was Barra bt. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha, the sister of Tamīm b. Murr). As for Asada b. Khuzayma, his descendants spread out in Yemen: they were the Judhām, Lakhm, and 'Āmila, the sons of 'Amr b. Asad. The Muḍar used to lay claim to Judhām particularly, and the Banū Asad maintain that they are descended from them; they keep up good relations with them for that reason and count the Judhām as one of their own clans. Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr al-Kindī said:<sup>1471</sup>

We endured with patience the loss of our kin, and they departed,  
just as Khuzayma endured with patience the loss of Judhām.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim said in a poem of his:

Say to Judhām, if you come to their lands,  
and in particular to the Banū Sa'd there and the Wā'il:  
"Gather up and hold close the relations of your people,  
so that they incline to you, before you sever relations."

1468 Al-Ya'qūbī gives details below of how 'Amr b. Luḥayy introduced the worship of the idol Hubal into the cult at the Ka'ba, which until then had been dedicated to the monotheistic religion of Abraham (Ibrāhīm); see ed. Leiden, 1:295.

1469 The words in parentheses occur in ed. Leiden and M, but, according to the Leiden editor, should be deleted on the basis of Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, 1:14.

1470 Sic M. Ed. Leiden omits Asada, but the name is found in parallel texts; cf. al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 8, and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1106. Both of these sources make Asada (not Asad) the father of Judhām, and this is also the reading of M.

1471 Imru' al-Qays, *Dīwān*, p. 278, no. 65 v. 2.

ʿAbīd b. al-Abrāṣ said in a long poem of his:<sup>1472</sup>

Inform Judhām and Lakhm, if you meet them—  
and knowledge is useful to people, when they have it:  
“In God’s book<sup>1473</sup> you were our brothers,  
when the ties of kinship and lives were portioned out.”

Some say that this poem is by Shamʿān b. Hubayra al-Asadī.

As for the Judhām b. ʿAdī b. al-Ḥārith, they maintain that their lineage is among the Yemeni tribes; they say that it is Judhām b. ʿAdī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Yashjub b. ʿArīb b. Mālik b. Kahlān.

Among the sons of Asad b. Khuzayma were Dūdān, Kāhil, ʿAmr, Hind, al-Ṣaʿb, and Taʿlab.<sup>1474</sup> The largest number were of the Dūdān, and it was from him that the Banū Asad divided. The tribes of the Banū Asad are Quʿayn, | Faqʿas, Munqidh, Dubān,<sup>1475</sup> Wāliba, Lāḥiq, Ḥurthān, Riʿāb, and the Banū l-Ṣaydā. The Asad were spread out from near the palaces of al-Ḥīra to Tihāma. [The Ṭayyiʾ] had an alliance concluded with them, and the territory of the two was almost the same. They were at war with Kinda, until they killed Ḥujr b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr al-Kindī. Imruʾ al-Qays<sup>1476</sup> fled, and Kinda became submissive. Then they made war on the Banū Fazāra, until they killed Badr b. ʿAmr. Then they fell out with the Ṭayyiʾ and the two tribes, Asad and Ṭayyiʾ, made war on each other, until they killed Lām b. ʿAmr al-Ṭāʾī, captured Zayd ibn Muḥalhil, who is Zayd al-Khayl,<sup>1477</sup> and took female prisoners. Zayd al-Khayl said:

1472 ʿAbīd ibn al-Abrāṣ, *Dīwān*, p. 87, fragment no. 16.

1473 Here in the general sense, not referring specifically to the Qurʾān, as ʿAbīd b. al-Abrāṣ died before the coming of Islam. See the article by Reinhard Weipert in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAbīd b. al-Abrāṣ.

1474 Sic M (undotted) and ed. Leiden, but no such name is known, and the most likely readings (Thaʿlab or Taghlib) do not fit the context.

1475 Thus in the MSS, otherwise unidentified; vocalization uncertain.

1476 Ḥujr’s son, the famous poet. Al-Yaʿqūbī has already related the story of Ḥujr’s death and the vengeance of his son; see above, ed. Leiden, 1:248–251. See also the article by S. Boustany in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Ḥudjir.

1477 The poet Zayd al-Khayl (Zayd of the Horses) of the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ received his name because of the many horses he kept. Born in late pre-Islamic times, he is said to have met Muḥammad and to have accepted Islam. The second of the two poems is quoted in two versions with additional verses in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 16:47 and 16:48 (ed. Cairo, 18:6544 and 18:6550).

Tell the Qayses—Qays b. Nawfal,  
 Qays b. Uhbān, and Qays b. Jābir:  
 “Banū Asad, return to us our women  
 and our children. Enjoy the camels  
 And the property, for property is of little value and perishable,  
 when one of the passing nights comes.  
 Do not make it a custom to be followed  
 by the Banū Asad, but remit with powerful hands.”

So they released him and returned their women, when they heard these verses. However, a horse belonging to Zayd, who loved horses, remained behind. Zayd therefore said:

“Banū al-Ṣaydā’, give back my horse:  
 this is done only to one who is submissive.  
 Accustom my colt to what I accustomed it:  
 to travel by night and to make it trample the slain.”

So they returned his horse to him. The Banū Asad therefore used to say, “We killed four men, all of whom were sons of ‘Amr and each of whom was the chief of his people: we killed Ḥujr b. ‘Amr, the king of Kinda; Lām ibn ‘Amr al-Ṭā’i; Ṣakhr b. ‘Amr al-Sulamī, and Badr b. ‘Amr al-Fazārī.”

1:266 As for al-Hūn<sup>1478</sup> b. Khuzayma, he is al-Qāra. (His descendants) received the name *al-Qāra*<sup>1479</sup> because the Banū Kināna, when the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma left Tihāma and (the Banū l-Hūn) allied themselves<sup>1480</sup> with Kināna, joining the few (sc. the Banū l-Hūn) to the many (sc. the Kināna), made the Banū l-Hūn a *qāra*, i.e. a small mountain, in their midst, not one individual (or family) separated from another.<sup>1481</sup> Others say that the Banū l-Hūn settled on depressed ground and that the Arabs call depressed ground *qāra*,<sup>1482</sup> and so

1478 Sometimes vocalized as al-Hawn.

1479 Al-Qāra means “an isolated small mountain among other mountains” (*Lisān al-Arab*, under root q-w-r).

1480 Following the original reading of both manuscripts: *ḥālāfū*, rather than Houtsma’s emendation *khālāfū* (fell out with). This interpretation is confirmed by al-Maydānī, *Majma’ al-Amthāl*, no. 2867, s.v. *qad anṣafa*.

1481 The translation follows M: *lā aḥada dūna aḥadin*.

1482 The normal word for such depressed ground is *qarāra*, not *qāra*, so the explanation seems unlikely; however, *qāra* is also used for rough ground covered with black stones.

they were called “the inhabitants of *al-qāra*.” The Qāra were archers. One of them once said, “Whoever competes with the Qāra at shooting has given them their due.” Fighting is said [to have taken place] between al-Hūn b. Khuzayma and Bakr b. Kināna. One of the Banū Bakr asked, “Which would you rather do: shoot arrows or race?” One of them said:

Salm and those allied with them know  
 that we turn horses away from their desire.  
 Whoever competes with the Qāra at shooting has given them their due.  
 Whenever we encounter a party of men,  
 We turn them back, their kidneys bleeding.

The tribes of the Banū l-Hūn b. Khuzayma are ‘Aḍal and Dīsh, the sons of Yaytha‘ b. al-Hūn b. Khuzayma. As for al-Ḥakam b. Hūn b. Khuzayma, he went to Yemen and settled in the territory of Madhḥij. Sons were born to him there. He died, and his sons traced their ancestry to Ḥakam b. Sa’d al-‘Ashīra.

Virtues whose excellence cannot be enumerated became apparent in Kināna b. Khuzayma. The Arabs extolled him. It has been related that Kināna was visited while he was sleeping in the Ḥijr.<sup>1483</sup> It was said to him, “Choose, Father of al-Naḍr, between the neighing of horses, the braying (of camels),<sup>1484</sup> the building of walls, or lasting might.” He said, “All of this, Lord!”—and it was given to him.

Kināna b. Khuzayma begot al-Naḍr,<sup>1485</sup> | Ḥudāl, Sa’d, Malk,<sup>1486</sup> ‘Awf, and 1:267  
 Makhrama<sup>1487</sup> (their mother was Hāla bt. Suwayd b. al-Ghiṭrīf, who was Ḥāritha b. Imru’ al-Qays b. Tha’laba b. Māzin b. al-Ghawth), ‘Alī and Ghazwān (their mother was Barra bt. Murr), Jarwal and al-Ḥārith (their mother was from the Azd Shanū’a), and ‘Abd Manāt (his mother was al-Dhafrā’, whose name was

1483 The Ḥijr is the area northwest of the Ka’ba.

1484 Reading with M, *al-hadr*, which can mean either “the braying of camels” or “sonorous and fluent speech,” that is, eloquence. See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.

1485 Margin M and C adds: “He is Quraysh, and anyone not of his children is no Qurashī.” The margin of M also has at the bottom of the previous page: “He is the one named Quraysh, and to him is traced the genealogy of the tribes of Quraysh.”

1486 Sic M; so vocalized in al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 10. Ed. Leiden: Mālik.

1487 Thus in ed. Leiden. The reading is uncertain. C and M appear to read Maḥraba, and the name later appears as Maḥzama (or Makhzama). The corresponding name in al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 10, is Mujarraba. The parallel in Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 2:19, reads Makhzama.

Fukayha<sup>1488</sup> bt. Hanī [b. Balī] b. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍā’a). As for Makhrama, it is said that they were the Banū Sā’ida, the clan (*rahṭ*) of Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda.<sup>1489</sup>

Belonging to the Banū ‘Abd Manāt b. Kināna—they are the most numerous of Kināna—are the Banū Layth b. Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt; the Banū l-Du’īl b. Bakr; the Banū Ḍamra b. Bakr (to whom belong the Banū Ghifār b. Mulayk b. Ḍamra); and the Banū Jadhīma b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Abd Manāt, whom Khālīd b. al-Walīd smote at al-Ghumayṣā’;<sup>1490</sup> and the Banū Mudlij b. Murra b. ‘Abd Manāt.

Belonging to the Banū Malk<sup>1491</sup> b. Kināna b. Khuzayma are the Banū Fuqaym b. ‘Adī b. ‘Āmir b. Tha’laba b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālīk<sup>1492</sup> b. Kināna. Belonging to the Banū Fuqaym were those with the office of regulating the calendar, and they were those named al-Qalammas.<sup>1493</sup> They used to postpone months and declare them profane or sacred. The first of them was Ḥudhayfa b. ‘Abd Fuqaym, who was named al-Qalammas; then this devolved on his children. After him arose ‘Abbād b. Ḥudhayfa, his son. After ‘Abbād came Qala’ b. ‘Abbād, Umayya b. Qala’, ‘Awf b. Umayya, and Junāda b. ‘Awf, who was Abū Thumāma.

1488 Sic ed. Leiden and in al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 10; M: Fakha.

1489 Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda was the leader of the Medinan clan of Banū Sā’ida of the tribe of Khazraj in the days of the Prophet. He was one of the Medinans who pledged loyalty to Muḥammad at the Second Pledge of al-‘Aqaba before the *hijra* and became one of the leaders of the Muslims of Medina.

1490 For an account of this raid, which took place soon after Muḥammad’s conquest of Mecca in 8 A.H. (early in 630 CE), see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1649–1653; al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:875–884; and Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 4:428–436 (tr. Guillaume, 561–565).

1491 Sic M; ed. Leiden: Mālīk.

1492 Sic M and ed. Leiden. This may simply be a copyist’s error for the less common ‘Malk.’

1493 Literally, “Belonging to the Banū Fuqaym were the *nasa’a* and the *qalāmis*.” The word *nasa’a* derives from a verb meaning “to postpone”; *al-qalāmis* is the plural of the proper name *al-Qalammas*. The word is glossed by the *Lisān al-‘Arab* as “overflowing,” applied to a great chieftain or a well full of water. It adds that “al-Qalammas al-Kinānī was one of the postponers (*nasa’a*) of months for the Arabs in the Time of Ignorance.” The pre-Islamic Arabs observed a lunar calendar, beginning each month at the sighting of the new moon, and counting twelve months to a normal year. However, like the Jews and unlike later Muslims, they interpolated a leap month at intervals in order to synchronize the lunar year with the solar year and the seasons, a practice prohibited by Qur’ān 9:36–37. The office of proclaiming such a leap month (*nasī*) was at one time vested in the Banū Fuqaym. Because interpolating such a month would also disturb the sequence of sacred and profane months, the practice came to be known as “delaying” or “postponing.”



Also belonging to them<sup>1494</sup> is Firās b. | Ghanm b. Mālik<sup>1495</sup> b. Kināna. These are 1:268  
the most numerous of the tribes of Kināna.

As for AL-NAḌR b. Kināna, he was the first who was called al-Qurashī.<sup>1496</sup> He is said to have received the name because of his “providing for his family” (*taqarrush*) and lofty ambition. Others have said that it was on account of his trading and affluence. It is also said to have been on account of a sea creature called *qarsh* (shark)—his mother named him Quraysh, which is the diminutive of *qarsh*.<sup>1497</sup> Therefore, anyone not of the descendants of al-Naḍr b. Kināna is not a Qurashī.

Al-Naḍr b. Kināna begot Mālik, Yakhlud, and al-Ṣalt. Al-Naḍr was (called) Abū al-Ṣalt. The mother of al-Naḍr’s children was ʿIkriṣha bt. ʿAdwān b. ʿAmr b. Qays b. ʿAylān. As for the descendants of Yakhlud, no one belonging to them is known to have survived. As for the descendants of al-Ṣalt, they went among the Khuzāʿa. Among his descendants was the poet Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who said concerning his genealogy:<sup>1498</sup>

Isn’t my father al-Ṣalt? Aren’t my brothers  
every noble, most illustrious man of the Banū l-Naḍr?

Mālik b. al-Naḍr was a man of great standing. Among his children were Fihir, al-Ḥārith, and Shaybān (their mother was Jandala bt. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith al-Jurhumī). Some say that the real name of Fihir b. Mālik was Quraysh—Fihir was only a nickname (*laqab*) and Quraysh was his name. Signs of excellence appeared in Fihir b. Mālik during his father’s lifetime. When his father died, he took his place.

Among the children of Fihir b. Mālik were Ghālib, al-Ḥārith, Muḥārib, and Jandala—their mother was Laylā bt. al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm | b. Saʿd b. Hudhayl. 1:269

1494 That is, to the Banū Malk/Mālik b. Kināna.

1495 Sic M and ed. Leiden. This may be a copyist’s error for the less common ‘Malk.’

1496 That is, the one of Quraysh. The relative adjective from Quraysh is Qurashī, with omission of the *y*.

1497 The derivation of the name of the Prophet’s tribe, Quraysh, fascinated Arab genealogists and lexicographers, who cited many possible explanations, none backed by much evidence. See W. Montgomery Watt’s article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Quraysh*; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:1103–1104.

1498 See *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 8:28 (ed. Cairo, 9:3126); and *Dīwān Kuthayyir ʿAzza* (ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās), 233–235, for variants and an account of the circumstances of composition.

Among the children of al-Ḥārith b. Fihr was Ḍabba b. al-Ḥārith, the clan (*raḥṭ*) of Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ.<sup>1499</sup>

Among the children of Muḥārib b. Fihr was Shaybān b. Muḥārib, the clan (*raḥṭ*) of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays.<sup>1500</sup>

Ghālib b. Fihr was the most excellent of them and the one whose nobility was most apparent. It is related that when Fihr b. Mālik was about to die, he said to his son Ghālib: “My son, in fearful anticipation there is distress for the soul. Agitation is only before misfortunes; when a misfortune does occur, its heat cools.<sup>1501</sup> Anxiety is only in the (misfortune’s) boiling; when it does arise, cool the heat of your misfortune by means of your seeing the befalling of fate before you, behind you, at your right, and at your left, and by means of what you see in its wake in the way of effacement of life; then content yourself with your little, even though its benefit be small; for a little that is in your hand will profit you more than much that will disgrace you<sup>1502</sup> if it comes to you.” When Fihr died, Ghālib b. Fihr became eminent and his fortunes rose. Among his children were Lu’ayy and Taym al-Adram (their mother was ‘Ātika bt. Yakhluḍ b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna), as well as Ya’lub, Wahb, Kathīr, and Ḥarrāq—of the latter there is no remnant, but Taym al-Adram had offspring.

Lu’ayy b. Ghālib was an eminent *ṣayyid* of clear merit. It is related that while he was yet a young lad, he said to his father, Ghālib b. Fihr: “Father, many a favor receives small recompense. [...]”<sup>1503</sup> When something is rendered obscure, it is not remembered. A client (*mawlā*) must magnify and publicize what is small, and a patron (*mawlā*) must minimize and cover over what is large.” His father said to him: “Son, I find proof of your merit in what I hear of your words, and I pray that you may have abundance among your people in return for them. If  
1:270 you obtain abundance, bestow favor | on your people, and protect against the vehemence of their hotheadedness (*jahl*) by means of your levelheadedness

1499 Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ was an early Meccan convert to Islam. He emigrated to Medina, led several military expeditions, and was active in the conquest of Mecca. See the article by H. A. R. Gibb in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū ‘Ubayda ‘Āmir b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḍjarrāḥ.

1500 Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri became a partisan of Mu‘āwiya, but later supported the caliphal claims of Ibn al-Zubayr. He was killed in 64/684. See the article by A. Dietrich in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri.

1501 Reading with M: *barada ḥarruhā* (carefully pointed). The ductus in C is undotted, which led the Leiden editor to read, *tazdajirhā* (you should restrain it), which is grammatically problematic and makes less sense.

1502 Literally, “what will wear out your face.”

1503 Five or six words follow whose reading and translation are unintelligible.

(*ḥilm*).<sup>1504</sup> Bring them together by your gentleness (*rifq*). For men are superior to (other) men on account of their deeds; so associate with them<sup>1505</sup> according to their weights. And cause merit to fall ...<sup>1506</sup> Anyone whose rank is not higher than another person's will have no merit. The higher will always have merit over the lower." When Ghālib b. Fihri died, Lu'ayy b. Ghālib took his place.

Among the children of Lu'ayy were Ka'b, 'Āmir, Sāma, and Khuzayma (their mother was 'Āidha); 'Awf, al-Ḥārith, and Jusham (their mother was Māwiyya bt. Ka'b b. al-Qayn); and Sa'd b. Lu'ayy (his mother was Yasra<sup>1507</sup> bt. Ghālib b. al-Hūn b. Khuzayma).

As for Sāma b. Lu'ayy, he fled from his brother 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.<sup>1508</sup> This is because there was a quarrel between them and Sāma assaulted 'Āmir and put out his eye. 'Āmir then put him in fear, and so he fled from him and went to Oman. It is said that as he passed on a camel of his one day, the camel put its lip to the ground and an adder clung to it. The camel shook it off, and it fell on Sāma. The adder bit his leg and killed him. People allege that when he felt death coming, he said:

My eye, weep for Sāma b. Lu'ayy!

The Clinger-Fast<sup>1509</sup> has clung to his leg.

Never did they see the like of Sāma b. Lu'ayy,

when they came upon him slain by a camel.

Send a messenger to tell 'Āmir and Ka'b

that my soul yearns for the two of them.

If my abode is in Oman, verily I

am a man of glory; I went forth without need.

To ward off death, O son of Lu'ayy,

your poured out many a cup that was not (truly) poured out.<sup>1510</sup>

You wished to repel the death-decrees, O son of Lu'ayy,

but no one who wishes to do that has any power over death.

1504 The antithetical characteristics of *ḥilm* and *jahl* are frequently contrasted in Arabic. The concepts are discussed in the article by Ch. Pellat in *Et*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḥilm*.

1505 Following the apparent reading of M: *fa-ānishā*. Ed. Leiden: *fa-innahā* (and they are).

1506 The text is uncertain. Several words appear to have fallen out.

1507 Vowels uncertain. Al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 13, reads 'Busra.'

1508 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 63 (which quotes the entire poem, with variants); *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 9:104 (ed. Cairo, 10:3667), which quotes two lines of the poem and identifies them as part of an elegy composed by Sāma's brother.

1509 *Al-ʿAllāqa*, an epithet for Death, or the Decree of Death.

1510 That is, that was ineffective in repelling death.

1:271 As for Khuzayma b. Lu'ayy, who is 'Ā'idha, he settled among Shaybān, and his children traced their descent to Rabī'a. As for al-Ḥārith, Jusham,<sup>1511</sup> and Sa'd, they settled among the Hizzān and traced their descent to them. Jarīr b. al-Khaṭaṭī says about them:

Banū Jusham, you are not of the Hizzān; trace your descent  
to the highest of the hills: Lu'ayy b. Ghālib.

As for 'Awf b. Lu'ayy, he went out—so they say—in a caravan from the Quraysh, and when he was in the territory of Ghaṭafān, his camel slowed down, and those of his people who were with him went on ahead. Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān came to him, took him in, and made him his brother; and so his genealogy came to be among 'Awf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān. Al-Ḥārith b. Zālim, who was one of the Banū Murra b. 'Awf, said:<sup>1512</sup>

My people are not Tha'laba b. Sa'd,  
nor Fazāra, who have long hair on their necks.<sup>1513</sup>  
My people—if you ask the Banū Lu'ayy  
in Mecca—taught Muḍar how to fight.  
We were foolish to follow the Banū Baghīḍ  
and to leave those who were most closely related to us.

Al-Ḥārith b. Zālim also said regarding this:<sup>1514</sup>

When you separate yourselves from Tha'laba b. Sa'd  
and their brothers, you are ascribed to Lu'ayy:  
To a genealogy noble and not ...,<sup>1515</sup>  
a tribe who are the most noble of each tribe.

1511 Deleting MS "and he is" before Jusham, which makes no sense. In M, the word is written above "al-Ḥārith," apparently to correct the copyist's omission of "and." Also, the pronoun afterward is in the plural, not the dual, indicating that at least three persons are meant.

1512 Parallels, with more verses and an account of the circumstances of the poem, in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 64; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, No. 90; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 10:28 (the account of al-Ḥārith b. Zālim begins at 10:17).

1513 According to the dictionaries, this is a compliment, implying comparison to the lion with its mane, a symbol of fortitude. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ash'ar*.

1514 This sentence and the following poem are written in the margin of M and C and may not be part of the original text.

1515 A word has fallen out.

Though my kindred among them are far away, of them  
are God's favorites, the Banū Quṣayy.

There is much poetry by al-Ḥārith b. Zālim about this. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb summoned the Banū ʿAwf, so that he might restore them to their genealogy in Quraysh. They consulted ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who said to them: "You are exalted among your people; do not be | adjuncts in Quraysh."

1:272

As for ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy, among his children were Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir, Maʿīṣ b. ʿĀmir, and ʿUwayṣ b. ʿĀmir (their mother was a woman from Qaran). ʿUwayṣ b. ʿĀmir had no surviving descendants; the surviving descendants are from Ḥisl and Maʿīṣ.

As for KAʿB b. Luʿayy, he was the greatest of his father's children in rank and nobility. He was the first to call Friday "the Day of Congregation"<sup>1516</sup>—the Arabs used to call it "[the Day of] ʿArūba."<sup>1517</sup> He gathered them together on it, and he would address them, saying: "Hear and learn! Understand and know. Verily the nighttime is silent, and the daytime shadeless.<sup>1518</sup> The earth is a cradle, the heaven a tent-pole, the mountains pegs, and the stars signposts.<sup>1519</sup> The earliest (men) are as the latest.<sup>1520</sup> Sons are a memorial; therefore, tie close your ties of kinship, and maintain your ties by marriage. Make your wealth abundant. Have you ever seen a mortal who has returned or a dead man who was revived? The abode<sup>1521</sup> is before you, and the (likely) opinion<sup>1522</sup> is other than what you say.

1516 Arabic, *yawm al-jumuʿa*.

1517 The meaning of ʿArūba was unclear to the Arabic lexicographers. Some thought the word had been borrowed from "Nabatean" (that is, Aramaic), and indeed Syriac *ʿrubtā* means Friday, so this seems the most likely derivation. Others derived it from the Arabic verb *aʿraba*, "to make clear, plain," and said that it meant "manifest and magnified." See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

1518 Arabic, *inna al-layla sājin wa-l-nahāra dāhin*. This clearly anticipates Qurʾān 93:3, "*wa-l-ḡuḥā wa-l-layli idhā sajā*," "By white forenoon and the brooding night!" (Arberry translation).

1519 Arabic, *wa-l-arḍa mihādun wa-l-jibāla awtādun*. This clearly anticipates Qurʾān 78:6–7: "*a-lam najʿali l-arḍa mihādun wa-l-jibāla awtādan*," "Have We not made the earth as a cradle and the mountains as pegs?"

1520 This is somewhat cryptic. The form of the Arabic plural (*al-awwalūn ka-l-ākhirīn*) normally refers to people.

1521 Arabic *dār*, again cryptic. It sometimes means simply a house, or the territory in which a tribe dwells, but it can also refer to the grave, or (in Islamic usage) the *dār al-ākhirā*, the hereafter.

1522 Arabic *al-ẓann*.

As for your sanctuary, adorn it, glorify it, and hold to it; for a mighty tiding shall come to you,<sup>1523</sup> and from it shall emerge a noble prophet.” Then he would say:

Day and night—each will return bringing an event:  
 equal to us its night and its day.  
 Both will return bringing events, when they return,  
 and bringing blessings whose coverings are pure over us:  
 Vicissitudes and tidings that will overcome their people:  
 they shall have knots, whose rope cannot be undone.  
 Suddenly shall come the Prophet Muḥammad,  
 and he shall bring messages whose knower is truthful.

1:273 He also would say: “Would that I might witness the secret discourse of his summoning. If I were possessed of hearing, sight, a hand, and a foot, I would stand up for him like a calf, and go swiftly like a camel, glad | at his summons, joyful at his call.”

When Kaʿb died, Quraysh dated events from the death of Kaʿb. Among the children of Kaʿb were Murra and Huṣayṣ (their mother was Waḥshiyya bt. Shaybān b. Muḥārīb b. Fihr, b. Mālik), also ʿAdī b. Kaʿb (his mother was Ḥabība bt. Bajāla b. Saʿd b. Fahm b. ʿAmr b. Qays b. ʿAylān). ʿAdī b. Kaʿb was the clan (*raḥṭ*) of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The children of Huṣayṣ b. Kaʿb were Sahm and Jumah.

Murra b. Kaʿb was an ambitious *sayyid*. He married Hind bt. Surayr<sup>1524</sup> b. Thaʿlaba b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Kināna—Surayr was the first to postpone months. Hind bore to Murra Kilāb. Then Murra married the daughter of Saʿd b. Bāriq, and she bore him Taym and Yaqaḏa. Taym b. Murra was the clan (*raḥṭ*) of Abū Bakr, and Makhzūm b. Yaqaḏa b. Murra was his clan also.<sup>1525</sup>

Kilāb b. Murra was an eminent man and his standing was high. He united the eminence of his father and of his grandfather on his mother’s side, because they used to give the pilgrimage permission to proceed and would declare months

1523 Cf. Qurʾān 78:1–2: “Of what do they question one another? Of the mighty tiding where-on they are at variance.”

1524 MSS Shurayq, corrected by ed. Leiden on basis of Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, N14. The same name occurs in al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 13, vocalized as Sarīr. Note that on p. 1:267 above, the office of correcting the calendar by postponing months is traced to the descendants of Surayr’s brother ʿAmir, specifically to the children of Fuqaym b. ʿAdī b. ʿAmir b. Thaʿlaba.

1525 This seems to mean that Makhzūm b. Yaqaḏa b. Murra was also a clan descended from Murra, not that Abū Bakr was somehow descended also from Makhzūm.

holy or profane. They used to be called “the postponers” and “the people named al-Qalammas.”<sup>1526</sup>

Among the children of Kilāb b. Murra were Quṣayy, Zuhra, and Nuʿm.<sup>1527</sup> The Messenger of God said, “The purest of Quraysh are the two sons of Kilāb.” Their mother was Fāṭima bt. Saʿd b. Sayal al-Azdī. Saʿd b. Sayal was the first for whom swords were adorned with gold and silver. The poet says concerning him:<sup>1528</sup>

I think that among men there is no person—  
know this!—like Saʿd b. Sayal.

When Kilāb died, Fāṭima bt. Saʿd b. Sayal married Rabīʿa b. Ḥarām al-ʿUdhri. He took her away to his people’s territory, and she carried Quṣayy with her. | His name had been Zayd, but when he became far from the territory of his people, she named him Quṣayy.<sup>1529</sup> When Quṣayy, who was still under the guardianship of Rabīʿa, became a young man, one of the Banū ʿUdhra said to him, “Go join your own people, for you are not one of us.” “To whom do I belong?” he asked. “Ask your mother!” he said. So he asked her. She said, “You are more noble than he in soul, father, and descent. You are the son of Kilāb b. Murra. Your people are God’s folk and in His sanctuary.” Now the Quraysh never left Mecca; however, when they became many, water became scarce for them, and so they dispersed into the side-valleys. Quṣayy disliked being a stranger and wanted to depart to his people. His mother, however, said to him: “Do not be in a hurry. Wait until the sacred month comes, and then go out with the pilgrims of Quḍāʿa,<sup>1530</sup> for I fear for you.” When the sacred month came, he went out with them and reached Mecca. Quṣayy stayed in Mecca until he became a prominent and powerful man and children were born to him.

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Now the office of doorkeeper (*ḥijāba*) of the Kaʿba had come into the possession of the Khuzāʿa. This was because it had gone to the Iyād, and when

<sup>1526</sup> See note 1493 to 1:267, above.

<sup>1527</sup> The name of Nuʿm, a daughter, is present in the manuscripts (vocalized in M); the Leiden editor emended *wa-nuʿm* unnecessarily to *wa-fihimā*, “and concerning the two.”

<sup>1528</sup> Parallel, with more verses, in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 68. Biographies of Quṣayy can be found in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 36–42; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1092–1100; Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:12–17. See also the article by G. Levi Della Vida in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḥuṣayy*.

<sup>1529</sup> The name is a diminutive of the adjective *qasīyy* (remote).

<sup>1530</sup> The Banū ʿUdhra belonged to the larger group of Quḍāʿa, the tribal genealogy being ʿUdhra b. Saʿd Hudhaym b. Zayd b. Layth b. Sūd b. Aslum b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍāʿa. See article by M. Lecker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *ʿUdhra*.

the latter decided to depart from Mecca, they loaded the Black Stone<sup>1531</sup> onto a camel, but the camel would not get up; so they buried the stone and departed. A woman of the Khuzā'a saw them when they buried it. When the Iyād departed, it grieved the Muḍar, and the Quraysh and the others of Muḍar found it distressing. The woman of the Khuzā'a said to her people, "Stipulate to the Quraysh and the rest of Muḍar that they transfer the office of doorkeeper of the Ka'ba to you, and I will show you where the Black Stone is." They did this, and when they uncovered the Black Stone, they transferred the office of doorkeeper to them. Thus, when Quṣayy b. Kilāb arrived in Mecca, the office of doorkeeper had come into the possession of the Khuzā'a. The office of giving the signal for the pilgrims to set forth had gone to Šūfa<sup>1532</sup> (he was al-Ghawth b. Murr, the brother of Tamīm)—the pilgrimage and the office of giving the pilgrims the signal to depart from 'Arafāt had gone to him. Then it went to his descendants after him. The Banū l-Qays b. Kināna used to postpone the months, declaring them profane or sacred. When Quṣayy saw this, he gathered his kinsmen from the Banū Fihir b. Mālik and drew them to himself. When the pilgrimage arrived, |  
 1:275 he prevented Šūfa from giving the signal to set forth. The Khuzā'a and the Banū Bakr stood with him. Then, however, realizing that Quṣayy would do to them as he had done to Šūfa and that he would deprive them of the command of Mecca and the office of doorkeeper of the Ka'ba, they withdrew from him and turned against him. When he saw that, he decided to fight them. He sent word to his half-brother on his mother's side, Darrāj<sup>1533</sup> b. Rabī'a al-'Udhri, and his brother came to him, bringing those of the Quḍā'a whom he could muster. Some have said that Darrāj arrived when Quṣayy had already declared war on the men; Darrāj, who intended to go to the Ka'ba, aided his brother by means of himself and his people. The two sides fought fiercely in the valley of Mecca, until there were many slain on both sides. Then they called each other to a truce and that a man from the Arabs should mediate between them concerning their dispute. They chose Ya'mur b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Layth b. Bakr b. Kināna as mediator. He ruled that Quṣayy was more entitled than the Khuzā'a to the Ka'ba and the command of Mecca; that all the blood that Quṣayy had spilt of the Khuzā'a and the Banū Bakr was remitted and trampled under his feet,<sup>1534</sup> but that whatever injuries the Khuzā'a and the Banū Bakr had inflicted on Quraysh were subject to bloodwite (they paid 25 camels fattened for slaughter and 30 lean camels as

1531 Arabic, *al-rukn*, the Black Stone affixed to the east corner of the Ka'ba.

1532 Šūfa, here treated by al-Ya'qūbī as the name of an individual, is to be understood as the progenitor of a tribe. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, p. 38: "Šūfa, and they were al-Ghawth ..."

1533 Called Rizāḥ in Ibn Sa'd and al-Ṭabarī; the two words are very similar in Arabic script.

1534 That is, not subject to retaliation or the payment of bloodwite.



bloodwit); and that they should give Quṣayy control of the Kaʿba and Mecca. Yaʿmur accordingly was called “al-Shaddākh.”<sup>1535</sup>

In Mecca there was no house in the Sanctuary (Ḥaram). The people would be there only by day, and when evening came they would depart. When Quṣayy gathered the Quraysh together—he was the most sagacious person ever seen among the Arabs—he settled the Quraysh in the Sanctuary: he gathered them together at night and stayed with them until morning around the Kaʿba. So the nobles of the Banū Kināna went to him and said: “This is something terrible in the eyes of the Arabs. Even if we left you alone (to do it), the Arabs would not leave you alone.” He said, “By God, I will not depart from it.” So he stood firm. When the pilgrimage arrived, he said to the Quraysh: “The pilgrimage has arrived. The Arabs have heard what | you have done, and they are upset at you. However, I know of no deed more noble in the eyes of the Arabs than providing food; so let each man among you bring out an expenditure from his wealth.” They did this, and he gathered up a large quantity from it. When the first of the pilgrims arrived, he slaughtered a camel on each of the roads to Mecca and slaughtered also in Mecca. He set up an enclosure and put into it food consisting of bread and meat, and he provided water and milk to drink. He then turned his attention to the Kaʿba, appointed a key for it and doorkeepers, and prevented the Khuzāʿa from having access to it; and so the Kaʿba came into the hands of Quṣayy. Then he built his house in Mecca—it was the first dwelling built in Mecca—and it is the Dār al-Nadwa.<sup>1536</sup>

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Some have related that—when Quṣayy allied himself to Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya al-Khuzāʿī, by marrying his daughter Ḥubbā and she bore him children—Ḥulayl at his death bequeathed the custodianship of the House<sup>1537</sup> to Quṣayy. He said: “Your children are my children. You are most entitled to the House.” Ḥubbā bt. [Ḥulayl b.] Ḥubshiyya had borne to Quṣayy b. Kilāb: ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and ʿAbd Quṣayy.

Others have said that Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya gave the key to Abū Ghubshān (he was Sulaymān b. ʿAmr b. Buwayy b. Malakān<sup>1538</sup> b. Afṣā b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir) and that Quṣayy bought it and the custodianship of the House from him

1535 That is, the one who allows claims for retaliation and bloodwite to be “trampled under foot.”

1536 The House of Gathering, which later served as a kind of town hall where important matters were decided. See the article by R. Paret in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dār al-Nadwa.

1537 That is, the Kaʿba.

1538 Ed. Leiden vocalizes ‘Malakān,’ as in Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, 2:581, and Table 12. The editors of the Leiden Ṭabarī preferred ‘Milkān,’ as recommended by the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v.

for a skin of wine and a young camel.<sup>1539</sup> So it was said, “More contemptible than Abū Ghubshān’s bargain.”<sup>1540</sup> The Khuzā’a jumped up and said, “We do not accept what Abū Ghubshān has done,” and so fighting broke out between them. Someone said:

Abū Ghubshān is more unjust than Quṣayy,  
and the Khuzā’a are more unjust than the sons of Fihri.  
So do not revile Quṣayy for his purchase;  
blame your shaykh, since he sold it.

1:277 Quṣayy took control of the Ka’ba, the command of Mecca, and rule. He gathered the tribes of Quraysh together and commanded | them (to dwell) in the valley of Mecca. Some of them had been in the side-valleys and on the hilltops. He divided their dwelling places among them, and therefore he received the name Mujammi’.<sup>1541</sup> The poet says concerning them:

Your father Quṣayy was called Mujammi’:  
by him God gathered together the tribes of Fihri.

Their men made him king over themselves. Quṣayy was the first of the descendants of Ka’b b. Lu’ayy who attained to kingship. When he divided the valley of Mecca into quarters among the Quraysh, they were afraid to cut the trees of the sacred precinct to build their houses; so Quṣayy cut them with his own hand, and then they continued doing so. Quṣayy was the first who rendered the Quraysh mighty; their honor, glory, splendor, and cohesion<sup>1542</sup> became apparent through him. He gathered them together and settled them in Mecca. They had previously been dispersed in abode, small in might, and lowly in lands, until God brought them together in union, honored their abode, and strengthened their habitation. All of Quraysh was in the valley, except the

1539 Arabic, *qa’ūd*. The parallels in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1094, and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:13, read *‘awd* (an old camel).

1540 M reads “More unprofitable (*akhsar*) than ...” This is also the reading of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:13. But the proverb is usually quoted in the form given by the Leiden editor (*akhass*). The two words are easily confused in Arabic script.

1541 That is, Gatherer.

1542 Arabic, “their *taqarrush*,” playing on the name Quraysh. The dictionaries (cf. *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v.) gloss *taqarrush* as “gather together, adhere, cohere,” and explain that they were called *Quraysh* “because of their gathering together in Mecca from around it after having been scattered in the lands.” Cf. also Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, p. 38.

Banū Muḥārib and (Banū) l-Ḥārith, the sons of Fihri; some of the Banū Taym b. Ghālib, i.e., (Taym) al-Adram; and the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy—these settled in the outskirts (*ḡawāhir*).

Having obtained preeminence over all Mecca, having divided it among the Quraysh, having become secure in his authority, and having expelled the Khuzāʿa, Quṣayy tore down the Kaʿba and rebuilt it as no one had ever built it. The length of its walls had been nine cubits, but he made it eighteen cubits. He roofed it with wood of the doum palm (Arabic, *dawm*) and fronds of the date palm. He built the House of Assembly (Dār al-Nadwa)—no man of Quraysh would marry, neither would they take counsel on any matter, or appoint anyone to a military command, or circumcise a boy, except in the House of Assembly. During his life and after his death, the Quraysh regarded his command as a religion to be followed. He was the first to dig in Mecca, after Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm: he dug (the well) al-ʿAjūl, and it was completed<sup>1543</sup> during his lifetime and after his death. It is said to be in the house of Umm Hānīʾ bt. Abī Ṭālib. | Quṣayy was the first to give a name to a horse: he had a mount called ‘the Eagle’ that was black.

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Among the children of Quṣayy were ʿAbd Manāf, who was called al-Qamar<sup>1544</sup>—he was the *sayyid* who was (as generous as) a river,<sup>1545</sup> and his name was al-Mughīra; ʿAbd al-Dār; ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā; and ʿAbd Quṣayy. Quṣayy is said to have said, “I named two after my two gods, another after my dwelling place, and another after myself.” Quṣayy made division among his children: he gave the office of providing the pilgrims with water (*siqāya*) and the leadership (*riʾāsa*) to ʿAbd Manāf; the House (of Assembly)<sup>1546</sup> to ʿAbd al-Dār; the office of providing the pilgrims with food (*rifāda*)<sup>1547</sup> to ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā; and the two sides of the valley to ʿAbd Quṣayy. Quṣayy said to his children: “Whoever esteems a villain, shares in his villainy. Whoever regards as fair one who should

1543 Reading with M: *fa-tamma*, instead of ed. Leiden *fī*.

1544 That is, “Moon”—al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1091, adds “on account of his beauty.”

1545 The reading and meaning are uncertain. M reads either *al-sayyid al-fahir* or *al-sayyid al-nahir/al-nahr*, and ed. Leiden follows the second of these readings. It might mean, “the sayyid (chief) who was (as generous as) a river (*nahr*),” or “the sayyid who traveled by day (*nahir*).” The meaning of *al-sayyid al-fahir* is obscure.

1546 Al-Yaʿqūbī has simply, “*Wa-l-dār li-ʿAbd al-Dār*.” Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1099, is more specific: “Then he gave him his own house, the House of Assembly.”

1547 On the *rifāda*, cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 83: “The *rifāda* was a tax which Quraysh used to pay from their property to Quṣayy at every festival. With it he used to provide food for the pilgrims who were unable to afford their own provisions.” (Trans. Guillaume, 55).

be regarded as foul, becomes his partner. Whomever your generosity cannot correct, guide him by contempt for him,<sup>1548</sup> for the remedy stops the disease.”

Quṣayy died and was buried at al-Ḥajūn,<sup>1549</sup> and ‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy became the leader. His standing became high and his esteem great. When the authority of ‘Abd Manāf became great, the Khuzā’a and the Banū l-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd Manāt b. Kināna came to him to ask him to institute an alliance, so that they might become powerful through it; and so he made an alliance between them (and the Quraysh) called the Alliance of the Aḥābīsh.<sup>1550</sup> The chief<sup>1551</sup> of the Banū Kināna who asked ‘Abd Manāf to institute the alliance was ‘Amr b. Halal b. Ma‘īṣ b. ‘Āmir.<sup>1552</sup> The alliance of the Aḥābīsh was sworn at the corner of the Ka‘ba.<sup>1553</sup> A man from Quraysh and another from the Aḥābīsh would stand there. They would place their hands on the corner and swear by Allāh the Slayer and by the sanctity of this house, the standing place (*maqām*), the corner, and the sacred month, for help against all men, until Allāh shall inherit the earth and whoever is on it; a mutual compact and cooperation against anyone from  
 1:279 among all men who would conspire against them, | as long as sea shall wet seaweed, as long as Ḥirā and Thabīr<sup>1554</sup> shall stand, and as long as the sun shall rise from its rising place, until the day of resurrection. It was called [the Alliance of] the Aḥābīsh.

‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy begot Hāshim<sup>1555</sup> (his name was ‘Amr, and he was called ‘Amr al-‘Ulā; he received the name Hāshim because he used to crum-

1548 Arabic: *fa-dullūhu bi-hawānihi*. The meaning is not clear.

1549 Al-Ḥajūn was a cemetery outside Mecca at the foot of a hill of the same name.

1550 The meaning of *aḥābīsh* is unclear. Superficially, it seems connected with the word for Abyssinians (Ḥabash), but nothing in the context indicates any connection between these Arab tribes and people of Abyssinian origin. Other possible explanations are that the word is the plural of *uḥbūsh* or *uḥbūsha* and means “companies or bodies of men, not all of one tribe” (Lane), or that the confederacy took its name from a mountain called al-Ḥubshī or a wadi called Aḥbash (Ibn Hishām’s explanation, v. *Sīra*, 246). See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥabash.

1551 Reading with M: *mudriḥ* (as vocalized in the manuscript; the more common form is *midrah*); emended unnecessarily in ed. Leiden to *mudabbir* (“manager”).

1552 At this point, the manuscripts insert a sentence, apparently misplaced (M precedes it with a curious x-shaped mark), which the Leiden editor moved below: “She bore him all of these, and she it was [at whose hands] the Alliance of the Aḥābīsh took place.”

1553 That is, by the Black Stone.

1554 Ḥirā and Thabīr are two mountains to the north-east of Mecca.

1555 Parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 87–89; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1088–1091; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:11–12. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf.

ble<sup>1556</sup> bread and pour broth and meat on it in a year of dearth that struck the Quraysh), ‘Abd Shams, al-Muṭṭalib, Nawfal, Abū ‘Amr, Ḥanna,<sup>1557</sup> Tumāḍir, Umm al-Akhtham, Umm Sufyān,<sup>1558</sup> Hāla, and Qilāba. The mother of all of them, except Nawfal and Abū ‘Amr, was ‘Ātika bt. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Thaʿlaba b. Buhtha b. Sulaym. She bore him all of these, and she it was [at whose hands] the Alliance of the Aḥābīsh took place.<sup>1559</sup> The mother of Nawfal and Abū ‘Amr was Wāqida bt. Abī ‘Adī (he was ‘Āmir b. ‘Abd Nuhm) of the Banū ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa’a. Hāshim and ‘Abd Shams are said to have been twins.<sup>1560</sup> Hāshim came out, and ‘Abd Shams followed him, his heel adhering to his heel, and so they were cut apart with a razor. People said, “There will surely emerge between the children of these two such severance as has never taken place between any.”

Hāshim rose to eminence after his father and became powerful. The Quraysh agreed to bestow on Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf the primacy (*riāsa*) and the offices of providing the pilgrims with water (*siqāya*) and food (*rifāda*). When the pilgrimage arrived, he would stand up among the Quraysh as an orator, saying: “People of Quraysh, you | are God’s neighbors, the people of His sacred house. God’s visitors come to you at this season to magnify the sanctity of His house. They are God’s guests, and the guests most entitled to generosity are His guests. God has chosen you for this and honored you by it, and He has preserved with regard to you the most excellent part of what one neighbor has ever preserved with regard to another. Therefore be generous to His guests and visitors, for they come from every land, disheveled and dusty, on camels as thin as arrows. They have become weak and weary,<sup>1561</sup> infested with lice, and covered with sand. Receive them and relieve their need!” The Quraysh would thereupon bring gifts. Hāshim would bring out much wealth and order leather basins to be placed at the site of Zamzam. Water would be poured into them from the wells that were in Mecca, and the pilgrims would drink from them. He used to feed them at Mecca, Minā, ‘Arafa, and Jam’.<sup>1562</sup> He would make gruel for them consisting of

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1556 Arabic *yahshimu*, explaining the name *Hāshim* (the active participle of the same verb).

1557 MSS Ḥasana, corrected by ed. Leiden; cf. Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 43. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 67. and al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 14, read “Ḥayya.”

1558 MSS: Umm Shaybān.

1559 This sentence has been moved by the Leiden editor. See note 1552 above.

1560 The margin of the MSS adds a verse, apparently to illustrate that the two were regarded as twins: “You (plural) have inherited robes of glory, not from remote kin / [but] from the two sons of ‘Abd Manāf: ‘Abd Shams and Hāshim.”

1561 Following M (*wa-qad wahanū wa-thaqilū*). Ed. Leiden: *wa-qad a’yaw wa-tafilū* (they have become weary and malodorous).

1562 Jam’ (gathering) is usually taken as another name for Muzdalifa, a station on the

bread, meat, butter, and barley-meal, and carry water to them, until the people dispersed to their countries, and so he came to be called Hāshim.<sup>1563</sup>

Hāshim was the first to establish the two caravans: a caravan to Syria and a summer caravan to Abyssinia, to the Negus.<sup>1564</sup> This was because the commerce of the Quraysh did not extend beyond Mecca, and so they were in distress, until Hāshim rode to Syria and stayed in the territory of the Byzantine emperor.<sup>1565</sup> He would slaughter a sheep every day, set a bowl before him, and invite those around him. He was one of the best-featured and handsomest of men. This was mentioned to the emperor, who sent for him. When the emperor saw him and heard him speak, he was pleased, and so he kept summoning him back repeatedly. Hāshim said: "King, I have kinsmen. They are the merchants of the Arabs. Do you therefore write a document for them, granting safe passage to them and their merchandise, so that they may bring rarities such as leather and garments<sup>1566</sup> of the Ḥijāz." The emperor did this. Hāshim departed, and whenever he passed through one of the tribes of the Arabs, he secured from their chiefs a pact<sup>1567</sup> that they would be safe among them and in their territory, and so they secured a pact regarding Mecca | and Syria.

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Al-Aswad b. Si'r<sup>1568</sup> al-Kalbī said: "I was the hired man of one of the women of the tribe. I would ride over rough ground and level. I would leave no place where I could hope for any gain without ...<sup>1569</sup> to it with household items and furniture from Syria, trying to ... the Arabs. When I came back, the (pilgrimage) season had come. I reached (Mecca) in the dark. I tied up my camel until the cloak of night lifted from me. Lo and behold, there were pitched lofty round tents made of leather from al-Ṭā'if; there were camels being slaughtered, and

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pilgrimage route about halfway between Minā and 'Arafah. See F. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muzdalifa.

1563 Meaning "the crumbler," sc. of bread.

1564 Cf. Qur'ān, 106:1–2.

1565 Reading with the correction in the margin of M: *fa-nazala bi-arḍ Qayṣar*, with the word *arḍ* (land, territory) added in the margin. The copyist of C (and hence ed. Leiden) omitted the marginal addition, yielding "and stayed with Caesar" (that is, the Byzantine emperor). The omission disturbs the flow of the narrative.

1566 Arabic *thiyāb*, as corrected by ed. Leiden; MSS *nabāt* (plants).

1567 Arabic, *ilāf*, which is the word used in Qur'ān, 106:1–2. The meaning of the word was discussed by commentators, who gave a variety of interpretations. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *ilāf*.

1568 Sic M; ed. Leiden Shi'r. The person is otherwise unknown, although the name Si'r is attested.

1569 The MSS and ed. Leiden read *yarghabu* (desires), but the text must be disturbed.

others being driven ...<sup>1570</sup> 'Make haste!' What I saw dazzled me. I went forward, seeking their chief. 'Straight ahead!' said someone, realizing my intention. So I approached. There was a man on a high throne, with a cushion under him. He had wound a black turban on his head, and allowed beautiful long hair to flow out from its folds. It seemed as if the star Sirius were rising from his brow. In his hand was a staff. Around him were many old men with their heads inclined,<sup>1571</sup> not one of them uttering a word, and before them were servants with their garments tucked halfway up their legs. Lo and behold, there was a man with a loud voice on a high piece of ground, calling out: 'Ambassadors of God,<sup>1572</sup> come to the early meal!' And there were two men on the path of those who had eaten, calling out, 'Ambassadors of God, let whoever has had his early meal come back for his evening meal.' Now it had been related to me by a certain rabbi of the Jews that this was the time to expect the Gentile prophet.<sup>1573</sup> So I said, in order to know what he thought, 'O prophet of God!' 'Stop!' he said, as if my [...] were [...] to him.<sup>1574</sup> So I said to a man who was at my side, 'Who is this?' He said, 'Abū Naḍla Ḥāshim b. 'Abd Manāf.' So I departed, saying, 'This, by God, is true glory, not that of the Āl Jafna.'<sup>1575</sup>

Maṭrūd b. Ka'b al-Khuzā'ī once passed by a man who lived as a neighbor<sup>1576</sup> among the Banū Ḥāshim, along with daughters of his and a wife, in a year | of dearth. The man had gone out carrying his belongings and furnishings, he and his children and his wife, but no one would shelter him. So Maṭrūd al-Khuzā'ī said:<sup>1577</sup>

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1570 The next four words seem to mean, "and eaters and [?] in a state of purity." Additional words seem to have fallen out, as the next words need to be introduced by a phrase such as "Someone said."

1571 That is, in respect. The Arabic, *munakkisū l-adhqān*, means literally, "lowering their beards, or chins."

1572 Arabic, *yā wafid Allāh*: perhaps better understood as "ambassadors to God," on the analogy of people who come to the court of a king to seek his favor.

1573 Arabic, *al-nabī al-ummī*, often translated "the illiterate prophet," referring to Muḥammad's supposed inability to read and write. The debate over the interpretations of the phrase is summarized in the article by E. Geoffroy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ummī.

1574 The text and its meaning are unclear. Ed. Leiden: *wa-ka'an waqada lahu*, "as if it kindled for him," makes little sense. M inserts a word: *wa-ka'an* (or *wa-kāna*) *qad* [illegible word] *lahu*.

1575 That is, the Ghassānid rulers of Syria who served as allies of the Byzantines, so called after their ancestor Jafna b. 'Amr Muzayqiyā'.

1576 Arabic: *mujāwīr*, which implies both living as a neighbor and living under the protection of a family.

1577 Version with additional verses in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 113–114, identified as part of an elegy

O man, you who are moving your dwelling,  
 why do you not settle with the family of ‘Abd Manāf?  
 Fool!<sup>1578</sup> Had you settled in their abode,  
 they would have safeguarded you from hunger and loathsome  
 deeds.<sup>1579</sup>  
 ‘Amr al-‘Ulā crumbled (bread to make) gruel for his people,  
 when the people of Mecca were drought-stricken and lean.  
 They ascribed to him the caravans, both of them:  
 the one in winter and the summer caravan.  
 They are the ones who obtained a covenant on their borders,  
 who travel for the caravan guaranteed by pact.<sup>1580</sup>

Hāshim set out for Syria with much merchandise. He would stop by the dignitaries of the Arab tribes, carry merchandise for them, and not impose on them any provisioning for it, until he arrived at Gaza. He died there.

When Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf perished, the Quraysh grieved and became afraid that the Arab tribes would overpower them. ‘Abd Shams therefore set out to the Negus, the king of Abyssinia, and renewed the compact between himself and him. Then he returned. He died in Mecca shortly thereafter and was buried in al-Ḥajūn. Nawfal set out for Iraq and obtained a treaty from Kisrā. He returned and died at a place called Salmān. Al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Manāf took charge of the affairs of Mecca.

1:283 Hāshim had the following children: ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and al-Shifā’ (their mother was Salmā bt. ‘Amr b. Zayd b. Khidāsh b. ‘Āmir b. Ghanm b. ‘Adī b. al-Najjār, and the name of al-Najjār was Taym Allāh b. Tha‘laba b. ‘Amr b. al-Khazraj), Naḍla b. Hāshim [(his mother was Umayma bt. ‘Adī b. ‘Abd Allāh), Asad] (the father of Fāṭima bt. Asad, who was the mother of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and whose mother was Qayla bt. | ‘Āmir b. Mālik b. al-Muṭṭalib), Abū Ṣayfī (his line died out except for those descended from Raqīqa bt. Abī Ṣayfī) and Ṣayfī who died young (their mother was Hind bt. ‘Amr b. Tha‘laba b. al-Khazraj), Ḍa‘īfa and Khālida (their mother was Wāqida bt. Abī ‘Adī), and Ḥanna bt. Hāshim (her mother was Umm ‘Udayy bt. Ḥubayb b. al-Ḥārith al-Thaqafiyya).

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for ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the sons of ‘Abd Manāf. Two verses are cited by al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:178 (§ 971).

1578 Literally, “May your mother be bereaved of you!” The idiom, despite its literal sense, is really a mild imprecation.

1579 The commentary on Ibn Hishām explains this as meaning that the man might be forced by his poverty to marry off his daughters to base or unworthy persons.

1580 Literally, for the caravan or journey of *ilāf*. See the discussion above.



When Hāshim decided to set out for Syria, he moved his wife Salmā bt. ʿAmr to Medina, so that she might be with her father and family. With Hāshim was his son ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. When Hāshim died, she stayed in Medina.

Al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf had taken charge of the affairs of Mecca after the death of his brother Hāshim. When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib grew up,<sup>1581</sup> word reached al-Muṭṭalib about where he was and the boy's condition was described to him. A man from the Tihāma passed through Medina and saw some boys competing with each other. Suddenly one of the boys among them, when he hit the target, said, "I am the son of Hāshim. I am the son of the lord of Mecca's valley."<sup>1582</sup> So the man asked him, "Who are you, boy?" The boy replied, "I am Shayba b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf." The man then left and reached Mecca. He found al-Muṭṭalib sitting in the area near the Kaʿba,<sup>1583</sup> and said: "Abū al-Ḥārith, do you know that I have come from Yathrib? I found some boys competing with each other." He told him what he had seen concerning ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and added, "Lo, he was the finest lad I have ever seen." Al-Muṭṭalib said: "I have neglected him. By God, I will not return to my family until I bring him (back)." So al-Muṭṭalib set out and reached Medina in the evening. Then he set out on his camel until he came to the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār. When he looked at his brother's son, he asked, "Is this is the son of Hāshim?" "Yes," said the people—they recognized al-Muṭṭalib—"this is your brother's son. If you want to take him right now, his mother will not know."<sup>1584</sup> If she finds out, we will keep you from him." | So he made his camel kneel and called to the boy: "Nephew, I am your uncle. I want to take you to your people. Mount!" ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib did not delay to seat himself on the rump of the camel; al-Muṭṭalib sat on the saddle and made the camel get up, and off it went. When the mother of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib found out, she did not cease crying out her grief. She was told that his uncle had taken him away. Al-Muṭṭalib entered Mecca with the boy behind him. People were in their markets and gathering places, and they stood up to welcome him and greet him. "Who is this with you?" they would ask. He would say, "My slave, whom I bought in Yathrib." Then he set out for al-Ḥazwara<sup>1585</sup>

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1581 As the parallel versions make explicit, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib lived his first seven or eight years with his mother in Yathrib (Medina). See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1082.

1582 Arabic: "I am the son of the lord of al-Baṭḥā," referring to the flat basin making up the central part of Mecca.

1583 Arabic: al-Ḥijr.

1584 Following ed. Leiden: *lā taʿlamu ummuhū* (his mother will not know). M leaves the first letter of the verb undotted, which makes it possible to read, *lā nuʿlimu ummahū*, "we shall not inform his mother."

1585 Al-Ḥazwara was the marketplace of Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, s.v.

and bought him a suit of clothing. He brought him in to his wife, Khadīja bt. Saʿīd b. Sahm. When evening came, he dressed him up and took a seat in the assembly of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf and told them his story. Afterward, the boy took to going out in that suit of clothes and strolling the streets of Mecca. He was the most handsome of people. The Quraysh would say, “This is ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.”<sup>1586</sup> So the name ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib persisted, and Shayba fell into disuse. When it came time for al-Muṭṭalib to set out for Yemen, he said to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, “You, my nephew, are most entitled to your father’s place, so take charge of Mecca.” And thus he took the place of al-Muṭṭalib. Al-Muṭṭalib died while he was on his journey at Radmān. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took charge of Mecca, became eminent, ruled, gave out food to eat and milk and honey to drink, until his name rose high and his merit became apparent. The Quraysh accorded him honor, and thus he continued.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan<sup>1587</sup> said: When the glory of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was complete and the Quraysh acknowledged his excellence, while he was sleeping in the area by the Kaʿba, he saw<sup>1588</sup> someone come to him and say: “Arise, father of Mecca’s valley. Dig Zamzam, the excavation of the Great Shaykh!” When he woke up, he said, “God, make it clear to me in a dream again.” So again  
1:285 he saw the person say, “Arise! Dig Barra!” “What,” he asked, “is Barra?” | The person said, “A thing in high esteem withheld from mankind but which you have been given.”<sup>1589</sup> Then ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib saw someone saying to him: “Arise, Abū l-Ḥārith, and dig Zamzam. It will not be exhausted or dispraised. It will water the great pilgrimage.” Then he dreamt a third time: “Arise and dig!” He asked, “What shall I dig?” The person said: “Dig between dung and blood, at the scraping place of the white-legged crow and the ant colony, and when you see water, say, ‘Come to abundant water, which I have been given in despite of foes.’”

When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib became certain that he had been told the truth, he sat down by the Kaʿba to consider the matter. A cow had been slaughtered at al-Ḥazwara, but it escaped and came walking, until it threw itself down at the site of Zamzam. It was skinned there and its meat distributed; the dung and blood

<sup>1586</sup> That is, “the slave of al-Muṭṭalib.”

<sup>1587</sup> The identity of this source is uncertain. Al-Yaʿqūbī (ed. Leiden, 2:524) lists a Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan as a jurist (*faqīh*) of the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and this would be the famous Ḥanafī jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. c. 187)—the index of the Leiden edition identifies this Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan as the same person, but the identification must remain tentative.

<sup>1588</sup> That is, in a dream.

<sup>1589</sup> The Arabic is laconic: “Maḍannatun ḍunna bihā ʿalā l-ʿālamīna wa-uʿṭitahā.”

remained. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, "God is great!" Then he went forward to look. Lo and behold, there was an ant colony that had come together in the ground. He went and brought a mattock and his only son al-Ḥārith. The Quraysh gathered around him, saying, "What is this?" He said, "My Lord has commanded me to dig up water that will quench the thirst of the great company of pilgrims." They said to him: "Your Lord has commanded foolishness. Why are you digging in our mosque?" He said, "That is what my Lord commanded me." He had only dug a little when the well casing appeared. "God is great!" he shouted. The Quraysh gathered, and they realized when they saw the well casing that he had told the truth. Now he had no son but al-Ḥārith at that time; so when he considered his solitude, he said, "O God, I vow to you that if you give me ten male children I will sacrifice one of them to you." He dug until he found swords, weapons, and a golden gazelle, adorned<sup>1590</sup> and inlaid with gold and silver. When the Quraysh saw this, they said: "Abū al-Ḥārith [...] from above the ground and from beneath it. Therefore give us this wealth that God has given to you, for it is the well of our father Ismā'il; give us a share with you." He said, "I was given no command about the wealth; I was commanded only concerning the water; so allow me some time." | He continued to dig until the water became apparent and abundant. Then he said, "Enlarge it and it will not dry up." He built a basin by it, filled it with water, and cried out, "Come to abundant water, which I have been given in despite of foes." The Quraysh kept sullyng that basin and breaking it. So he saw in a dream, "Arise and say, 'O God, I do not permit it for a bather, but it is permitted for a drinker.'" 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib arose and said this. As a result, anyone who sullied that basin was immediately afflicted with sickness, and so they left it. When the water was in order for him, he called for six divining arrows. He set two black arrows aside for God, two white arrows for the Ka'ba, and two red arrows for the Quraysh. He took them in his hand, faced the Ka'ba, and shuffled them, saying:

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Lord, you are the one, the sole, the eternal.  
 If you wish, you inspire the truth and right course.  
 You increase wealth and multiply children.  
 I am your client, in despite of Ma'add.

Then he cast them, and the two black arrows for God came out; so he said, "Your Lord has said, 'It is my wealth.'" Then he shuffled, saying:

1590 Arabic, *muqarraṭ*. Normally this means "adorned with earrings." The exact sense is uncertain.

O God, you are the King, the one who is praised.  
 You are my Lord, who originates and restores.  
 From you come inherited wealth and wealth newly acquired.  
 If you wish, You inspire what You will.

1:287 The two white arrows for the Ka'ba came out; so he said, "My Lord has told me that all the wealth is His." Therefore he adorned the Ka'ba with it and turned it into plates on the door of the Ka'ba. He was the first person who adorned the Ka'ba. When the Quraysh saw what had been given to him, they became envious of him and said, "We are partners with you, because it is the well of our father Ismā'il." He said, "This is something for which I have been singled out apart from you." | They therefore competed with him before the female soothsayer<sup>1591</sup> of the Banū Sa'd, and she decided in his favor against them.

Someone has related that while they were on the way, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's water, as well as that of the people, ran out, and they feared that they would perish. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib therefore said, "Let each of us dig a hole for himself and squat in it until death comes to him." They did it. Then he said: "Our casting ourselves (to destruction) by our own hands is weakness. Why don't we mount and seek water?" As soon as he was seated on his camel, a fountain of water sprang up under its chest. "Go to the water," he said. They said: "God has decided in your favor against us. There is no need for us to oppose you." So they returned.

When the Quraysh saw the glory that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had obtained, they sought to ally themselves with each other so as to become strong. The first who sought this were the Banū 'Abd al-Dār, when they saw the position of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The Banū 'Abd al-Dār went to the Banū Sahm and said, "Protect us from the Banū 'Abd Manāf." When the Banū 'Abd Manāf saw this, they met together, except for the Banū 'Abd Shams. According to al-Zubayrī, the children of 'Abd Shams were not in the confederacy of the scented ones,<sup>1592</sup> nor were the children of 'Abd Manāf; among them were only Hāshim, the Banū l-Muṭṭalib, and the Banū Nawfal.<sup>1593</sup> Others say that the Banū 'Abd Shams were among

1591 Arabic, *kāhina*.

1592 Arabic, *ḥilf al-muṭṭayyabīn*. The manuscripts consistently write *al-mutaṭṭayyibūn*, which has the same meaning. Al-Ya'qūbī's abridged account of the formation of two factions within the Quraysh telescopes what was a more complex process. For a summary of what can be reconstructed about these alliances, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. La'aḳat al-Dam.

1593 "nor were the children of 'Abd Manāf; among them were only Hāshim, the Banū al-

them. | Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḏāʾ, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, brought out a bowl of perfume for them and set it near the Kaʿba. The Banū ʿAbd Manāf, the Asad, the Zuhra, the Banū Taym, and the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Fihir perfumed themselves, and so they were called the Pact of the Perfumed Ones. When the Banū Sahm heard of this, they slaughtered a cow and said, “Whoever puts his hand into the blood and licks some of it is one of us.” The Banū Sahm, the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, the Banū Jumah, the Banū ʿAdī, and the Banū Makhzūm put their hands in, and so they were called the Lickers [of Blood]. The alliance of the Perfumed Ones was that they would not abandon each other and would not betray one another. The Lickers [of Blood] said, “We have readied for every tribe a tribe.” 1:288

When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had dug Zamzam, he went to al-Ṭāʾif. There he dug himself a well called Dhū l-Haram.<sup>1594</sup> He would sometimes go there and stay at that watering place. On one occasion he came and found two groups of the Qays ʿAylān there: the Banū Kilāb and the Banū l-Ribāb. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said: “The water is mine. I have the greatest right to it.” The Qaysīs said: “The water is ours. We have the greatest right to it.” So he said, “I will dispute with you before whomever you wish to arbitrate between me and you.” They disputed with him before Saṭīḥ al-Ghassānī, who was the Arabs’ soothsayer<sup>1595</sup> to whom they would bring their disputes. The men promised each other and made a compact that if Saṭīḥ awarded the water to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the Kilāb and Banū l-Ribāb would owe a hundred camels to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and ten to Saṭīḥ; if Saṭīḥ awarded the water to the two tribes, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib would owe [the men] a hundred camels and twenty to Saṭīḥ. They set out, and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib set out with ten men of the Quraysh, among whom was Ḥarb b. Umayya. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib halted at no camping place without slaughtering a

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Muṭṭalib, and the Banū Nawfal”: These words are given an initial and final mark in M, as if to set them in parentheses, and a marginal comment referring to them has been added. In C the comment has been copied with the prefatory words: “These words are not by the author of the book; they were in the margin.” The marginal note in both mss reads: “And who might the children of ʿAbd Manāf be other than these four? God break your mouth! The Banū ʿAbd Shams were indeed part of the Pact of the Perfumed Ones. Certainly! Indisputably! No doubt about it! As the poet has said: We have been named the most fragrant of Quraysh / for generosity; he anointed us and perfumed us. / What good is there that we have not reached first / and not opened a door to it for men?”

1594 Vocalization uncertain; also given as Dhū l-Harm or Dhū l-Harim.

1595 Arabic, *kāhin*.

1:289 camel and feeding the people. The Qaysīs therefore said: “This man is of great importance, of high standing, and noble in his actions. We fear that our judge will hope to obtain some of this<sup>1596</sup> and will award | the water to him. Consider, therefore. Do not accept Saṭīḥ’s decision until you conceal something hidden from him. If he tells us what it is, we will agree to his decision; otherwise, we will not agree to it.” While ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was on the way, his water and the water of his companions ran out. He asked the Qaysīs for something to drink from their excess water. They refused to give them anything to drink, saying: “You are the ones who brought suit against us and contended with us over our water. By God, we will not give you anything to drink!” ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: “Shall ten of the Quraysh perish while I am alive? I will seek water for them until the cord of my neck is severed and I absolve myself from blame.” So he mounted his camel and turned into the desert. While he was there, his camel knelt down. The men<sup>1597</sup> saw him and said, “‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib has perished!” The Qurayshīs said: “No, by God! He is too dear to God for Him to allow him to perish. He has only gone in order to affirm the bonds of kinship.” When they reached him, his camel had hollowed out with the callus on its breast a large pool of sweet water that flowed over the surface of the ground. When the Qaysīs saw it, they poured out their water skins and came toward the Qurayshīs to take some of the water. “No, by God!” said the Qurayshīs. “Aren’t you the ones who withheld your surplus water from us?” ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: “Leave the men. The water shall not be withheld.” “This,” said the Qaysīs, “is a noble man, a lord! We fear that Saṭīḥ will decide in his favor against us.” When they reached Saṭīḥ, they said, “We have hidden something from you.” One of them took a date in his hand [and said, “Tell us what it is.”] Saṭīḥ said: “You have hidden from me something that lengthened and thickened; then it ripened and did not perish.<sup>1598</sup> Throw the date from your hand.” They said to the man, “Damn him! Hide from him something more obscure.” So one of them took a locust. They said to him: “We have hidden something from you. Tell us what it is.” He said, “You have hidden from me something whose leg  
1:290 is like a saw and whose eye is like a dinar.” “Explain!”<sup>1599</sup> they said. | He said: “Something that flew and rose glistening; then it darted forth and fell, and

1596 The Arabic can also be taken to mean, “We fear that he may cause our judge to hope to obtain some of this.”

1597 Arabic, *al-qawm*, that is, the Qaysīs.

1598 Arabic, *halaka*, a conjectural reading by the Leiden editor; M is illegible.

1599 Reading with the MSS, *abin*, rather than with ed. Leiden’s emendation, *ī* (yes).

it left the upland<sup>1600</sup> with barren patches.”<sup>1601</sup> They said, “What’s with him! Damn him! Hide from him something even more obscure than it.” So they took the head of a locust, put it into the seam of a water bag, and hung it on the neck of a dog of theirs called Sawwār. They hit the dog, so that it went away and then came back on the road. They said: “We have hidden something from you. Tell us what it is.” He said, “You have hidden from me the head of a locust in the seam of a water bag between Sawwār’s neck and collar.” So they said, “Judge between us!” He said: “I have judged. You and ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib have disputed over a watering place in al-Ṭāʾif called Dhū l-Haram. The water belongs to ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. You have no right to it. So pay ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib a hundred camels and twenty to Saṭīḥ.” They did so. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib set out, slaughtering and feeding, until he entered Mecca. Then his crier called out, “People of Mecca, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib asks you only for kinship’s sake that each of you who sees fit should relieve me of this loss and take up whatever he sees fit.” So they stood up and took one camel, or two, or three, as each of them saw fit. Afterward, when some butchered camels were left over, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to his son Abū Ṭālib, “My son, I have fed the people; now take these camels and slaughter them on Abū Qubays,<sup>1602</sup> so that the birds and beasts can eat them.” Abū Ṭālib did this, and the birds and beasts ate them. Abū Ṭālib said:

We provide food until the birds eat from our surplus,  
when the hands of the pilgrims rushing back<sup>1603</sup> begin to quiver.

According to Abū Ishāq<sup>1604</sup> and other men of learning: ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib married women, and children were born to him. When there were ten in all, he

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1600 Reading with M *al-ṣaʿīd*, rather than ed. Leiden *al-ṣayd* (the hunt).

1601 Reading on the basis of M: *fa-taraka l-ṣaʿīd abqaʿ*. The last word has been miscopied as *anfaʿ* (more profitable), but the emendation on the basis of al-Maydānī is probably correct.

1602 A mountain on the eastern edge of Mecca. See the article by G. Rentz in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Ḳubays; and by Uri Rubin in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Qubays.

1603 Arabic, the *muḥḍīn*, that is, the pilgrims rushing back toward Muzdalifa after having stood at ‘Arafāt.

1604 Of uncertain identity; he may be the jurist Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī, whom al-Yaʿqūbī mentions as active during the reigns of al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd II, and Hishām. See ed. Leiden, 2:295, 350, 371, 378, 396. For other accounts of the vow of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the substitution of the sacrifice of 100 camels for the sacrifice of ‘Abdallāh, the future

said: "O God, I vowed to You to sacrifice one of them. I will cast lots among them; take the one You wish." So he cast lots, and the lot fell on 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, his most beloved son. His ten<sup>1605</sup> sons were al-Ḥārith (after whom he received the name<sup>1606</sup> of Abū l-Ḥārith) and Qutham (their mother was Ṣafiyya bt. Jundub, of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a); al-Zubayr, Abū Ṭālib, 'Abdallāh, and al-Muḡawwam, who was 'Abd al-Ka'ba (the mother of the four was Fāṭima bt. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm); Ḥamza (his mother was Hāla bt. Uhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra); al-'Abbās and Ḍirār (their mother was Nutayla bt. Jannāb b. Kulayb b. al-Nimr b. Qāsiṭ); Abū Lahab, who was 'Abd al-'Uzzā (his mother was Lubnā bt. Hājir b. 'Abd Manāf b. Ḍaṭīr al-Khuzā'i); and al-Ghayḍāq, who is Ḥajl<sup>1607</sup> (his mother was Mumanna'a bt. 'Amr b. Mālik b. Nawfal al-Khuzā'i). His daughters were six: Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍā', 'Ātika, Barra, Arwā, and Umayma (the mother of all of them was Fāṭima bt. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm); and Ṣafiyya (her mother was Hāla bt. Uhayb). 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib set out with 'Abdallāh, to sacrifice him. He took the knife, and his son al-Ḥārith followed him. When the Quraysh got word of this, they overtook him and said, "Abū l-Ḥārith, if you do this, it will become a custom among your people, and a man will not cease to bring his child here to sacrifice him." He said, "I have promised my Lord, and I will fulfill to him what I have promised." One of them  
1:292 said to him, "Ransom him!" So he stood up, saying: |

I have promised my Lord, and will fulfill his covenant.

I fear my Lord, if I abandon his promise.

Nothing is praised as God is praised.

He then had a hundred camels brought and cast divining arrows over them and over 'Abdallāh. The lot fell upon the camels, and the people shouted, "God is great!" They said, "Your Lord is satisfied." 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said:

O God, Lord of the most sacred city,

the goodly, blessed, and exalted:

You are the one who assisted me with Zamzam.

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father of Muḥammad, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 97–100; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1073–1079; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 53–54.

1605 The list contains eleven names, which may be explained by the fact that Qutham is said to have died young and is indeed omitted in the list of ten sons given by Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 53. Cf. al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 17.

1606 Arabic, *kunya*.

1607 As in M; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 196. Ed. Leiden reads Jahl.



Then he said, "I will repeat the divining arrows." He repeated them, and they fell on the camels. He said:

O God, you have given me my request;  
 you have multiplied my children after they were few:  
 Make his ransom today the bulk of my wealth.

Then he shook the arrows a third time, and lot came out on the camels, and so he slaughtered them. His crier called out, "Come, take their meat." He went away from it, and the people jumped up to take it. Therefore Murra b. Khalaf al-Fahmī says:

As the ransom payments of Hāshim's son were divided by despoiling,  
 in the sacred valley where the camels collect.

The wergild of camels came to be paid according to what 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had established.<sup>1608</sup>

When Abraha the king of Abyssinia, the master of the elephant, came to Mecca to destroy the Ka'ba, and the Quraysh fled to the mountain tops, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, "If we only came together and drove this army from the House of God!" The Quraysh said, "It is inevitable for us." 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib then stayed in the sacred precinct and said, "I will not leave God's sanctuary or take refuge in anyone but God." | Abraha's men took some camels belonging to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went to Abraha. When he asked permission to come before him, Abraha was told, "The lord of the Arabs, the ruler of Quraysh, and most noble of men has come to you." When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came into his presence, Abraha honored him and had an exalted impression of him because of his visible beauty, perfection, and nobility. He said to his translator, "Say to him, 'Ask whatever seems best to you!'" 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, "Some of my camels, which your men took." Abraha said: "I saw you, esteemed you, and honored you. You see that I have come to destroy the thing that brings you esteem and honor, yet you did not ask me to depart, and you speak to me about your camels." 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: "I am the lord of these camels. This house, which you have said you intend to destroy, has a Lord to defend it; so return the camels!" Abraha became frightened because of what 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said.

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<sup>1608</sup> That is, on the basis of this precedent, the *diya* (ransom payment due in cases of homicide or severe injury) was fixed at 100 camels to be paid by the tribe of the offender to the tribe of the victim. See the article by E. Tyan in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Diya*.

When ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib returned, he gathered his children and those who sided with him and went to the door of the Ka’ba. He clung to it and said:

O God, if You forgive, they will be Your dependents;  
if not, then whatever seems best to You.<sup>1609</sup>

Then he left, saying:

O God, a man protects his dwelling; so protect Your neighbors!  
Let not their cross and their craft prevail tomorrow over Your craft.  
If You do it, it will be an affair whereby You complete your plan of  
action.

He stayed in his place. The next day, he sent his son ‘Abdallāh to bring him news. He drew near. A group of the Quraysh had gathered together to fight beside him if they could. ‘Abdallāh came galloping on a sorrel mare with his knee bared. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, “‘Abdallāh has come to you as a bearer of good news and warner. By God, I have never seen his knee before today!” So he told them what  
1:294 God had done to the people | of the elephant. When what happened to the people of the elephant took place, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said:

O caller, you have caused me to hear.  
Now call (others) from deafness to your cry.  
Is the hand of God tightly bound? or does He have  
a way of dealing with the foe other than (how He deals) with the  
nations?  
I said, while the horses of al-Ashram were beating the ground,<sup>1610</sup>  
“This man with the mutilated nose has been beguiled by the  
sanctuary.”  
Verily the House has a protecting Lord;  
whoever attempts it will be extirpated as punishment for sin.

1609 As Houtsma observes, the text of the verse in al-Ya’qūbī is problematic. It is also quoted below, at 2:9. Longer versions of this poem and the following can be found in Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 56; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:940–941.

1610 Vocalizing *tardī*, as in M; if one vocalizes *tardā*, the meaning would be “were perishing.” *Al-Ashram*, which means “having the tip of his nose cut off,” was a nickname for Abraha. The incident in which he was thus mutilated is related at al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:931.

Tubbaʿ tried to take it in the past;  
 likewise Ḥimyar, and the people were bold.  
 He turned back from it, with a constriction in his veins  
 that caused his windpipe to tighten.  
 Jurhum perished for acting wrongfully toward it  
 after Ṭasm, Jadīs, and Jusham.<sup>1611</sup>  
 Such is the affair of anyone who plots war against it:  
 for God's command disposes the affair.<sup>1612</sup>  
 We are acquainted with God. Among us it is custom  
 to maintain the bond of kinship and fulfill compacts.  
 God has not ceased to have among us a conclusive claim,  
 because of which God repels punishments from us.<sup>1613</sup>  
 We are God's people in His town—  
 that did not cease to be in the time of Abraha.<sup>1614</sup>

### The Religions of the Arabs<sup>1615</sup>

The religions of the Arabs differed according to their proximity to people belonging to religious communities,<sup>1616</sup> their movement into countries, and their wanderings in search of pasture. Quraysh and the majority of descendants

<sup>1611</sup> Ṭasm and Jadīs were two tribes said to have inhabited the area of Mecca in early times, but to have died out. They were sometimes said to belong to ʿĀd. Cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. Ṭasm. The reading Jusham is conjectural; the word is indistinct in the manuscripts, and ed. Leiden gives the otherwise unknown 'Jamam.' The context implies that it is the name of another extinct tribe.

<sup>1612</sup> The line puns on two senses of the word *amr*: affair and command.

<sup>1613</sup> The sense is that because of their maintenance of the bond of kinship and fulfillment of their promises, God judges them to be worthy of protection. Their righteousness is a claim (*ḥujja*) that wins them God's protection.

<sup>1614</sup> *Abraha* has been changed to *Abraham* for the sake of the rhyme. The verse is written in the margin of M and introduced by the word, *wa-minhā* ("and from it," i.e., also part of the poem). The verse may be an addition to al-Yaʿqūbī's text.

<sup>1615</sup> For a thorough, if sometimes speculative and controversial, account of what can be deduced about the religion of the Arabs before Islam, see Toufic Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, and the articles on individual deities in *ET*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1616</sup> Arabic: their proximities to *ahl al-milal*, people belonging to a *milla* (organized religious community).

of Ma'add b. 'Adnān followed part of the religion of Ibrāhīm:<sup>1617</sup> they made pilgrimage to the House,<sup>1618</sup> performed the rites (of the pilgrimage), were hospitable to guests, venerated the sacred months, disapproved of immoral acts, severance of kinship bonds, | and mutual wrongdoing, and punished crimes. They continued in this way as long as they were in charge of the House. The last of the descendants of Ma'add to be in charge of the Sacred House was Tha'laba b. Iyād b. Nizār b. Ma'add. When Iyād departed, the Khuzā'a assumed custodianship of the House and changed the way the rites were performed. They would even rush from 'Arafāt<sup>1619</sup> before sunset and from Jam'<sup>1620</sup> after the sun rose. 'Amr b. Luḥayy<sup>1621</sup> (Luḥayy's name was Rabī'a b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir) went out to the land of Syria, where there was a tribe of Amalekites<sup>1622</sup> worshipping idols.<sup>1623</sup> He asked them, "What are these idols that I see you worshipping?" They said: "These are idols that we worship. We ask them for aid and we are aided. We ask them for rain and we are rained on." He said, "Won't you give me one of them to take to the land of the Arabs, to be beside the House of God to which the Arabs come?" They gave him an idol called Hubal.<sup>1624</sup> He brought it to Mecca and placed it by the Ka'ba. It was the first idol placed in Mecca. Then they put beside it<sup>1625</sup> Isāf and Nā'ila,<sup>1626</sup> each of them at a corner of the House. When a person circumambulated, he would

1617 Reading *'alā ba'ḍ dīn Ibrāhīm*, following ed. Leiden. The MSS read *'alā bu'd diyār Ibrāhīm*, "despite the distance of the dwellings of Ibrāhīm."

1618 That is, the Ka'ba.

1619 Arabic *kānū yuḥīḍūna min 'Arafāt*, they would perform the *ifāḍa*, the ceremonial departure from the plain of 'Arafāt after the *waqfa*, the standing, that formed the climax of the pilgrimage.

1620 That is, Muzdalifa; see note 1564 to p. 280 above.

1621 See the article by Uri Rubin in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Amr b. Luḥayy.

1622 Arabic *Amāliqa*, the Amalekites of the Bible, although the Arabic legends about them have little to do with the Biblical traditions. See the article by G. Vajda in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Amāliq.

1623 Arabic *aṣṇām*, pl. of *ṣanam*, an image (cognate to Aramaic *šalmā*, Hebrew *šelem*, and Akkadian *šalmu*). In the next sentence, the word used for "idols" is the synonym *awthān* (pl. of *wathan*). See the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṣanam*.

1624 On Hubal, see T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 95–103, and the article by Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hubal. The god was represented by a statue made of cornelian with a truncated right arm which the Quraysh are said to have replaced by a golden arm. It was before this statue that sacred lots were drawn.

1625 That is, at or by the House.

1626 On Isāf and Nā'ila, see T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 103–109, and the article by Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Isāf wa-Nā'ila. They were stones of vaguely human form over which the blood of

begin at Isāf and kiss it, and he would conclude by it. They set up on (the hill of) al-Ṣafā an idol called *Mujāwir al-Rīḥ*, and on (the hill of) Marwa an idol called *Muṭ'im al-Ṭayr*.<sup>1627</sup> When the Arabs made the pilgrimage to the House and saw those idols, they questioned the Quraysh and the Khuzā'a, who would say, "We worship them that they may bring us nigh in nearness to God."<sup>1628</sup> When the Arabs saw this, they took idols for themselves. Each tribe set up its own idol to which they would pray in order "to draw near to God," as they used to say. Kalb b. Wabara and the tribes of Quḍā'a had Wadd,<sup>1629</sup> which was set up in Dūmat al-Jandal.<sup>1630</sup> Ḥimyar and Hamdān had Nasr,<sup>1631</sup> which was set up in Ṣan'a'. Kināna had Suwā'.<sup>1632</sup> Ghaṭafān had | al-'Uzzā.<sup>1633</sup> Hind, Bajīla, and Khath'am had Dhū l-Khalaṣa.<sup>1634</sup> Ṭayyī' had al-Fuls,<sup>1635</sup> which was set up in al-Ḥibs. Rabī'a and Iyād had Dhū l-Ka'abāt<sup>1636</sup> in Sindād in the land of Irāq. Thaḳīf had al-Lāt,<sup>1637</sup> which was set up in al-Ṭā'if. Al-Aws and al-Khazraj had

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sacrifices was poured. A later legend identified them as a human couple who were changed into stones for having had intercourse inside the Ka'ba.

1627 *Mujāwir al-Rīḥ* would mean "Neighbor of the Wind," but is probably to be corrected to *Mujāwid al-Rīḥ* (He who Makes the Wind Bring Abundant Rain). *Muṭ'im al-Ṭayr* would mean "He who Provides Food to the Birds." See Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 106–108, and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Isāf wa-Nā'ila.

1628 Echoing Qur'ān 39:4, where these words are put into the mouths of idolaters.

1629 On Wadd, see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 182–191, and the article by Ch. Robin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wadd.

1630 Dūmat al-Jandal is an oasis at the head of Wādī Sirḥān, close to the modern border of Jordan and Saudi Arabia. The text here adds "in Ḥ (or j)—R—Sh," which the Leiden editor conjectured might stand for Jurash. If that is the case, one must assume that a sentence referring to the idol of another tribe has fallen out, as Jurash is in Yemen.

1631 The name of the deity *Nasr* means vulture. See Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 132–134, and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nasr.

1632 On Suwā', see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 154–156, and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Suwā'.

1633 Al-'Uzzā (the Most Powerful), the most important of the pre-Islamic Arabian goddesses, was associated in Qur'ān 53:19–20 with Manāt and al-Lāt, on the basis of which later commentators saw her as part of a triad of pagan goddesses, the "daughters of Allāh." See Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 163–182, and the article by M. C. A. Macdonald and Laila Nehmé in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-'Uzzā.

1634 On Dhū l-Khalaṣa, see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 61–68, and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhū l-Khalaṣa.

1635 So ed. Leiden; M *al-Qays*. The vocalization of the reading of ed. Leiden is uncertain: al-Fals, al-Fulus, and al-Fils are given by various authorities. See Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 75–77.

1636 On Dhū l-Ka'abāt, see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 68–69.

1637 On the goddess al-Lāt, see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 111–120, and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Lāt.

Manāt,<sup>1638</sup> which was set up at Fadak near the seashore. Daws had an idol called Dhū l-Kaffayn.<sup>1639</sup> The Banū Bakr b. Kināna had an idol called Sa'd.<sup>1640</sup> A group of the 'Udhra had an idol called Shams.<sup>1641</sup> The Azd had an idol called Ri'ām.<sup>1642</sup>

When the Arabs desired to go on pilgrimage to the Sacred House, each tribe would stand beside its idol and pray beside it. Then they would recite an invocation<sup>1643</sup> until they reached Mecca. Their invocations were various. The invocation of the Quraysh was: "Here we are, O God! Here we are! Here we are! You have no partner, unless it be a partner whom you dominate and whatever he has dominated."<sup>1644</sup> The invocation of Kināna was: "Here we are, O God! Here we are! Today is the [day of] going to 'Arafāt, the day of prayer and standing." The invocation of the Banū Asad was: "Here we are, O God! Here we

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1638 On Manāt, usually identified as the goddess of fortune or destiny on the basis of the etymology (Syriac *mnātā*, part, portion; Arabic *manīyya*, death, destiny), see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 123–126, and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Manāt.

1639 On Dhū l-Kaffayn (the One with the Two Palms), see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 69–70.

1640 On Sa'd, see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 147–150.

1641 On Shams (the name means "Sun," grammatically feminine in Arabic, but the gender of the divinity is unclear), see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 150–153, and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shams.

1642 On Ri'ām, an idol said to have been worshipped by the Ḥimyarites in Yemen before their conversion to Judaism, see Fahd, *Le Panthéon*, 141–143.

1643 Arabic *talabbaw*, "they recited a *talbiya*," a formula beginning with the word *labbayka* ("we have set foot in your place"). The *talbiya* is an invocation that a pilgrim makes upon entering the state of ritual consecration (*iḥrām*) to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca; in Islamic usage it is addressed to Allāh and is strictly monotheistic. Al-Ya'qūbī's point is that before Islam each tribe began to recite its *talbiya* in the presence of its idol. However, his examples make it clear that these formulas were addressed to Allāh (I have translated simply "God"), the overlord of the pilgrimage and of any subordinate gods. Many such pagan invocations are recorded in the sources. For a discussion of the pre-Islamic *talbiya* formulas preserved in the Arabic sources, see M. J. Kister, "Labbayka, Allāhumma, Labbayka," in M. J. Kister, *Society and Religion from Jāhiliyya to Islam*, 33–57 (which gives the full text of a section of a Qur'ān commentary by Muqātil b. Sulaymān, d. 150/767, providing fuller versions of many formulas that al-Ya'qūbī has abbreviated), and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Talbiya.

1644 Following M: *lā sharik<sup>a</sup> laka illā sharik<sup>un</sup> tamlīkuhū wa mā malak*. In C, the manuscript used for ed. Leiden, the formula was abbreviated by homeoteleuton, causing omission of the words *laka illā sharik<sup>un</sup>*. This is how Kister understands the formula and probably the most likely meaning; Fahd prefers to take *mā* as negative and translates: "unless it is a partner whom you dominate and who has no power."

are! O Lord, the Banū Asad have come to you, people of high deeds,<sup>1645</sup> loyalty, and endurance.” The invocation of the Banū Tamīm was: “Here we are, O God! Here we are! Here we are! Here we are on behalf of Tamīm! You see them, that their garments and the garments of those behind them have worn out, and that they have made their prayer sincere toward their Lord.” The invocation of Qays ‘Aylān was: “Here we are, O God! Here we are! Here we are! You are the Merciful One. Qays ‘Aylān has come to you, walking and riding.” The invocation of Thaḳīf was: “Here we are, O God! Thaḳīf have come to you. They have left their wealth behind them,<sup>1646</sup> hoping in you.” The invocation of Hudhayl was: “Here we are on behalf of Hudhayl! They have traveled at night with camels and horses.” The invocation of Rabī’a was: “Here we are, O our Lord! Here we are! Here we are! Our course is toward you.” Others (of Rabī’a) would say: “Here we are on behalf of Rabī’a, obedient and submissive!” | Ḥimyar and Hamdān used to say: “Here we are on behalf of Ḥimyar and Hamdān and the two confederates, Ḥāshid and Alhān.”<sup>1647</sup> The invocation of the Azd was: “Here we are, Lord of lords! You know that the passing of judgment belongs to the ruler of every place of assembly.” The invocation of Madhḥij was: “He we are, O Lord of Sirius and Lord of al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā!” The invocation of Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt was: “Here we are! You have no partner. You dominate him or you destroy him. You are the wise one; therefore leave him.”<sup>1648</sup> The invocation of Ghassān was: “Here we are, O Lord of Ghassān, of those who come on foot and those who ride!” The invocation of Bajīla was: “Here we are on behalf of Bajīla, amid shining clouds promising rain!” The invocation of Quḍā’a was: “Here we are on behalf of Quḍā’a, who rush toward their Lord in obedience to him and submission!” The invocation of Judhām was: “Here we are on behalf of Judhām, the possessors of understanding and judgment!” The invocation of ‘Akk and the Ash‘arīs was: “We come in pilgrimage to a house belonging to the Merciful One—wondrous, safeguarded, barred, protected!”

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1645 Correcting ed. Leiden and M: *ahl al-tawānī* (people of weakness, languor, negligence), to *ahl al-‘awālī*, the reading of Muqātil’s *Tafsīr*, cited by Kister, op. cit., 54.

1646 Arabic: *akhlafū al-māl*. This could refer to the humility of the pilgrims or to a prohibition on trading during the pilgrimage, a prohibition lifted under Islam. A *talbīya* ascribed by Muqātil to the Rabī’a stated that they did not come “from love of gain.” See Kister, op. cit., 50, and note that al-Ya‘qūbī below (1:298) says that some of the tribes “did not buy and sell during the pilgrimage.”

1647 Two tribes.

1648 Sic ed. Leiden, M. A better reading is provided by Muqātil’s *Tafsīr*, cited by Kister, op. cit. 56: “You have no partner, except a partner whom you dominate, to destroy him or leave him. You are the forbearing one; therefore leave him.”

The Arabs were of two sorts in their religions: the *Ḥums* and the *Ḥilla*.<sup>1649</sup> As for the *Ḥums*, they were Quraysh in its entirety, and then<sup>1650</sup> Khuḏā'a due to their inhabiting Mecca and being neighbors of the Quraysh. They were strict with themselves in their religion. When they performed the rites, they did not clarify butter, store milk, or separate a nursing woman from her suckling until he disliked nursing. They did not cut their hair or fingernails or anoint themselves. They did not touch women or perfume. They did not eat meat. In their pilgrimage they did not wear camel's hair, sheep's wool, or any kind of hair. They wore new clothes. They circumambulated the House in their shoes and did not tread on the ground of the mosque out of reverence for it. They did not enter houses through their doors<sup>1651</sup> or go out to 'Arafāt. They stayed at Muzdalifa. While performing their rites, they dwelt in | tents of leather. The *Ḥilla*—they were Tamīm, Ḍabba, Muzayna, al-Ribāb, 'Ukl, Thawr, all of Qays 'Aylān except for 'Adwān, Thaqīf, 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣa'a, all of the Rabī'a b. Nizār, Quḏā'a, Ḥaḍramawt, 'Akk, and some tribes of al-Azd—did not forbid hunting while performing the rites. They wore all garments. They clarified butter. They did not enter through the door of a house or building, neither would one shelter them, as long as they were in a state of consecration. They anointed and perfumed themselves and ate meat. When they entered Mecca after finishing, they took off the clothes they were wearing. If they could don the garments of the *Ḥums* by renting or borrowing, they did so; otherwise they

1649 *Ḥums* comes from the plural of an adjective *aḥmas* (hard, strong [in fighting or in religion]). It alludes to the more rigorous religious taboos that these tribes observed. *Ḥilla* is a collective noun from the verb *ḥalla*, meaning, among other things, "to be free of obligation," alluding to the fact that these tribes did not practice the taboos of the *Ḥums* and were in a sense "profane." See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḥums*. Curiously, M apparently points the word in all three of its occurrences as *Jilla*, and the dictionaries do mention a phrase *qawm jilla*, "a great people; lords, chiefs, or people of rank or quality" (Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:437, s.v. *jalīl*). However, on the basis of the description of the group as not observing certain taboos during the pilgrimage, the term *Ḥilla* is more likely because of its meaning.

1650 The MSS and ed. Leiden at this point introduce the words *wa-ammā l-ḥilla* ("and as for the *Ḥilla* [they were ...]," which must be a copyist's mistake or a corruption of the original text. This is clear on internal grounds—proximity to the Quraysh can logically only be a reason for the Khuḏā'a to adopt the position of their neighbors, that of the *Ḥums*)—as well as on the evidence of all the other sources, which reckon the Khuḏā'a among the *Ḥums*.

1651 This taboo on entering houses through their doors at certain seasons is mentioned in Qur'an 3:189, where it is lifted from Muslims.



circumambulated the House naked. They did not buy and sell during their pilgrimage. These are the two religious laws that the Arabs followed.

Then some of the Arabs entered the religion of the Jews and left this religion, and others entered Christianity. Some of them became *Zindīqs* and followed dualism.<sup>1652</sup> As for those of them who became Jewish, they were Yemen in its entirety. Tubba'<sup>1653</sup> brought two Jewish rabbis to Yemen and abolished idols, and the inhabitants of Yemen became Jewish. After their departure from Yemen, some of the Aws and Khazraj also became Jewish due to their living as neighbors of the Jews of Khaybar, the Qurayza, and al-Naḍir. Some of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, some of the Ghassān, and some of the Judhām also became Jewish.

The Arab tribes that became Christian included some of the Quraysh, from the Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, one of whom was 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā and another of whom was Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad. From the Banū Tamīm there were the Banū Imru' al-Qays b. Zayd Manāt. From the Rabī'a there were the Banū Taghlib. From the Yemen there were the Ṭayyi', Madhḥij, Bahra', Salīḥ, | Tanūkh, Ghassān, and Lakhm. Ḥujr b. 'Amr al-Kindī became a *Zindīq*. 1:299

### The Arbitrators of the Arabs

The Arabs had arbitrators<sup>1654</sup> to whom they referred their affairs. These would adjudicate concerning disagreements, inheritance, access to water, and the

1652 *Zindīq*, borrowed from Middle Persian *zandīk*, itself probably borrowed from Aramaic *zaddīq* "righteous," originally referred to the followers of Mānī (b. c. 216, d. 274 or 277 CE) and his dualistic religion. It was later extended to include other sorts of "heretical" religion. See the article by F. C. de Blois in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zindīk*.

1653 On Tubba' as a dynastic title for the Ḥimyarite rulers of Southwest Arabia, see note 1281 [to 1:222] above. The legend of how Tubba' Abūkarib As'ad (ruled toward the end of the fourth century CE) attacked Medina, was deterred from destroying it by two Jewish rabbis, subsequently embraced Judaism, and induced his people to adopt it is narrated by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:901–908.

1654 Arabic, *ḥukkām*, formally the plural of *ḥākim* (ruler), but also serving as the plural of *ḥakam* (arbitrator). "In pre-Islamic Arabia, given the lack of any public authority responsible for the settling of disputes, *taḥkīm* [the appointment of an arbitrator] was the sole judicial procedure available to individuals who did not wish to exercise their right of private justice or who were unable to settle their differences by means of a direct friendly agreement. This procedure was of a purely private character, depending

shedding of blood, because there was no religion to whose sacred law one could turn. They therefore appointed as arbitrators men known for their nobility, truthfulness, trustworthiness, leadership, age, renown, and experience. The first one whose judgment was sought and who arbitrated was al-Af'ā b. al-Af'ā al-Jurhumī, who was the one who arbitrated among the Banū Nizār over inheritance matters. After him came:

Sulaymān b. Nawfal,  
 Mu'āwiya b. 'Urwa,  
 Sakhr b. Ya'mur b. Nufātha b. 'Adī b. al-Du'il,  
 al-Shaddākh, who was Ya'mur b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. 'Āmir b. Layth b. Bakr b.  
 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna,  
 Suwayd b. Rabī'a b. Ḥudhār b. Murra b. al-Ḥārith b. Sa'd,  
 Mukhāshin b. Mu'āwiya b. Shurayf b. Jurwa b. Usayyid b. 'Amr b. Tamīm,  
 who used to sit on a wooden throne and was called Dhū l-A'wād,<sup>1655</sup>  
 Aktham b. Ṣayfi b. Rabāḥ b. [al-Ḥārith b.] Mukhāshin,  
 'Āmir b. al-Ḍarib b. 'Amr b. 'Iyādh b. Yashkur b. 'Adwān b. 'Amr b. Qays,  
 Harim b. Quṭba b. Sayyār al-Fazārī,  
 Ghaylān b. Salima b. Mu'attib al-Thaqafī,  
 Sinān b. Abī Ḥāritha al-Murri,  
 al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubād b. Ḍubay'a b. Qays b. Tha'laba,  
 'Āmir [al-Ḍaḥyān] b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ,  
 al-Ja'd b. Ṣabra al-Shaybānī,  
 Wakī' [b. Salama] b. Zuhayr al-Iyādī, the master of the castle in al-  
 Ḥazwara,  
 Quss b. Sā'ida al-Iyādī,  
 Ḥanzala b. Nahd al-Qudā'i, and  
 'Amr b. Ḥumama al-Dawsī.

There were also arbitrators among the Quraysh. Among them were:

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throughout solely on the goodwill of the parties involved ... Nevertheless arbitration acquired a certain systematization and an institutional character amounting to public justice in the fairs held periodically in various localities, such as 'Ukāz: a *ḥakam* was appointed there, to whom, by force of custom, recourse was made for the settlement of disputes arising from the transactions being carried out there." (E. Tyan, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḥakam*).

1655 "He of the Timbers."

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib,  
 Ḥarb b. Umayya,  
 al-Zubayr b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib,  
 ‘Abdallāh b. Jud‘ān, and  
 al-Walid b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī.

### Arab Divination

The Arabs used to resort to divination with arrows (*azlām*) in all their affairs; these were also called *qidāh*.<sup>1656</sup> They resorted to divining arrows in every case of moving or staying put, of marriage, or of any kind of information. The arrows were seven. On one was (written), “God, may He be praised and exalted” (*Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla*); on another, “For you” (*lakum*); on another, “Against you” (*‘alaykum*); on another, “Yes” (*na‘am*); on another, “Of you” (*minkum*); on another “Of others” (*min ghayrikum*); and on another, “The promise” (*al-wa‘d*). Whenever they wished to do something, they would resort to the arrows, cast them, and then act as the arrows came out, neither going beyond it nor falling short of it. They had people who were responsible for the arrows, and they would trust no one else with them.

If the Arabs found themselves stricken by drought in winter and their camels gave little milk, they engaged in *maysir*.<sup>1657</sup> This consisted of arrows with which they gambled with each other. They cast these arrows. The *maysir* arrows were ten: seven of them stood for | shares and three did not. Of the seven that stood for shares, one was called *al-Fadhḥ* (“the Single”) and stood for one share; *al-Taw‘am* (“the Twin”) stood for two shares; *al-Raqīb* (“the Supervisor”) stood for three shares; *al-Ḥils* (“the Saddlecloth”) stood for four shares; *al-Nāfis* (“the Precious”) stood for five shares; *al-Musbil* (“the Elongated”) stood for six shares; and *al-Mu‘allā* (“the Superior”) stood for seven shares. The three that

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1656 The general term for such divination is *istiḡsām*. As al-Ya‘qūbī will explain, the arrows used (*zalam*, plural *azlām*) were a set of seven headless and featherless arrows, each bearing an inscription that was expected to resolve the problem for which the arrows were being cast. See the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Istiḡsām*.

1657 As opposed to the preceding procedure, *maysir* was not a process of divination associated with shrines or idols, but a game of chance in which one or more slaughtered camels were divided by lot among the participants. See the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Maysir*. The most detailed discussion of the game, including a commentary on this section of al-Ya‘qūbī, can be found in Anton Huber, *Über das ‘Meisir’ genannte Spiel der heidnischen Araber*.

did not stand for shares were unmarked, having no names on them. They were called *al-Manīḥ* (“the Generous”), *al-Safīḥ* (“the Profitless”), and *al-Waghḍ* (“the Scoundrel”).<sup>1658</sup> A camel for slaughter would be purchased for its price, but the money would not be paid. The butcher would be summoned, and he would divide the camel into ten portions. When the portions had been divided equally, the butcher would take his portion, consisting of the head and the feet. The ten arrows would be brought out, and the young men<sup>1659</sup> of the tribe would gather. Each team would take (an arrow) according to its condition, its affluence, and what it could afford. The first would take *al-Fadhḍh*, which stood for one share out of the ten: if it came out for him,<sup>1660</sup> he would take one portion of the slaughtered camel;<sup>1661</sup> if it did not come out, he would have to pay for one portion of the camel. The second would take *al-Taw’am*, which stood for two shares of the slaughtered camel: if it came out, he would take two portions of the camel; if it did not, he would have to pay for two portions. And the rest of the arrows were similar to those we have just named: when one came out, its owner would take what it stood for; when it did not come out, he would have to pay for the number of portions it stood for. When each man had put a mark on his arrow, they gave the arrows to another man, more lowly than they, someone who would not look at them and who was known never to eat meat for a price—he was called *al-Ḥurḍa* (“the Useless”). Then the *mijwal*—a very white cloth—was brought out and put on his hand. Then someone would take | the *sulfa*—this was a piece of skin with which his hand was bound so that he could not find by touch an arrow for whose owner he had a liking and then take it out. A man would come and sit behind the *Ḥurḍa*—he was called the *Raqīb* (“the Observer”). The *Ḥurḍa* then shook the arrows. When one of them protruded, the *Ḥurḍa* would pull it out and, without looking at it, give it to the *Raqīb*, who would look to see whose it was and hand it to its owner. The latter would take of the portions of the slaughtered camel according to his share of

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1658 Probable English equivalents have been given for the names of the arrows, but the reader should be aware that the Arabic sources give various and conflicting explanations for the names.

1659 Arabic *fityān*, which carries overtones of nobility, generosity, and chivalry—that is, young men willing to gamble for potential gain or loss, as opposed to the overseer of the game, who will be characterized as “more lowly” (*akhass*) in the sense of being less willing (or able) to put his wealth at risk.

1660 The singular pronoun is inconsistent. Apparently, each team had one leader who “owned” its arrow.

1661 Correcting the text according to Huber, 40–41. Reading: *fa-idhā kharaja lahu akhadha juz'an wāḥidan min al-jazūr*.

them. If any of the three arrows that did not stand for shares emerged, it would be put back immediately. If *al-Fadhdh* emerged as the first of the arrows,<sup>1662</sup> its owner would take his share, and they would play, using the remaining arrows, for the nine other portions. If *al-Taw'am* [came out next], its owner would take two portions, and they would play, using the remaining arrows, for the seven<sup>1663</sup> other portions. If *al-Mu'allā* came out (next), its owner would take his share—the seven remaining portions—and they would depart immediately; the price of the camel would be paid by the four whose arrows had not come out: the owners of *al-Raqīb*, *al-Ḥils*, *al-Nāfis*, and *al-Musbil*. Because these arrows stood for eighteen shares,<sup>1664</sup> the price would be divided into eighteen parts, and each individual would pay of the price the like of what his share of meat would have been if his arrow had come out.<sup>1665</sup> If *al-Mu'allā* came out as the first of the arrows, its owner would take seven portions of the camel; the owners of the arrows that had not come out had to pay, and they would need to slaughter another camel. This was because among their arrows was *al-Musbil*, which stood for six portions, while only three portions of meat remained. It was unfitting for anyone whose arrow had not come out in the play for the first camel to eat any of it; it would be disgraceful for him. If they slaughtered the second camel and cast | arrows for it and *al-Musbil* came out, its owner would take six portions of the camel: the three remaining portions<sup>1666</sup> of the first camel and three portions of the second camel. He had to pay for the first camel,<sup>1667</sup> but he did not have to pay anything for the second, because his arrow had won. Seven portions of the second camel remained; they would be played for with the arrows of the remaining players. If *al-Nāfis* came out, its owner would take five portions, and he would not have to pay anything toward the price of the second camel, because his arrow had won, though he would have to pay toward the first camel. Two portions of meat remained; however, inasmuch as one of the remaining arrows was *al-Ḥils*, which stood for four portions, they needed to slaughter another camel in order to complete the four. It was unfitting for anyone whose arrow had not come out in the play for the second camel to eat any of it;<sup>1668</sup> it would be disgraceful for him. If they slaughtered the

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1662 Reading, *wa-in kharaja l-fadhdhu awwala l-qidāhi*, as suggested by Huber, 51.

1663 Ed. Leiden, M: eight; corrected by Huber, 51.

1664 That is, *al-Raqīb* (3) + *al-Ḥils* (4) + *al-Nāfis* (5) + *al-Musbil* (6) = 18.

1665 That is, the owner of *al-Raqīb* would pay 3/18 of the total price; the owner of *al-Ḥils* 4/18; the owner of *al-Nāfis* 5/18; and the owner of *al-Musbil* 6/18.

1666 Reading with Huber, 52: *al-ajzā'* for ed. Leiden, M. *al-ukhrā*.

1667 That is, 6/(1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6) = 6/21 of the total price.

1668 "If no one else had entered the game, which was allowed, these would be the owners

third camel and it (i.e., *al-Ḥils*) came out, its owner would take four portions: two portions from the second camel and two portions from the third camel. He did not have to pay for any of the third camel, because his arrow had won. Eight portions of the third camel remained, and they would play, using the remaining arrows, for them, until their arrows came out in agreement with the portions of the camel. Their payment toward the price was computed as I have described. Sometimes the portions of meat coincided with the portions for which the arrows stood, and so they did not need to slaughter anything else. Another camel was slaughtered only when the portions of meat were too few for some of the arrows. If someone who had won returned his arrow to be played again and lost, he had to pay toward the price of the camel for which his arrow had lost, according to this computation. If any portions of the meat were left over when all the arrows had come out, those portions were for the poor of the tribe.

1:304 This is the explanation of *maysir*. The Arabs used to boast of it and regarded it | as an act of generosity and honor. They composed many poems boasting of it.

### The Poets of the Arabs

The Arabs used to attribute the same value to poetry as they did to wisdom and much knowledge. If a tribe had a skilled poet who could express his themes with well-chosen words, they would bring him to the fairs that took place for them during the year and to their festivals when they came on pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, so that the tribes and clans would stop and gather and listen to his poetry. This they made into a point of their pride and honor. When an issue arose in tribal adjudication or deciding a course of action, the only source to which they referred was poetry. By means of it they quarreled among themselves, cited proverbs, vied with each other for eminence, bound each other by oaths, competed with each other, and were glorified or reviled.

Some, according to the consensus of transmitters and men learned in poetry and in the literary works and historical reports handed down from the Arab poets, were poets whose poetry was deemed superior in pre-Islamic times.<sup>1669</sup> Along with them were others who survived into Islamic times and were called

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of *al-Ḥils*, *al-Raqīb*, *al-Taw'am*, and *al-Fadhdh*, who would have to pay for the second camel  $(4+3+2+1)/10$ , as well as  $(4+3+2+1)/21$  for the first camel." Huber, 54 (my translation).

1669 Arabic, *fi jāhiliyyat al-'Arab* (in the Arabs' Age of Ignorance).

*mukhaḍram*.<sup>1670</sup> The latter came to be classified together with those who came earlier, and (all) were called “Stallions”<sup>1671</sup> in accordance with the superior quality of their poems, although some were more ancient than others. They were as we have clarified their names and ranks in order:

- [al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, who was] Ziyād b. Mu‘āwiya b. Ḍibāb b. Jābir b. Yarbū‘ b. Ghayz b. Murra b. ‘Awf b. Sa’d b. Dhubyān,
- Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (Abū Sulmā’s name was Rabī’a) b. Riyāḥ b. | Qurṭ b. al-Ḥārith b. Māzin b. Tha‘laba b. Thawr b. Hudhma b. Lāṭim b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Amr b. Udd, 1:305
- al-‘Ashā (i.e., al-‘Ashā of the Wā’il), who was Maymūn b. Qays b. Jandal b. Sharāḥīl b. ‘Awf b. Sa’d b. Ḍubay‘a b. Qays b. Tha‘laba,
- ‘Abīd b. al-Abraṣ b. Jusham<sup>1672</sup> b. ‘Āmir b. Mālik [b. Zuhayr b. Mālik] b. al-Ḥārith b. Sa’d b. Tha‘laba b. Dūdān b. Asad,
- Muḥalhil, who was Imru’ al-Qays b. Rabī’a b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr b. Jusham b. Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. ‘Amr b. Ghanm b. Taghlib b. Wā’il,
- ‘Alqama b. al-‘Abada b. Nāshira b. Qays b. ‘Abd b. Rabī’a b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt [b.] Tamīm,
- al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza [b. Makrūh] b. Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik b. [‘Abd b.] Sa’d b. Jusham b. ‘Āmir b. Dhubyān b. Kināna b. Yashkur b. Bakr b. Wā’il,
- ‘Amr b. Kulthūm b. Mālik b. ‘Attāb b. Sa’d b. Zuhayr b. Jusham b. Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. ‘Amr b. Ghanm b. Taghlib b. Wā’il,
- Sa’d b. Mālik b. Ḍubay‘a b. Qays b. Tha‘laba b. ‘Ukāba b. ‘Alī b. Bakr b. Wā’il
- al-Aswad b. Ya‘fur b. ‘Abd al-Aswad b. Jandal b. Nahshal b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥaṇṣala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm,
- Suwayd | b. [Abī] Kāhīl b. Ḥāritha b. Ḥisīl b. Mālik b. ‘Abd b. Sa’d b. Jusham b. Dhubyān b. Kināna b. Yashkur b. [Bakr b.] Wā’il, 1:306
- Aws b. Ḥajar b. Mālik b. Ḥazn b. ‘Amr b. Khalaf b. Numayr b. Usayyid b. ‘Amr b. Tamīm b. Murr,
- Dhū l-Iṣba‘ al-‘Adwānī, who was Ḥurthān b. Ḥārith b. Muḥarrith [b. Tha‘laba b. Sayyār] b. Rabī’a b. Hubayra b. Tha‘laba b. Ḍarīb b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abbād b. Bakr b. Yashkur b. ‘Adwān ([‘Adwān] being [a byname for] al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amr b. Qays b. ‘Aylān),

1670 The term *mukhaḍram* refers to poets whose lifetimes spanned both the pre-Islamic era and early Islamic times.

1671 Arabic *fuḥūl*.

1672 As in M; ed. Leiden: *Ḥantam*. Both forms occur in his genealogy. See Lyall, *The Dīwāns of ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ ...*, 1 (Arabic).

- Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, who was ‘Amr b. ‘Awf b. Ḥanash b. Nāshira b. Usāma b. Wālība,
- ‘Antara b. Shaddād b. Mu‘āwiya b. Nizār b. Makhzūm b. Mālīk b. Ghālīb b. Quṭay‘a b. ‘Abs b. Baghīd,
- ‘Abda b. al-Ṭabīb al-Tamīmī,
- al-Mutalammis, who was Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Masīḥ b. ‘Abdallāh b. Zayd b. Dawfān b. Ḥarb b. Wahb b. Aḥmas b. Ḍubay‘a b. Rabī‘a b. Nizār,
- Abū Du‘ād al-Iyādī, who was Ḥawthara b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥajjāj,
- al-Muraqqish the Elder, [who was ...]<sup>1673</sup>
- al-Muraqqish the Younger,] who was Rabī‘a b. Mu‘āwiya b. Sa‘d b. Mālīk b. Ḍubay‘a b. Qays b. Tha‘laba,
- 1:307 – al-Musayyab b. ‘Alas b. ‘Amr b. | Quḍā‘a b. ‘Amr b. Zayd b. Tha‘laba b. Da‘dī b. Mālīk b. Jusham b. Mālīk b. Jumā‘a b. Julayy,
- ‘Adī b. Zayd b. Ḥammād [b. Zayd] b. Ayyūb b. Maḥrūf b. ‘Āmir [b.] ‘Uṣayya b. Imru’ al-Qays b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm,
- Salāma b. Jandal b. ‘Abd ‘Amr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥārith, who was Muqā‘is b. ‘Amr b. Ka‘b b. Sa‘d b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm,
- Suḥaym b. Wathīl b. ‘Amr b. Kurz b. Wuhayb b. Ḥimyarī b. Riyāḥ b. Yarbū‘ b. Ḥanzala b. Mālīk b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm,
- al-Jumayḥ al-Asadī, who was Munqidh b. [al-Ṭammāḥ b. Qays b.] Ṭarīf b. ‘Amr b. Qu‘ayn,
- Ḥātim al-Ṭā‘ī, [who was] Ḥātim b. ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d b. al-Ḥashraj b. Imru’ al-Qays b. ‘Adī b. Akhzam b. Rabī‘a b. Jarwal b. Thu‘al b. ‘Amr b. al-Ghawth,
- Ṭufayl al-Khayl, who was Ṭufayl b. ‘Awf b. Khulayf b. Ḍabīs b. Mālīk b. Sa‘d b. ‘Awf b. Hillān b. Ghanm b. Ghanī,
- al-Saffāḥ, who was Salama b. Khālīd b. Ka‘b b. Zuhayr b. Taym b. Usāma b. Mālīk b. Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. Ghanm b. Taghlib,
- 1:308 – Ta‘abbāṭa | Sharran, who was Thābit b. Jābir b. Sufyān b. ‘Adī b. Ka‘b b. Fahm b. ‘Amr b. Qays ‘Aylān,
- Ibn al-Muḍallal al-Asadī, who was Jald b. Qays [b. Mālīk] b. Munqidh b. Ṭarīf [b.] ‘Amr b. Qu‘ayn,
- Ka‘b al-Amthāl al-Ghanawī, who was Ka‘b b. Sa‘d b. ‘Alqama b. Rabī‘a b. Zayd b. Abī Malīl b. Rifā‘a b. Muslim b. Sa‘d,
- al-Ḥakam b. [...],<sup>1674</sup>
- Marwān al-Qaraz b. Zinbā‘ b. Jadhīma b. Rawāḥa b. Quṭay‘a b. ‘Abs,

1673 The copyist has skipped the remaining part of the poet's name by homeoteleuton.

1674 The copyist has again skipped part of a poet's name.



- Durayd b. al-Šimma b. al-Ḥārith b. Bakr b. ‘Alaqa b. Judā’a b. ‘Awf b. Jusham b. Mu‘āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin,
- Umayya b. Abī l-Šalt, who was ‘Abdallāh b. Rabī’a b. ‘Uqda b. Ghiyara b. ‘Awf b. Qasī (i.e., Thaḳīf),
- al-Afwah al-Awdī, who was Ṣalā’a<sup>1675</sup> b. ‘Amr b. Mālik [b. ‘Awf] b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Awf [b. Munabbih] b. Awd b. Ṣa’b b. Sa’d al-‘Ashīra b. Madhḥij,
- ‘Amr b. Qamī’a<sup>1676</sup> b. Dhariḥ b. Sa’d b. Mālik b. Ḍubay’a b. Qays b. Tha’laba, 1:309
- Ḍābi’ b. al-Ḥārith b. Arṭāt b. Shihāb b. ‘Ubayd b. Ḥalūl | b. Qays b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik,
- Khufāf b. Nadba—Nadba was his mother—whose father was ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amr b. al-Sharīd b. Riyāḥ b. Yaqaẓa b. ‘Uṣayya b. Khufāf b. Imru’ al-Qays b. Buhtha b. Sulaym,
- al-Mutanakhhkil al-Hudhalī, who was Mālik b. Ghanm b. Suwayd b. Ḥub-shī<sup>1677</sup> b. Khunā’a b. al-Dīl b. ‘Ādiya b. Ṣa’ṣa’a b. Ka’b b. Ṭābikha b. Liḥyān b. Hudhayl,
- al-Dhihāb al-Faḥl, who was Mālik b. Jandal b. Maslama b. Mujamma’ b. Ḍubay’a b. ‘Ijl,
- ‘Urwa b. al-Ward b. Zayd b. ‘Abdallāh b. Nāshib b. Sufyān b. ‘Awdh b. Ghālib b. Quṭay’a b. ‘Abs b. Baghīḍ,
- al-Ḥārith b. ‘Ubād b. Ḍubay’a b. Qays b. Tha’laba, who was Fāris al-Na’āma,
- Anas b. Mudrik b. ‘Amr b. Sa’d b. ‘Awf b. al-‘Atik b. Ḥāritha b. ‘Āmir b. Taym Allāh b. Mubashshir b. Aklub b. Rabī’a b. ‘Ifris b. Ḥalf b. Khath’am,
- al-Munakhhkhal b. Mas‘ūd b. Aflat b. Qaṭan b. Sū’a<sup>1678</sup> b. Mālik b. Tha’laba b. Ghanm b. Ḥubayyib b. Ka’b b. Yashkur,
- Ashyam b. Sharāḥīl b. ‘Abd Ruḍā b. ‘Abd ‘Awf | b. Mālik b. Ḍubay’a b. Qays b. 1:310
- Tha’laba,
- al-Ḥārith b. Zālīm b. Ḥadhīma b. Yarbū’ b. Ghayḍ<sup>1679</sup> b. Murra b. ‘Awf b. Sa’d b. Dhubyān,
- Ṣafwān b. Ḥuṣayn b. Mālik b. Rifā’a b. Sālim b. ‘Ubayd b. Sa’d al-‘Anazī,
- al-Samaw’al b. ‘Ādiyā—his lineage is traced back to Ghassān, but some say that he was a Jew of the tribe of Judah,

1675 Vocalizing as in *Aghānī*, 11:44. Ed. Leiden and M have *Ṣalāh*, but omission of *hamza* is normal in manuscripts.

1676 Restored as *Qamī’a* by the Leiden editor from MSS *Qamīd*, but the preferable reading is *Qamī’a*; cf. *Aghānī*, 16:163.

1677 MSS *Ḥ-l-s*; thus restored by the Leiden editor; *Aghānī*, 20:145, reads *Khunays*, but notes many variants.

1678 Cf. *Aghānī*, 18:152; ed. Leiden *Sawāda*, M *Sawād*.

1679 Sic ed. Leiden; MSS *‘Ubayd*. Probably to be read *Ghayz*; cf. *Aghānī*, 10:17.

- ‘Amr b. al-Ahtam b. Sumayy b. Sinān b. Khālīd b. Minqar b. ‘Ubayd b. ‘Amr b. Ka’b b. Sa’d b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm,
- Maṭrūd b. Ka’b b. ‘Urfuṭa b. al-Nāfidh b. Murra b. Taym b. Sa’d b. Ka’b b. ‘Amr b. Rabī’a al-Khuzā’ī,
- Aws b. Ghalfā’ b. Faqīt<sup>1680</sup> b. Ma’bad b. ‘Āmir b. Yamāma,
- Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām b. Rabī’a b. Ḥarām b. Wā’ila b. Sahm b. [...] ‘Āmir b. Ṣa’ṣa’a,
- al-Rakkāḍ al-Asadī, who was Rakkāḍ b. Abbāq b. Budayl, one of the Banū Dubayr,
- Suwayd b. Kurā’ al-‘Uklī,
- al-Ḥuwaydara,<sup>1681</sup> whose name was Quṭba b. [Aws b.] Miḥṣan b. Jarwal b. Ḥabīb al-Aṣam b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Khuzayma b. Rizām b. Māzin b. Tha’laba b. Sa’d b. Dhubyān,
- 1:311 – A’shā Banī Asad, who was Qays b. Bujara b. Munqidh b. Ṭarīf | b. ‘Amr b. Qu’ayn,
- Ibn al-Ziba’rā al-Sahmī, who was ‘Abdallāh b. Qays b. ‘Adī [b. Sa’d] b. Sahm, one of the Quraysh,
- [...] <sup>1682</sup> Qaṭan b. Nahshal b. Dārim b. Mālīk b. Ḥanzāla,
- Ibn Dajāja al-Fuqaym,<sup>1683</sup> who was Bukayr b. Yazīd b. Anas b. Imru’ al-Qays,
- Suwayd b. Salāma b. Ḥudayj b. Qays b. ‘Amr b. Qaṭan b. Nahshal b. Dārim [b. Mālīk] b. Ḥanzāla,
- Qays b. Zuhayr b. Jadhīma b. Rawāḥa b. Rabī’a b. al-Ḥārith b. Māzin b. Quṭay’a b. ‘Abs b. Baghīḍ,
- Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, a member of the Banū Kalb b. ‘Awf b. Ka’b b. ‘Āmir b. Layth b. Kināna. He survived into Islamic times and converted to Islam, but then he apostatized. He was killed as an infidel on the day of the conquest of Mecca.
- al-Musayyab b. al-Rifāl<sup>1684</sup> b. Ḥāritha b. Janāb<sup>1685</sup> b. Qays b. Abī Jābir b. Zuhayr b. Janāb b. Hubal al-Kalbī,

1680 Known as Aws b. Ghalfā’ al-Hujaymī, but the sources, other than al-Ya’qūbī, give no further genealogy. The text is defective. What is given here as *Faqīt*, is completely unpointed in M, and the first letter of what is given here as *Yamāma* is also unpointed and could be *b*, *t*, *th*, or *n*.

1681 Also known as *al-Ḥādira* (having heavy-set shoulders), of which *al-Ḥuwaydira* is a diminutive. See *Aghānī*, 3:82–84.

1682 Lacuna, several names seem to have been omitted.

1683 The identity of the poet and the vocalization of his name are unknown.

1684 Reading with *Aghānī*, 21:69. MSS. *al-Raqīl* or *al-Ruqayl*, an unknown name, for which the Leiden editor conjectured *al-Rafīl*.

1685 Reading with M and *Aghānī*, 21:69; ed. Leiden *Ḥayyān*.

- al-Barrāḍ b. Qays b. Rāfi‘ b. Qays b. Judayy b. Ḍamra al-Kinānī,
- Sabra b. ‘Amr b. Ahnān b. Dithār b. Faq‘as,
- Shāfi‘ b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā al-Ḍamrī,
- Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju‘shum al-Mudlijī,
- Maṣrūf, whose name was ‘Amr b. Qays b. Mas‘ūd b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Amr | b. Abī 1:312  
Rabī‘a b. Dhuhl,
- Ibn Rumayla al-Ḍabbī,
- Qays b. Mas‘ūd b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Amr b. Abī Rabī‘a b. Dhuhl,
- Mirdās b. Abī ‘Āmir b. Jāriya b. ‘Abd b. ‘Abs b. Rifā‘a b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha b.  
Sulaym b. Maṣṣūr.

Among the early “Stallion” poets<sup>1686</sup> of the Jāhiliyya who survived into Islamic times were:

- al-Nābigha al-Ja‘dī, who was similar in age to al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī and whose name was Qays b. [‘Abdallāh b. ‘Udas b. Rabī‘a b. Ja‘da b. Ka‘b b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa’a],<sup>1687</sup>
- Labīd<sup>1688</sup> b. Rabī‘a b. Mālik b. Ja‘far b. Kilāb b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa’a,
- Tamīm b. Ubayy [b.] Muqbil b. ‘Awf b. Ḥunayf [b. Qutayba] b. al-‘Ajlān b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ka‘b b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa’a,
- Ka‘b b. Zuhayr, who was Rabī‘a b. Riyāḥ b. Qurṭ b. al-Ḥārith b. Māzin b. Tha‘laba b. Thawr b. Hudhma b. Lāṭim b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Amr b. Udd,
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Karib al-Kindī,
- Abū Sammāl al-Asadī, whose name was Shim‘ān<sup>1689</sup> b. Hubayra b. Masāḥiq,
- Zayd b. Muḥalhil, who was Zayd al-Khayl b. Yazid b. Munhib b. ‘Abd Ruḍā b. al-Muḥlas b. Thawr [b. ‘Adī b. Kināna] b. Mālik b. Nabḥān b. ‘Amr b. | al- 1:313  
Ghawth,
- al-Ḥuṭay’a, whose name was Jarwal b. Aws b. Mālik b. Juwayya<sup>1690</sup> b. Makh-zūm b. Mālik b. Ghālib b. Quṭay’a b. ‘Abs,
- Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās b. Kabīr b. ‘Amr al-Muḥāribī,

<sup>1686</sup> Arabic, *fuḥūl*, plural of *fahl*.

<sup>1687</sup> The material in brackets was restored by the Leiden editor on the basis of other authorities; cf. *Aghānī*, 4:128, where the genealogy begins, “Ḥibbān b. Qays b. ‘Abdallāh b. Waḥwah (or ‘Amr) b. ‘Udas ...”

<sup>1688</sup> Ed. Leiden, M: *al-Walīd*.

<sup>1689</sup> Sic ed. Leiden, M; more often given as Sim‘ān; see Sezgin, *GAS*, 2:228–229.

<sup>1690</sup> Variant, *Ju‘ayya*; *Aghānī*, 2:43.

- al-Shammākh b. ʿĪrār b. Sinān b. Umayya b. ‘Amr b. Jihāsh b. Bajāla b. Māzin b. Tha‘laba b. Sa‘d b. Dhubyān,
- Abū Dhu‘ayb al-Hudhalī, who was Khuwaylid [b. Khālid] b. Muḥarrith b. Zubayd<sup>1691</sup> b. Makhzūm b. Ṣāhila b. Kāhil b. Tamīm b. Sa‘d b. Hudhayl,
- Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī, who was ‘Āmir b. al-Ḥulays,
- al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amr b. Jurja b. Yarbū‘ b. Fazāra,
- Suḥaym, a slave of the Banī l-Ḥaṣḥās b. Hind b. Sufyān<sup>1692</sup> b. Tha‘laba b. Dūdān<sup>1693</sup> b. Asad b. Khuzayma.<sup>1694</sup>

### The Fairs of the Arabs

The fairs<sup>1695</sup> of the Arabs were ten in number. They gathered at them for their trade, and the rest of the people would gather there as well, knowing that their lives and property would be safe. These fairs were:

DŪMAT AL-JANDAL,<sup>1696</sup> which was held in the month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal. Those in charge of it were the Ghassān and the Kalb—whichever of the two tribes was ascendant (in a given year) took control.

<sup>1691</sup> Following M and *Aghānī*, 6:58; ed. Leiden, *Rabīd* (or *Rubayd*).

<sup>1692</sup> Unpointed in ed. Leiden, M; reading uncertain.

<sup>1693</sup> Sic ed. Leiden and *Aghānī*, 22:2 (ed. Cairo, 26:9041); M: *Dhūdān*.

<sup>1694</sup> The apparent meaning of the text as it stands in M and C is, “The slave of the Banū l-Ḥaṣḥās, who is Suḥaym b. Hind ...” Nöldeke, in a footnote to his review of Houtsma’s edition (*ZDMG* 38:160), noted the incongruity of attributing an Arab genealogy to a poet who, according to *Aghānī*, 22:2 (ed. Cairo, 26:9041) was “a black Nubian slave, a non-Arab (*a‘jamī*) with a natural gift for poetry, whom the Banū l-Ḥaṣḥās, a clan of the Banū Asad, purchased.” Nöldeke explained the text as having arisen from omission of the words “and al-Ḥaṣḥās is ...” after “who is Suḥaym.” Another possibility is that the text originally did not mention Suḥaym’s name at all (according to the *Aghānī* there was disagreement over whether it was Suḥaym or Ḥayya) and read simply, “A slave of the Banū l-Ḥaṣḥās b. Hind ...” A copyist then inserted a marginal gloss, “who is Suḥaym,” which subsequently was copied into the main text, interrupting the flow of the genealogy of the Banū l-Ḥaṣḥās. On Suḥaym, see Sezgin, *GAS*, 2:288–289.

<sup>1695</sup> Arabic, *aswāq*, pl. of *sūq*, the general term for market; here applied to seasonal gatherings for trade.

<sup>1696</sup> Dūmat al-Jandal (modern al-Jawf in northwestern Saudi Arabia) is an oasis at the head of Wādī Sirḥān on the trade route between Medina and Damascus. See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal.

AL-MUSHAQQAR in Hajar,<sup>1697</sup> whose fair was held in Jumādā al-Ūlā under the supervision of the Banū Taym,<sup>1698</sup> the clan of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā.

ṢUḤĀR,<sup>1699</sup> which was held in | Rajab on the first day of the month. During this fair one did not need to pay protection money.<sup>1700</sup> [Traders] would depart from Ṣuḥār for RAYYĀ, where al-Julandā and his clan collected a tenth [of their proceeds]. 1:314

The fair of AL-SHIḤR<sup>1701</sup>—al-Shiḥr of the Mahra—which was held in the shadow of the mountain where lies the grave of the prophet Hūd.<sup>1702</sup> No protection money had to be paid at it, and the Mahra were in charge of it.

The fair of ‘ADAN,<sup>1703</sup> which was held on the first day of the month of Ramaḍān, with the Abnā’<sup>1704</sup> collecting ten percent of the traders’ proceeds. It was from the fair at ‘Adan that incense used to be carried far and wide.

The fair of ṢAN‘Ā’, which was held in the middle of the month of Ramaḍān, with the Abnā’ collecting ten percent of the traders’ proceeds.

The fair of AL-RĀBIYA in Ḥaḍramawt. One could reach this fair only by paying protection money, since it was not a land controlled by a ruler.<sup>1705</sup>

1697 Al-Mushaqqar was a port on the eastern coast of Arabia in the region of Hajar and Baḥrayn. Its exact location is unknown. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mushakḳar.

1698 Sic ed. Leiden and M. Probably to be corrected to *Tamīm*, as al-Mundhir b. Sāwā belonged to the tribal division Dārim of Tamīm. He controlled the area of Hajar for the Persians, but converted to Islam and continued to control the area in the days of the Prophet. See the article by M. J. Kister in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mundhir b. Sāwā.

1699 Ṣuḥār (modern Sohar) is on the coast of Oman, about halfway between modern Muscat and Fujairah. It was the emporium for products of the fertile coastal plain and for copper and stone from the mountains of the Jebel Akhdar. See the article by Monique Kervran in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣuḥār.

1700 Arabic *khifāra* (or *khafāra*): payment by a merchant or other traveler to the Arab tribe, tribes, or rulers controlling an area in return for protected passage. See the article by Cl. Cahen in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khafāra.

1701 Al-Shiḥr was the main port of Ḥaḍramawt on the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula. Mahra is the name of the tribe that controlled it. The area was famous for the production of frankincense and fine camels. See the article by G. R. Smith in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Shiḥr.

1702 For an interesting modern account of this tomb, see al-Sabban, *Visits and Customs: The Visit to the Tomb of the Prophet Hud*.

1703 ‘Adan is the modern Aden.

1704 Al-Abnā’ (the Sons) was a term applied to the descendants born in Yemen of Persian immigrants sent by the Sasanians. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup> by K. V. Zetterstéen, s.v. al-Abnā’.

1705 Arabic, *arḍ mumallaka*, a land having a *malik*, a king, prince, or ruler.

Anyone who was strong enough engaged in robbery. It was the Kinda who collected protection money during this fair.

The fair of 'UKĀZ<sup>1706</sup> in the Najd highland, which was held in the month of Dhū l-Qa'da. The Quraysh and the rest of the Arabs camped there, but mainly the Muḍar. It was here that the Arabs held their poetical boasting matches<sup>1707</sup> and their negotiations over matters of bloodwit<sup>1708</sup> and truces.

The fair of DHŪ L-MAJĀZ.<sup>1709</sup> After the fairs at 'Ukāz and Dhū l-Majāz, traders would depart for Mecca for their pilgrimage.

Among the Arabs there was a group who held certain wrongful actions to be licit when they attended these fairs; they came to be called *al-Muḥillūn*.<sup>1710</sup> Among the Arabs there were some who rejected this and would take it upon themselves to assist the wronged party and prevent bloodshed and the commission of reprehensible acts; these were called the Consecrated Protectors (*al-Dhāda al-Muḥrimūn*). The *Muḥillūn* were certain tribes from the Asad, Ṭayyi', and Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna, and a group from the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a. The Consecrated Protectors were from the Banū 'Amr b. Tamīm, Banū Ḥanzala b. Zayd Manāt, a group from the Hudhayl, a group from the Banū Shaybān, and a group from the Banū | Kalb b. Wabara. The latter used to carry weapons to repel the former from the people; however, during the sacred months all of the Arabs among these groups would lay down their arms ...<sup>1711</sup> The Arabs used to attend the fair of 'Ukāz wearing veils over their faces. It is said that the first Arab to remove his mask was Ḥarīf b. Ghanm al-'Anbarī. The other Arabs then followed his example.

1706 'Ukāz was located southeast of Mecca. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup> by Irfan Shahīd, s.v. 'Ukāz.

1707 Arabic, *mufākhara*. These were contests in which tribal poets or orators boasted of the exploits of their tribe. The *mufākhara* could be a ritualized prelude to battle, but also could take place at fairs. The fair at 'Ukāz was particularly famous as such an occasion. See the article by E. Wagner and Bichr Farès in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mufākhara*.

1708 Arabic, *ḥamāla*, the payment of compensation (*diya*) for the death of a person caused by oneself or by one's relatives.

1709 Dhū l-Majāz was another fair held near Mecca—Yāqūt locates the site one league (*farsakh*) from 'Arafāt, gives the duration of the fair as eight days, but does not give its month. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Majāz.

1710 The Arabic expression for "held wrongful actions to be licit" is *yastahillūna l-mazālim*. It may refer to defrauding, as the word *mazālim* can refer to wrongful actions in general, but specifically to wrongful gains. The term *muḥillūn*, is derived from the same root as *yastahillūna*. It means "those who account licit" or "those not in a state of ritual consecration" to abstain from certain actions. Its opposite is *muḥrimūn*, "those in a state of ritual consecration" to abstain from certain actions.

1711 Because of the sudden change in sense after this passage, Houtsma, the Leiden editor, inferred that the scribe had again skipped something in the text.

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∴



# [Introduction]

## In the Name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate

2:2

Praise be to God, the granter of success. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds. May God bless Muḥammad, the seal of the prophets, and the goodly and pure members of his family.

When our first book was finished, wherein we gave a brief account of the beginning of the world's existence and the history of the early peoples—the ancient nations, separate kingdoms, and divided tribes<sup>1</sup>—we composed this present book of ours according to what earlier authorities—scholars, transmitters, and authors of biographies, histories, and chronicles—transmitted. We did not set out to compile by ourselves a book in which we would undertake to retell what others had said before us. Rather, we set out to gather things that had been said and transmitted, for we discovered that men differed in their accounts and in their chronologies. Some added things and some omitted things. We wished to gather together what has come down to us from what each of them produced; for one person cannot encompass all knowledge. The Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, said, “Knowledge is more than one can retain, so take from each knower the best things he has to offer.”<sup>2</sup> Ja'far b. Ḥarb al-Ashajj<sup>3</sup> said: “I have found knowledge to be like wealth: every human being possesses a bit of it; and if a man holds a quantity of it he is called well-off, while someone else holds something more and is also called well-off. Similarly with knowledge: anyone who possesses something of it is called a knower, even if someone else knows more than he. If we did not call a scholar ‘scholar’ until | he comprehended all knowledge, the name would apply to no human being.” A wise man has said, “My pursuit of knowledge is not from hope to reach its remotest point and master its farthest end, but rather to seek something of which one must not be ignorant and which no rational person should act contrary to.” Another wise man has said: “If you are not learned, learn; and if you are not wise, become wise; for rarely does a man come to resemble others but that he is on the verge of becoming one of them.”<sup>4</sup> Someone has said: “Knowledge

2:3

1 Amending the reading of ed. Leiden and M *asbāb* (causes) to *asbāt* (tribes).

2 Reading with M, *‘ālim* (knower); ed. Leiden, *‘ilm* (science).

3 Abū l-Faḍl Ja'far b. Ḥarb al-Hamadhānī (d. 236/850) was a Zaydī Shī'ī Mu'tazilī theologian. See the article by Albert N. Nader in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dja'far b. Ḥarb*.

4 The Arabic involves a pun, since the verb *ta'allam* (learn) can also mean “act like a learned man,” and *taḥakkam* (become wise) can also mean “act like a wise man.”

is a spirit and action is a body. Knowledge is the root, and action is a branch. Knowledge is a begetter, and action is a child. One acts because one knows; one does not know because one acts." Another has said: "Whoever seeks knowledge from desire or fear, or from emulation or covetousness, his share of it will be in accordance with his fear; but anyone who pursues knowledge for the honor of knowledge and seeks it for the merit of understanding, his share of it will be in accordance with its honor, and his benefit from it will be in accordance with its merit." Someone has said: "Everything needs intellect, and the intellect needs knowledge."

This book of ours begins with the birth of the Messenger of God and the reports of him from one stage to another and from one time to another, until God took him to Himself. Then I mention the reports of the caliphs after him: the biography of one caliph after another, the conquests of each, what each did, what was done in his days, and the years of his reign.

The people from whom we have transmitted what is in this book are: Ishāq b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī al-Hāshimī,<sup>5</sup> who transmitted from the elders of the Banū Hāshim; Abū l-Bakhtarī Wahb b. Wahb al-Qurashī,<sup>6</sup> who transmitted from Ja'far b. Muḥammad<sup>7</sup> and other men; Abān b. 'Uthmān,<sup>8</sup> who transmitted from Ja'far b. Muḥammad; Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi,<sup>9</sup> who transmitted

5 Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-Hāshimī held various offices under Hārūn al-Rashīd, and enjoyed a good reputation as a historian. A book of his entitled *Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh wa-l-sīyar* is mentioned. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:313.

6 Abū l-Bakhtarī Wahb b. Wahb b. Kabīr al-Qurashī (d. 200/815) served as a judge under Hārūn al-Rashīd and was a traditionist, genealogist, and historian. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:267.

7 Ja'far b. Muḥammad (d. 148/765) is Abū 'Abdallāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, surnamed Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, reckoned to be the sixth Imam by Twelver Shī'īs. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:528–531.

8 Abān b. 'Uthmān b. Yaḥyā, known as al-Aḥmar al-Bajalī, is listed in Shī'ī reference works as having transmitted from the sixth Imam, Ja'far b. Muḥammad, surnamed al-Ṣādiq (cf. al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-rijāl al-ma'rūf bi-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, No. 659, 705; also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, No. 3). He was correctly identified by Josef Horowitz in *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors*, 9. Chronology and political affiliation rule out identifying him as Abān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the son of the third caliph.

9 Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Wāqid al-Wāqidi (d. 207/822) was a major historian active during the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. His *Maghāzī* (on the Prophet's military expeditions) has survived. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:294–297, and the article by S. Leder in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Wāqidi.



from Mūsā b. ‘Uqba<sup>10</sup> and other men; ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām, who transmitted from Ziyād b. ‘Abdallāh al-Bakkā’ī, who transmitted from Muḥammad b. | Ishāq al-Muṭṭalibī;<sup>11</sup> Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī,<sup>12</sup> who transmitted from Abū 2:4 l-Mundhir al-Kalbī and other men; ‘Isā b. Yazīd b. Da’b; al-Haytham b. ‘Adī al-Ṭā’ī,<sup>13</sup> who transmitted from ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās al-Hamdānī; Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Qurashī,<sup>14</sup> who transmitted from Abū Ṣāliḥ and other men; ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. [‘Abdallāh b. Abī] Sayf al-Madā’inī;<sup>15</sup> Abū Ma’shar al-Madanī;<sup>16</sup> Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī al-Munajjim;<sup>17</sup> and Māshā’allāh al-Ḥasīb<sup>18</sup> concerning the ascendants of years and times. We have written down, on the authority of men other than those we have named, certain items—biographies and accounts of caliphs—that others recorded and transmitted and that we have learned. We have made it a brief book, suppressing poems and lengthy accounts. In God lie help, success, power, and strength.

- 10 Abū Muḥammad Mūsā b. ‘Uqba b. Abī ‘Ayyās al-Asadī (d. 141/758) was a pupil of al-Zuhri and lived in Medina. He is said to have written a book on the Prophet’s military expeditions. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:286–287; also *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūsā b. ‘Uqba.
- 11 That is, al-Ya’qūbī made use of the *Sīra* of the Prophet that was edited by Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833 or 213/828), from the *riwāya* (version) transmitted by Ziyād al-Bakkā’ī (d. 183/799), of the original work by Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767). See the following articles in *ET*<sup>2</sup>: Ibn Hishām (by W. Montgomery Watt), Ibn Ishāq (by J. M. B. Jones); also Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:288–290 (Ibn Ishāq), and 297–299 (Ibn Hishām).
- 12 Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī (d. 243/857) was a judge under al-Mutawakkil, a traditionist, and historian. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:316.
- 13 Al-Haytham b. ‘Adī al-Ṭā’ī (d. between 206/821 and 209/824) was a historian known to have attended the ‘Abbāsīd court. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Haytham b. ‘Adī.
- 14 Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Qurashī (d. 120/737) was a Qur’ān reciter in Mecca, accredited with one of the seven authoritative readings (*qirā’āt*) of the Qur’ān. See W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell’s Introduction to the Qur’ān*, 49.
- 15 Al-Madā’inī (d. c. 228/843) was a major historian, credited with over two hundred works. See the article by Ursula Sezgin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Madā’inī; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:314–315.
- 16 Abū Ma’shar Najīb b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sindī al-Madanī (d. 170/787) was the author of a book on the Prophet’s military expeditions. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:291–292; also the article by J. Horowitz and F. Rosenthal in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Ma’shar Nadjīb.
- 17 Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (often written al-Khuwārizmī) the astronomer/astrologer (*munajjim*), a major figure in the development of mathematics, was active during the caliphate of al-Ma’mūn and died c. 232/847. See the article by J. Vernet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khwārazmī.
- 18 Māshā’allāh b. Atharī or b. Sāriya (d. c. 193/809) was a Jewish astrologer (*al-Ḥasīb* means arithmetician or expert in astronomical calculations). See the article by J. Samsó in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Māshā’ Allāh.

## The Birth of the Messenger of God

The birth of the Messenger of God took place in the Year of the Elephant.<sup>19</sup> Between his birth and the elephant there were fifty nights. According to what some have transmitted, it took place on Monday, the 2nd of the month of Rabi' 1. It was also said to have taken place on the eve of Tuesday, the 8th of the month of Rabi' 1. Those who transmitted from Ja'far b. Muḥammad say that it was on Friday at daybreak on the 12th of the month of Ramaḍān.

According to what experts in astronomical computations have said, he was born in the conjunction of Scorpio.<sup>20</sup> According to the astrologer Māshā'allāh: The ascendant of the year in which the conjunction took place that indicated the birth of the Messenger of God was Libra, 22°, the term and house of Venus. 2:5 Jupiter was in Scorpio, 3° 23'. Saturn was in Scorpio, | 6° 23', retrograde. The two were in the second of the ascendants. The Sun was in the sign opposite the ascendant, in Aries, the 1st minute. Venus was in Aries, 1° 56'. Mercury was in Aries, 18° 16', retrograde. Mars was in Gemini, 12° 15'. The Moon was in midheaven in Cancer, 1° 20'.

According to al-Khwārazmī: On the day the Messenger of God was born, the Sun was in Taurus, 1°. The Moon was in Leo, 18° 10'. Saturn was in Scorpio, 9° 40', retrograde. Jupiter was in Scorpio, 2° 10', retrograde. Mars was in Cancer, 2° 50'. Venus was in Taurus, 12° 10'.

19 According to the accepted chronology of Muḥammad's life, this would be around 570 CE. Concerning the historicity of the reputed attack on the Ka'ba by the Yemenite king Abraha, whose army was said to have included an elephant, see the article by A. F. L. Beeston in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Fil. No attempt to convert the date into an exact Western date has been made due to uncertainty about the pre-Islamic calendar.

20 That is, the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation of Scorpio. Al-Ya'qūbī is following the astrological system of Māshā'allāh, who followed a Sasanian theory "that important religious and political changes are indicated by conjunctions of the planets Saturn and Jupiter, which recur at intervals of about twenty years. Successive conjunctions tend to stay in the same astrological triplicity. After a long time, however, over two centuries, they move along into another triplicity. Any such 'shift' of triplicity indicates changes of more sweeping nature than a simple conjunction—the rise of a new nation or dynasty. The advent of a major prophet, an event most portentous of all, is heralded by the completion of a cycle of shifts through all four triplicities. Predictions are made by casting the horoscope for the instant of the vernal equinox (*taḥwīl al-sana*, year transfer) of the year in which this conjunction or shift occurs." E. S. Kennedy and David Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, vi, 48 ff., 98 ff. The margin of M contains a schematic diagram of this horoscope.

The Quraysh used to date the years by the death of Quṣayy b. Kilāb because of Quṣayy's greatness. When the Year of the Elephant came, they dated by it because of the renown of that year, and so their dating was from the birth of the Messenger of God.

When the Messenger of God was born, devils were pelted and stars fell. When the Quraysh saw it, not knowing what to make of the falling stars, they said, "This can be for no other reason than the coming of the Last Hour." An earthquake encompassing the entire world struck mankind, so that synagogues and churches collapsed, and everything that was worshipped other than God removed from its place. The magicians and soothsayers were at a loss; their familiar spirits were restrained [from speaking]. Stars never seen before rose, such that the soothsayers of the Jews did not know what to make of them. The Palace of Kisrā was shaken, so that thirteen pinnacles fell from atop the building.<sup>21</sup> The fire of Persia went out; it had never gone out for a thousand years before that. The chief scholar and wise man of the Persians, | whom the 2:6 Persians call *mōbadhān mōbadh*, who was in charge of the rites of their religion, had a vision of Arabian camels leading intractable horses which, having crossed the Tigris, spread throughout the country. This frightened and alarmed Kisrā Anūshirwān. He sent to al-Nu'mān, asking whether any of the soothsayers of the Arabs remained. Al-Nu'mān replied that yes, there was Saṭīḥ al-Ghassānī in Damascus in the land of Syria. "Bring me an elder of the Arabs," he said, "one who has intelligence and knowledge, whom I can send to him." He brought him 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. Buqayla, and he sent him to him. 'Abd al-Masīḥ set out on a camel and, having arrived in Damascus, inquired about the man and was directed to him. He dwelt at the Jābiya Gate, and 'Abd al-Masīḥ found him about to expire. So he called into his ear at the top of his voice:

Are you deaf, or can you hear?—O nobleman of Yemen,  
 who can relieve an anxiety that has defied the greatest men,  
 Who can pronounce judgment on a matter concealed:  
 the tribe's elder from the people of Yazan has come to you.

Then Saṭīḥ said:<sup>22</sup> "Abd al-Masīḥ hastens on a camel toward Saṭīḥ, who is on the edge of the grave. The Sasanians' king has sent you because of the hall's destruction, the fire's extinction, and the mōbadhān's vision. He saw Arabian

21 Arabic: Īwān Kisrā, that is, the Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in). The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:981–984, includes a longer version of the following poem.

22 The words of Saṭīḥ are in rhymed prose (*saj'*), the typical style for such mantic utterances. The "recitation" (*tilāwa*) may refer to the Qur'ān; Tihāma, the coastal plain of the southern

camels leading intractable horses, which, having crossed the Tigris, spread throughout the country. Son of Dhū Yazan, there shall be trials and tribulations, and kings and queens to the number of the pinnacles shall die. When Lake Sāwah sinks into the earth, and the recitation appears in the land of Tihāma, and the man with the staff appears, then Syria will not be Syria for Saṭīḥ." Then he gave up the ghost.

2:7 A certain man from the People of the Book came to a gathering of the Quraysh, among whom were Hishām b. al-Mughīra, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, and 'Utba b. Rabī'a. He asked, "Has a child been born to you tonight?" | "No," they said. He said, "I say you are wrong, by God, men of Quraysh; for there has been born in Palestine<sup>23</sup> a boy named Aḥmad on whom there is a mole like the color of a black cat, because of whom the destruction of the People of the Book shall take place." Before they left the place it was announced to them that a boy had been born to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib that night. The man went and looked at him, and said: "It is he, by God! Woe to the People of the Book because of him!" When he saw the joy of the Quraysh over what they had heard from him, he said, "By God, he will make an assault on you that shall be spoken of by people east and west."

The marriage of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to Āmina bt. Wahb took place ten years after the digging of the well of Zamzam. Some have said a few years more than ten. There was one year between 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's ransoming of his son and his arranging of his marriage.<sup>24</sup> The name of 'Abdallāh, the father of the Messenger of God, was 'Abd al-Dār. Some have said that his name was 'Abd Quṣayy, but when he was in the year in which he was ransomed 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, "This one shall be 'Abdallāh," and he named him so on that day.<sup>25</sup>

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Arabian peninsula, may be a veiled reference to Mecca; and "the man with the staff" (*ṣāhib al-hirāwa*) is taken by C. E. Bosworth in his translation of this section of al-Ṭabarī's history as a veiled reference to the second caliph, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. See C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 288.

23 Sic M and Ed. Leiden.

24 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have vowed that if he were granted ten sons to protect him, he would sacrifice one of them at the Ka'ba. When he did indeed become the father of ten sons, he prepared to carry out his vow. Lots were cast, and 'Abdallāh, his favorite son, was chosen to be the victim. When the Quraysh and the other sons objected, it was suggested that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib consult a certain sorceress; she suggested a procedure by which lots would be cast between 'Abdallāh and ever increasing numbers of camels until it was determined that the gods would be satisfied and release 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib from his vow; which happened when the number of camels to be sacrificed in lieu of 'Abdallāh rose to one hundred. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 97–100; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1074–1077.

25 'Abdallāh means "Servant of Allāh."

Between the marriage of the father of the Messenger of God to his mother and the latter's birth, according to what Ja'far b. Muḥammad has transmitted, there were ten months. Some have said a year and eight months.

It has been transmitted from his mother: "When I gave birth to him, I saw a light appearing from me, so bright that it frightened me; I did not see anything such as women see." Some have transmitted that she said: "The light shone from me until I saw the castles of Syria. When he fell on the ground, he grabbed a handful of dust, and then raised his head to the sky."<sup>26</sup>

The first milk that he drank after his mother's was the milk of Thuwayba, the freedwoman (*mawlāh*) of Abū Lahab. This Thuwayba had also nursed Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, and Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī.<sup>27</sup> | Later, after God sent him as a prophet, the Messenger of God said: "I saw Abū Lahab in the fires of hell crying, 'Thirst! Thirst!' and he was given to drink at the snap of his finger. 'Why is this?' I asked. He said, 'For my freeing of Thuwayba, because she nursed you.'"

2:8

'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the father of the Messenger of God, died, according to what Ja'far b. Muḥammad has transmitted, two months after his son's birth. Some have said that he died before his son was born, but this is an incorrect statement, the consensus being that he died after his son's birth. Others have said that it was a year after his birth. 'Abdallāh's death took place in Medina among his father's maternal uncles, the Banū l-Najjār, in a house called the House of al-Nābigha. His age at the time of his death was twenty-five years.

A wet-nurse was sought for the child among the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin.<sup>28</sup> 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib delivered the child to al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Rifā'a al-Sa'dī, the husband of Ḥalīma bt. Abī Dhu'ayb al-Sa'dī. He continued to reside among the Banū Sa'd, who saw in him a blessing to themselves and their cattle, until the incident took place in which someone came to him in the form of a man, split open his belly, and washed his inward parts. Fearing for him, they

<sup>26</sup> "There seems to be a lacuna in the text at this point" (note in Ed. Leiden).

<sup>27</sup> These three are singled out for mention because of their importance as early converts to Islam. Muḥammad's uncle Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was an early convert, emigrated to Medina, fought at Badr, and was killed at Uḥud. Muḥammad's cousin Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib ('Alī's brother), emigrated to Abyssinia after his conversion, went to Medina on his return, and eventually met his death in the expedition to Mu'ta. Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī is said to have been the first Muslim to emigrate to Medina.

<sup>28</sup> Parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 103–106; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 96–111; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:969–977. The incident referred to in this paragraph is traditionally connected with Sura 94 of the Qur'ān.

returned him, at age five, to his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Some have said at age four, and that he was like a ten-year-old in character and strength.

His mother, Āmina bt. Wahb b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Zuhra, died when he was six years and three months old; she was thirty years old. Her death occurred at a place called al-Abwā’, between Mecca and Medina. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Messenger of God, used to care for him. At that time ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the uncontested leader (*sayyid*) of the Quraysh: God had given him honor such as He had given no one else and had given him the water of Zamzam and Dhū l-Haram to drink.<sup>29</sup> | The Quraysh appointed him arbitrator in matters concerning their cattle. He gave food in times of famine, feeding even the birds and beasts of the mountains. Abū Ṭālib said:

And we give food until the birds feed on our excess,  
when the hands of the pilgrims pressing on begin to tremble.

He rejected idolatry and declared the unity of God, the Mighty and Majestic. He fulfilled his vows, and he established precedents most of which were confirmed by the Qur’ān and have come down as Sunna from the Messenger of God. They are the fulfillment of vows, a hundred camels as bloodwite, not marrying close kin, not approaching houses from the back, cutting off the thief’s hand, the prohibition on female infanticide, the *mubāhala*,<sup>30</sup> the prohibition on wine, the prohibition on fornication (*zinā*) and the punishment for it, the casting of lots, that no one should circumambulate the Ka’ba naked, showing hospitality to the guest and that when they performed the pilgrimage they should expend only from the best of their cattle, venerating the sacred months, and banishing prostitutes.<sup>31</sup> When the man of the elephant came,<sup>32</sup> the Quraysh left the sacred precinct in flight from the men with the elephant, but ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, “I will not leave God’s precinct and seek strength in another.” So he sat in the courtyard of the Ka’ba and said:

29 Dhū l-Haram was a well or estate belonging to ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib in al-Ṭā’if. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 52–53 for the story of how he came to possess it. For a summary of what is known about him, see the article by U. Rubin in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

30 *Mubāhala* is a kind of trial by mutual imprecation in which the opposing parties call down a curse on whichever party is not speaking the truth. See the article by W. Schmucker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mubāhala*.

31 *Dhawāt al-rāyāt*, or “women who have flags,” refers to prostitutes who indicated their availability by raising a particular kind of flag (Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:498a).

32 That is, Abraha, the Abyssinian general who intended to conquer Mecca. The history of Abraha and his expedition, which included a war elephant, may be found Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 29–38; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:935–942.

O God, if You forgive, they will be Your dependents;  
if not, then whatever seems best to You.<sup>33</sup>

The Quraysh used to say that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the second Abraham.

The man who brought the Quraysh the tidings of what God had done to the men of the elephant was ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the father of the Messenger of God. Therefore ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, “‘Abdallāh has come to you as a bearer of good tidings | and as a warner.” He told them what had befallen the men of the elephant, and so they said, “You have been great of blessing and fortunate of omen ever since you have been.” 2:10

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had ten male children and four female: ‘Abdallāh (the father of the Messenger of God), Abū Ṭālib (who was ‘Abd Manāf), al-Zubayr (who was Abū l-Ṭāhir), and ‘Abd al-Ka’ba (who was al-Muqawwam)—their mother was Fāṭima bt. ‘Amr b. ‘Ā’idh b. Imrān b. Makhzūm; she was the mother of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s daughters Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍā’, ‘Ātika, Barra, Arwā, and Umayma. Also, al-Ḥārith, who was ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s oldest child, from whom he received his honorific name (*kunya*), and Qutham; the mother of the two of them was Ṣafiyya bt. Jundub b. Ḥujayr b. Zabbāb b. Ḥabīb b. Suwa’a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣa’ṣa’a. Also, Ḥamza (he was Abū Ya’lā), “God’s Lion” and “Lion of the Messenger of God”; his mother was Hāla bt. Wuhayb b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Zuhra, who was also the mother of Ṣafiyya bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Also, al-‘Abbās and Ḍirār; the mother of these two was Nutayla bt. Jannāb b. Kulayb b. al-Nimr b. Qāsiṭ. Also, Abū Lahab (who was ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā), whose mother was Lubnā bt. Hājir b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Ḍaṭīr al-Khuzā’i. Also, al-Ghayḍāq (who was Jaḥl)—he was called al-Ghayḍāq (the Generous) because he was the most openhanded of the Quraysh and the most generous with food—his mother was Mumanna’a bt. ‘Amr b. Mālīk b. Nawfal al-Khuzā’i. These are the paternal uncles and aunts of the Messenger of God. Every one of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s children had honor, renown, | merit, esteem, and glory. 2:11

‘Āmir b. Mālīk, “the Player with spear-heads,” once came on pilgrimage. “Men,” he said, “who look like black camel stallions.” And he said, “By them will Mecca be protected.”

Aktham b. Ṣayfī once came on pilgrimage with some men of the Banū Tamīm. He saw them striding across al-Baṭḥā’<sup>34</sup> as if they were towers of silver, causing their neighbors to cleave to the earth. So he said, “Banū Tamīm, if God

33 As Houtsma observes, the text of the verse in al-Ya’qūbī is problematic. Longer versions of the poem can be found in Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 56; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:940–941.

34 Al-Baṭḥā’ (literally, the dry streambed) is a name for the central area of Mecca, where the Ka’ba is located.

decides to establish a favorable turn of events (*dawla*), He will cause men like these to sprout up for it. These are God's planting, not the planting of men."

A mat would be spread out for 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the courtyard of the Ka'ba, but no one would approach his mat until the Messenger of God, who was a young boy, came to him, stepping over the necks of his uncles. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib would say to them: "Let my son do it. Surely this son of mine will be very important."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, with the chiefs of his people, went to visit Sayf b. Dhī Yazan when the latter took possession of Yemen. Sayf gave him precedence over them all and preferred him. He took him aside, announced to him the glad tidings of the Messenger of God, and described the latter's attributes to him. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib shouted praise to God and, recognizing the truth of what Sayf had said, bowed to the ground. Sayf asked him, "Did you become aware of some tidings because of what I said?" "Yes," he told him, "A boy like what you described has been born to my son, O King." Sayf said: "Beware of the Jews with regard to him, and your people, too—your people are more powerful than the Jews. God will complete his affair and raise up his call."

The People of the Book never ceased speaking to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib about the Messenger of God from the time he was born, and 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's joy at this was great. He said, "By God, if the Quraysh envy me for the water"—he meant the water that God had given him to drink from Zamzam and Dhū al-Haram—"tomorrow they will envy me for the great honor, noble edifice, enduring might, and sublime splendor until the end of time and the Day of Congregation."

2:12 Once the Quraysh experienced uninterrupted drought, so that vegetation died and udders went dry. In panic they said: "God has given us water through you time after time. | Pray therefore to God, that He will give us something to drink." They heard a voice call out from one of the mountains of Mecca: "People of Quraysh, the prophet of the gentiles<sup>35</sup> shall be from you. This is the time to expect him. Seek out from yourselves a man very great, very important, having a manner of life to which he summons and honor for which he is revered. Let him and his children go out to touch water, seek goodness, and kiss the corner. Let the man call out, and let the people say amen. Then you shall have

35 Arabic *al-nabī al-ummī*. The interpretation of the phrase as applied to Muḥammad is a matter of controversy. The most common interpretations are first, "the illiterate prophet," based on the idea that Muḥammad did not know how to read or write, and therefore the production (or channeling) of the Qur'ān through him was a miracle; second, that Muḥammad was the prophet sent to the Arabs, who as a nation had previously had no scripture; and third, that Muḥammad was a prophet sent to all nations. See E. Geoffroy's article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ummī.



as much abundance of plants and rain as you wish.” There remained no one in Mecca who did not say, “This is Shaybat al-Ḥamd! This is Shaybat al-Ḥamd!”<sup>36</sup> So ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib went out—with him was the Messenger of God, who at the time had his loincloth tightly bound. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: “O God, supplier of what is lacking and reliever of distress: You are a knower who is not taught, an asked one to whom no miserliness is imputed. Behold these Your servants and handmaids in the courtyards of Your sacred precinct. To You they complain of their years that have dried up the udder and destroyed the vegetation. Hear, O God, and send down a fructifying, abundant rain.” Before they could leave, the heavens burst open with their water and the valley was filled with its torrent. One of the Quraysh said concerning this:

Through Shaybat al-Ḥamd God gave water to our town,  
when we lacked sleep<sup>37</sup> and the rain had ceased.  
It came as a boon from God through a man who brings good fortune,  
the best of those for whom Muḍar ever rejoiced:  
A man blessed in his affairs, by whom the clouds are made to yield rain,  
whose equal or like in eminence mankind has never known.

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib bequeathed his judicial authority to his son al-Zubayr, along with matters relating to the Ka’ba; to Abū Ṭālib he entrusted the Messenger of God, as well as the office of dispensing water from the well of Zamzam. He said to him, “I have left in your hands great honor whereby you shall tread upon the necks of the Arabs.” And he said to Abū Ṭālib:

I entrust to you, O ‘Abd Manāf,<sup>38</sup> after my death,  
one who is unique and, after his father’s death, alone.  
He left him still lying in the cradle,  
and I was like a mother to him in affection,  
A mother who draws him close to her bowels and liver.  
For you, I think, of all my sons can be most counted on  
To repel a wrong or to bind a compact.

2:13

36 The birth name of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was Shayba, or Shaybat al-Ḥamd, because a “whiteness of the hair” (*shayba*) was seen on his head when he was born. See the article by U. Rubin in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

37 Sic ed. Leiden and M. One is tempted to amend *al-karā* (sleep) to *al-kalā*, a shortened form of *al-kala*’ (grass, herbage, pasture).

38 That is, Abū Ṭālib, whose birth name was ‘Abd Manāf.

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib died when the Messenger of God was eight years old; ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was one hundred and twenty years old. Some have said one hundred and forty years. The Quraysh treated his death as a momentous event. He was washed with water and lote-tree [leaves]—the Quraysh were the first people to wash the dead with the lote-tree.<sup>39</sup> He was wrapped in two garments of Yemeni cloth valued at a thousand *mithqāls* of gold.<sup>40</sup> Musk was cast over him until it covered him, and he was carried on men’s hands for several days as a mark of honor, esteem, and reverence at his interment.

After ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was interred, his son<sup>41</sup> seated himself in the courtyard of the Ka’ba; Ibn Jud‘ān al-Taymī sat on one side, along with al-Walid b. Rabī‘a al-Makhzūmī. Each one claimed leadership.

It has been transmitted from the Messenger of God that he said, “God will raise up my grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib as a nation unto himself, like the prophets in appearance and the kings in dress.”

After the death of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Messenger of God was cared for by Abū Ṭālib his uncle. He was the best of guardians: Abū Ṭālib was a noble leader, obeyed and respected despite his poverty. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said, “My father ruled though he was poor, and no poor man had ever ruled before him.” Abū Ṭālib took the Messenger of God on a journey to Buṣrā in Syria when the latter was nine years old—he said, “By God, I will entrust you to no one but myself.” He was raised by Fāṭima bt. Asad b. Hāshim, the wife of Abū Ṭālib and mother of all his children. It has been transmitted from the Messenger of God that when she died as a good Muslim he said: “Today my mother has died.” He shrouded her in his own shirt, | went down into her grave, and lay down in the niche prepared to receive her body. Someone said to him, “Messenger of God, your grief over Fāṭima is very great!” He said: “She was my mother; she would make her

2:14

39 See the article by Remke Kruk in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sidr, where the tree is identified as most likely *Ziziphus leucodermis*, related to the jujube. A paste of crushed leaves of the tree was used for cleansing the scalp, hair, and body.

40 The *mithqāl* was the standard weight of the dinar, the unit of gold currency in early Islam. The standard weight after the currency reform of ‘Abd al-Malik was 4.25 grams. For comparison, the U.S. quarter-eagle gold coin, with a face value of \$2.50, weighed 4.37 grams. See the article by G. C. Miles in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dinār.

41 Since, according to Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 57, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was survived by four sons, al-Ya‘qūbī’s failure to specify which one claimed primacy is strange. According to Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 114, al-Abbās took charge of Zamzam and the watering of the pilgrims, although he was the youngest son. The failure to mention al-Abbās may be intentional. See the article by U. Rubin in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

children go hungry and satisfy me, and would leave them unkempt and anoint me. She was my mother.”

When he reached the age of twenty, the signs [of prophethood] appeared in him. People who possessed knowledge of the books<sup>42</sup> began to talk about him and discuss him among themselves. They described his attributes and said that his appearance was imminent. One day he said to Abū Ṭālib, “Uncle, I dreamt that I saw a man coming to me, and with him were two men who were saying: ‘He is the one. When he comes of age, do what you will with him.’ The other man did not speak.” Abū Ṭālib described what Muḥammad had said to a learned man who was in Mecca, and the latter, having looked at the Messenger of God, said: “This is the goodly spirit. This, by God, is the most pure prophet.” Abū Ṭālib said to him, “Keep my nephew secret. Do not incite his people against him. By God, I have told the things I have said only to ‘Alī. My father ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib told me that he was the prophet who would be sent, and he commanded me to hide it lest it incite his enemies against him.”

### Al-Fijār: The Sacrilegious War

The Messenger of God witnessed the Sacrilegious War (al-Fijār) when he was seventeen—some say twenty—years old.<sup>43</sup> The cause of the Sacrilegious War, which took place between the Kināna and the Qays, was that a man from the Banū Ḍamra named al-Barrāḍ b. Qays—he was in Mecca under the protection of Ḥarb b. Umayya—assaulted and killed a man from the Hudhayl named al-Ḥārith. When Ḥarb b. Umayya expelled al-Barrāḍ from his protection, the latter joined al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir<sup>44</sup> and got together with ‘Urwa b. ‘Utba b. Ja‘far b. Kilāb. Every year al-Nu‘mān used to send a caravan<sup>45</sup> to ‘Ukāz<sup>46</sup> to trade.

42 That is, people who knew the Jewish and Christian scriptures. The expression used here (*aṣḥāb al-kutub*) is different from the term designating the Jews and Christians as ‘People of the Book’ (*ahl al-kitāb*) in Islamic law.

43 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 117–119; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 80–82; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1130, 1255; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 19:73–82; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:439–445. See the articles by J. W. Fück in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fijār, and by Ella Landau-Tasseron in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Fijār.

44 Also known as al-Nu‘mān III, the Arab king of al-Ḥīra (r. 580–602 CE).

45 The word used here, *laṭīma*, is said to mean a caravan of camels carrying musk or perfume or precious cloth. The parallel in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 19:73–82, gives a list of the merchandise; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *zawmala*.

46 ‘Ukāz, southeast of Mecca, between Nakhla and al-Ṭā‘if, was the site of the most important fair in pre-Islamic Arabia. To facilitate peaceful intercourse between the tribes, the fair

2:15 None of the Arabs ever interfered with it, until al-Nu'mān killed the brother of Bal'ā b. Qays; | afterward, Bal'ā used to raid the caravans of al-Nu'mān. When 'Urwa and al-Barrāḍ were together before al-Nu'mān, the latter asked, "Who will protect my caravans?" Al-Barrāḍ said, "I will." 'Urwa said the same. So the two exchanged words. When the two left and 'Urwa set out to depart, al-Barrāḍ blocked his path, killed him, and took the camels of al-Nu'mān's caravan that were with him. The Qays assembled in support of al-Barrāḍ; the Kināna turned to the Quraysh, who aided them and went out with them. They fought each other in Rajab, which was a sacred month for them in which no blood should be shed. Therefore the war was called *al-Fijār* because they committed sacrilege (*fajārū*) in a sacred month. Each division of the Quraysh had its leader; the leader of the Banū Hāshim was al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

It has been transmitted that Abū Ṭālib forbade any of the Banū Hāshim to take part in it. He said: "This is wrongdoing, aggression, breach of kinship, and profaning of the sacred month. Neither I nor any of my family will participate in it." Al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib therefore was constrained against his will, but, when 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān al-Taymī and Ḥarb b. Umayya said, "We will not participate in an affair from which the Banū Hāshim stay away," al-Zubayr went out.

Others have said that Abū Ṭālib, along with the Messenger of God, was present at the battles. Whenever he was present, the Kināna defeated the Qays. Recognizing the blessing brought by his presence, the people said, "Son of the man who fed the birds<sup>47</sup> and gave water to the pilgrims, do not leave us, for we see that triumph and victory attend your presence." He said: "Avoid wrongdoing, aggression, breach of kinship, and slander. Then I will not stay away from you." "You have it," they said; and so he remained present until they were victorious.

It has been transmitted from the Messenger of God that he said: "I was present as a young boy at the Sacrilegious War with my uncle Abū Ṭālib."

2:16 Some transmit that he was present at the Sacrilegious War when he was twenty years old and that he stabbed Abū Barā', the Player with Spear-heads, and toppled him from his horse, | and so the victory came through him. (We have brought together all the accounts.) Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams died in Syria some months after the Sacrilegious War.

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was held in one of the sacred months, Dhū l-Qa'da, immediately before the month of pilgrimage. See the article by Irfān Shahīd in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ukāz.

47 That is, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who received this title for his generosity (see above).

### The Pact of the Fuḏūl

The Messenger of God was present at the Pact of the Fuḏūl<sup>48</sup> when he had passed the age of twenty. After God had sent him [with his prophetic mission], he said, “I was present in the house of ‘Abdallāh b. Jud‘ān at a pact in exchange for which I would not be happy with even the reddest of camels. If I were invited to take part in it today, I would agree.”

The background of the Pact of the Fuḏūl is as follows. The Quraysh concluded many pacts for protection and defense. For example, the Muṭayya-būn<sup>49</sup>—the Banū ‘Abd Manāf, Banū Asad, Banū Zuhra, Banū Taym, and Banū l-Hārith b. Fihri—concluded a pact not to surrender the Ka‘ba “as long as Mount Hira’ and Thabīr shall stand and as long as the sea soaks seaweed.” ‘Ātika bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib made perfume, and they dipped their hands into it. Some say that the perfume belonged to Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḏā’ bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was the twin of ‘Abdallāh, the father of the Messenger of God. The La‘aqa<sup>50</sup>—the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār, Banū Makhzūm, Banū Jumaḥ, Banū Sahm, and Banū ‘Adī—concluded a pact to defend one another and to pay bloodwite for each other. They slaughtered a cow and dipped their hands into its blood.

The Quraysh used to mistreat the stranger in the sacred territory and anyone who had no kinfolk. Once a member of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma brought some goods to trade. A member of the Banū Sahm bought them, took them, and refused to pay the man the price. The latter addressed the Quraysh, sought their protection, and asked them to help him obtain his due; no one, however, would take his part. So the man from the Banū Asad climbed the hill called Abū Qubays and cried at the top of his voice:

People of Fihri, help one who has been wronged of his goods,  
in the Valley of Mecca, far from kin and helpers.

2:17

48 The name of the pact has been left untranslated as al-Ya‘qūbī mentions several explanations for it without indicating a preference for any of them. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 85–87; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 17:218–222 (= ed. Cairo, 19:6600–6616); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:29–30. See also the article with bibliography by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥilf al-Fuḏūl.

49 The name, which means “The Perfumed Ones,” referred to the ceremony by which the pact was formalized.

50 The name, “Those who Lick,” is a shortening of La‘aqat al-Dam, referring to the ceremony by which the pact was formalized. According to Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 125, the La‘aqat al-Dam (Lickers of Blood) were a group of clans who vowed to fight anyone who contested their right to place the Black Stone when the Ka‘ba was rebuilt.

The sanctuary belongs to those whose sacredness is perfect;  
no sanctuary belongs to the garments of those who wear deceit.

Some have said that it was not a member of the Banū Asad, but Qays b. Shayba al-Sulamī, who sold some goods to Abū Khalaf al-Jumahī, who made off with his due. So he recited these verses. Others say that he said:

O Quṣayy, how comes this to pass in the sanctuary?  
By the sanctity of the house and the customs of generosity,  
I am wronged, and the one who wronged me is not prevented.

Feeling ashamed, the Quraysh rose up and made a pact that no stranger or other person should be wronged and that they would take the wronged person's part against the wrongdoer. They assembled in the house of 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān al-Taymī. The parties to the pact were the clans of Hāshim, Asad, Zuhra, Taym, and al-Hārith b. Fihir. The Quraysh said, "This is a pact that is superfluous (*fuḍūl*)," and so it came to be called the Pact of the Fuḍūl.<sup>51</sup> Someone else has said that three persons named al-Faḍl were present—al-Faḍl b. Quḍā'a, al-Faḍl b. Ḥashā'a, and al-Faḍl b. Biḍā'a—and so it came to be called the Pact of the Fuḍūl.<sup>52</sup> It has also been said that these were men who had been present at a pact sworn by the tribe of Jurhum,<sup>53</sup> which was called the Pact of the Fuḍūl after them, and that the pact in that year was seen as similar.

### The Rebuilding of the Ka'ba

The Messenger of God placed the stone<sup>54</sup> in its place when the Quraysh argued among themselves—he was twenty-five years old at the time. This took place

51 The sense of the name is unclear, since *fuḍūl* can mean something that is excessive in the sense of being superfluous or something that is excessive in the sense of being superior. In the former sense, the non-participating clans may have seen the pact as something superfluous. Later interpretations, based on the Prophet's approval of the pact, connect the name with the Arabic word for virtue (*faḍīla*) and see it as the Pact of the Virtuous. See the discussion by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl.

52 That is, taking *fuḍūl* as the plural of *faḍl*. The names show variation in the parallel sources. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 16:65 (= ed. Cairo, 19:6602), has "al-Faḍl b. Sharā'a, al-Faḍl b. Quḍā'a, and al-Faḍl b. Wadā'a."

53 Jurhum was a tribe that controlled Mecca and the Ka'ba before the Quraysh.

54 This is the Black Stone (*al-Ḥajar al-Aswad*) affixed to the eastern wall of the Ka'ba that

as follows. The Quraysh demolished the Ka'ba because of | a flood that struck 2:18 them and demolished it. Others say that while a woman of the Quraysh was censing the Ka'ba, a spark flew out and set fire to the Ka'ba's door, which was nine cubits in height. They therefore tore it down. The first to take a pickaxe to it was al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī. They dug until they reached Abraham's foundations. They pulled a stone out of it, but the stone jumped up and returned to its place; so they desisted. It is said that the person from whose hand the stone flew was Abū Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. Imrān b. Makhzūm. Then a snake came out at them and prevented them from building. They assembled, and he asked, "What do you think it best to do?" Abū Ṭālib said: "It is not right to expend anything on this except lawful gains. Do not put into it any wealth derived from wrongdoing or injustice." So they brought of their wealth what was undoubtedly lawful. They raised their hands toward heaven, and a bird came, snatched up the snake, and went away. Then they put off their waistcloths and worked naked, except for the Messenger of God, for he refused to take off his garment. He heard a voice cry out, "Do not take off your garment." The stones from which the house was built were brought from a mountain called al-Siyāda<sup>55</sup> from the highest part of the valley. They made it eighteen cubits.<sup>56</sup> Each division of the Quraysh took charge of part of it: the Banū 'Abd Manāf took one quarter; the other descendants of Quṣayy b. Kilāb and the Banū Taym took one quarter; Makhzūm took one quarter; and the Banū Sahm, Jumah, 'Adī, and 'Āmir b. Fihir took one quarter. When they wanted to place the stone, they quarreled over it: each division said, "We will take charge of placing it." Then the Messenger of God approached—the Quraysh used to call him al-Amīn (the Trustworthy One). When they saw him coming, they said, | 2:19 "We will accept the judgment of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh." The Messenger of God spread out his cloak, put the stone into the middle of it, and said, "Let each division take one side of the cloak; then lift it all together." That is what they did. 'Utba b. Rabī'a carried one of the sides of the cloak; Abū Zam'a b. al-Aswad, Abū Ḥudhayfa b. al-Mughīra, and Qays b. 'Adī al-Sahmī [took the other sides]—some have said it was al-Āṣ b. Wā'il. When it reached the place, the

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pilgrims stroke or kiss. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, 122–125; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 93–95; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1130–1139.

55 The correct reading of this otherwise unknown toponym is uncertain.

56 Whether the height or the length is meant is unclear. Taking a cubit as approximately 1.5 feet, this comes to 27 feet, which is considerably less than the length of the walls of the modern building, which are about 35 feet long. The modern building is c. 50 feet in height. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ka'ba.

Messenger of God took the stone and put it in its place, where it now is. They roofed the building; before that it had no roof.

### The Marriage of Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid

The Messenger of God married Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid when he was twenty-five years old.<sup>57</sup> Others say that he married her when he was thirty years old.

Before he was sent as a prophet, she bore him al-Qāsim, Ruqayya, Zaynab, and Umm Kulthūm; after he was sent as a prophet, she bore him ‘Abdallāh (who is al-Ṭayyib [the Goodly] and al-Ṭāhir [the Pure]), because he was born in Islam) and Fāṭima.

Someone has transmitted that ‘Ammār b. Yāsir<sup>58</sup> said: “I am the person best informed about the marriage of the Messenger of God and Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid. I was a friend of his. One day, while we were walking between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa,<sup>59</sup> there was Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid with her sister Hāla. When she saw the Messenger of God, her sister Hāla came to me and said, “‘Ammār, doesn’t your companion have some business concerning Khadīja?” ‘By God,’ I said, ‘I don’t know.’ So I went back and mentioned it to him. He said, ‘Go back, come to an agreement with her, and promise her a date on which we will come to her.’ I did it. When the day came, she sent for ‘Amr b. Asad,<sup>60</sup> plied him with drink on that day, anointed his beard with yellow ointment, and threw a colored garment over him. Then the Messenger of God came with a group of his uncles led by Abū Ṭālib. Abū Ṭālib asked for her hand, saying:

2:20 ‘Praise be to God, who has made us of | the seed of Abraham and the progeny of Ishmael and has given to us a house of pilgrimage and a safe sacred precinct; who has made us judges over men and has blessed us in the land where we are. Weighed against any man among the Quraysh, my nephew, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh, outweighs them; measured against anyone, he is greater. If he is small in wealth, wealth is a sustenance that changes, a shadow that passes away.

57 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 119–122; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 84–85, and 8:7–11; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1127–1130. See also the article by W. Montgomery Watt, with bibliography, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khadīja*.

58 ‘Ammār b. Yāsir was an early Meccan convert to Islam; details of his career will be mentioned by al-Ya’qūbī below. See the article by H. Reckendorf in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir b. ‘Amir b. Mālik, Abu ‘l-Yaḳẓān, and by Isaac Hasson in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir.

59 Two hills in Mecca.

60 Her paternal uncle. According to this version, her father Khuwaylid had already died.



He has a desire for Khadija, and she has a desire for him. As for the bride-price you have asked, the part of it due immediately will come from my wealth. By God, he will have great importance and widespread repute.' So he married her and went away. The next morning, her uncle 'Amr b. Asad could not understand what he saw. He was told, 'Behold, your son-in-law Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib has given you this gift.' 'And when,' he asked, 'did I marry him [to Khadija]?' 'Yesterday,' he was told. 'I didn't do it,' he said. 'Yes,' he was told, 'we bear witness that you did.' When 'Amr saw the Messenger of God, he said: 'Bear witness, all of you, that if I didn't marry him [to Khadija] yesterday, I have indeed married him to her today, and that none of what people say ever took place: that she took him as a hired man or that he ever was anybody's hireling.'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related that it was Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā who married his daughter Khadija to the Messenger of God and that he died five years after the so-called Sacrilegious War. Others have related that Khuwaylid was killed in the Sacrilegious War or died in its year.

### The Beginning of the Prophetic Mission

The Messenger of God was sent on his mission when he had completed forty years.<sup>61</sup> The beginning of his mission took place in the month of Rabī' 1. Others say that it took place in Ramaḍān. It was in the month of Shubāt<sup>62</sup> of the non-Arabs.

The year in which he was sent on his mission was the year of conjunction in Aquarius. According to the astronomer Māshā'allāh:<sup>63</sup> The ascendant of the year in which the Messenger of God was sent on his mission—it was the third conjunction | from the conjunction of his birth—was Virgo, 4°. The Moon was in Libra, 17[°]. Mars was 13° from the ascendant in Virgo, retrograde. Jupiter was in the fifth,<sup>64</sup> in Capricorn, 21°. Saturn was in Aquarius in the sixth, 9°. The term of Venus was in Pisces. The Sun was in the eighth in Aries, 1'. Mercury was in Aries, 14°. The term of the entry of the year was from the first day the Sun entered into it [viz. Aries].

2:21

61 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 150–154; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 95–132; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1146–1156.

62 February of the Julian calendar.

63 This horoscope is discussed in E. S. Kennedy and David Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, 103.

64 That is, the fifth sign counting from Virgo, the ascendant.

According to al-Khwārizmī: The Sun on that day was in Aquarius,  $24^{\circ} 15'$ . The Moon was in Cancer,  $17^{\circ}$ . Saturn was in Aquarius,  $19^{\circ}$ . Jupiter was ...<sup>65</sup>  $12^{\circ}$ . Mars was in Pisces,  $15^{\circ} 30'$ . Venus was in Aries,  $11^{\circ}$ . Mercury was in Aquarius,  $23^{\circ} 30'$ .

Gabriel used to appear to him and address him. He often called him from the sky, from the tree, and from the mountain, and the Messenger of God would become frightened at this. Then he said to him: "Your Lord commands you to avoid the filth of idols." This was how it started. The Messenger of God would come to Khadija bt. Khuwaylid, tell what he had heard, and speak about it. She would say to him, "Cover up, cousin; by God, I hope that God will do good to you."

Gabriel came to him the night of Saturday and the night of Sunday; then he appeared, bringing him the prophetic mission, on Monday. Some say Thursday. Those who have transmitted the account from Ja'far b. Muḥammad say it was Friday, ten days remaining in the month of Ramaḍān, and that he therefore made it a holiday for Muslims. Gabriel was wearing a tunic of fine silk. He took out one of the carpets of Paradise for him, sat him down on it, and told him that he was the Messenger of God. He communicated to him from God and taught him: "Recite in the name of thy Lord who created."<sup>66</sup>

2:22 Gabriel came to him | on the following day, when he had wrapped himself in a warm garment, and said to him: "O you, wrapped in a garment, arise and warn."<sup>67</sup>

The Messenger of God said, "The first thing that Gabriel forbade to me, after idolatry, was quarreling with men."

Some relate that Isrāfil was charged with his care for three years and that Gabriel was charged with it for twenty years. Others say that Gabriel never ceased to be charged with his care. Waraqa b. Nawfal<sup>68</sup> said to Khadija bt. Khuwaylid: "Ask him who is this who comes to him. If it is Michael, he has come to him with a message of tranquility, meekness, and softness; if it is Gabriel, he has come to him with a message of killing and taking captives." So she asked him, and he said, "Gabriel," whereupon Khadija struck her brow.

The first prayer that was prescribed for him was the noon prayer. Gabriel came to him and showed him the ablution, and the Messenger of God made

65 The name of the sign has dropped out of the text.

66 Qur'ān 96:1, traditionally considered the first verse of the Qur'ān to be revealed.

67 Qur'ān 74:1–2.

68 Waraqa was Khadija's cousin (their fathers, Nawfal and Khuwaylid, were brothers). He is said to have abandoned paganism or even to have become a Christian. See the article by C. F. Robinson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Waraqa b. Nawfal.

the ablution as Gabriel had done. Then Gabriel prayed to show him how to pray, and the Messenger of God prayed.

Some relate that the middle prayer, noon, was the first prayer that the Messenger of God prayed. It was a Friday. Then he came to Khadija bt. Khuwaylid and informed her; so she performed the ablution and prayed. Then 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib saw him and did as he saw him do.

When the Prophet was sent with his mission, the devils were pelted with meteors from the sky and prevented from listening by stealth. Iblis said, "This can only be because of some event that has taken place and some prophet who has been sent with a mission." The idols in all the world were overturned, and the fires that were worshipped went out.

The first people to accept Islam were Khadija bt. Khuwaylid, of the women, and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (may God honor him), of the men. Next came Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and then Abū Dharr. Some say that Abū Bakr was before Abū Dharr. Next came 'Amr b. 'Abasa al-Sulamī, then Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ. then Sa'īd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, then 'Utba b. Ghazwān, | then Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, and then Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr.

2:23

The following account was transmitted from 'Amr b. 'Abasa al-Sulamī: "I came to the Messenger of God at the beginning of his mission when word of it reached me. I said, 'Describe your affair to me.' So he described it to me and what God had sent him to bring. I asked, 'Is anyone following you in this?' 'Yes,' he said, 'a woman, a boy, and a slave.' He meant Khadija bt. Khuwaylid, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and Zayd b. Ḥāritha."

The Messenger of God stayed in Mecca for three years, hiding his affair. He would invite people to declare the unity of God, to worship Him, and to affirm his prophethood. Whenever he passed an assembly of the Quraysh, they would say, "The young man, the son<sup>69</sup> of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, is being spoken to from heaven." Finally, however, he reproved them for their gods and spoke of the perdition of their fathers who had died as unbelievers. God then commanded him to speak of his mission openly. So he made his affair manifest: he stood in central area<sup>70</sup> of Mecca and said: "I am the Messenger of God. I call on you to worship God alone and to leave off worshipping idols, which neither benefit nor harm, neither create nor sustain, neither give life nor give death." The Quraysh derided him and harassed him. They said to Abū Ṭālib: "Your

69 That is, grandson; Muḥammad, who was raised by his grandfather after his father's death, was frequently called the "son" of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

70 Literally, in the *Abṭah*, the lower part of the *Baṭn* or Hollow of Mecca. This was the area around the Ka'ba.

nephew has denounced our gods, belittled our intelligence, and declared our ancestors to have erred. Let him desist from this, and let him ordain regarding our property as he wishes.” Muḥammad replied: “God did not send me to amass worldly goods and to desire them. He sent me to deliver His message and to guide to Him.”

They harassed him most sorely. Among those who harassed him were Abū Lahab, al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-ʿĀṣ, ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayt, ʿAdī b. Ḥamrāʾ al-Thaqafi, and ʿAmr b. al-Ṭulāṭila al-Khuzāʿī. Abū Lahab was the one who most sorely harassed him.

2:24 A certain person relates the following: “The Messenger of God once stood up at the fair at ʿUkāz<sup>71</sup> wearing a red tunic and said: ‘People, say, “There is no god but God,” and you shall prosper and succeed.’ Suddenly there was a man with two braids of hair and a face like gold following him, | saying: ‘People, this man is my nephew, and he is a liar. Beware of him!’ I asked, ‘Who is this?’ I was told, ‘This is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, and this is his uncle, Abū Lahab b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.’”

Those who ridiculed him were al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī, al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿAdī al-Sahmī, al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, and al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth al-Zuhri. They would set their young boys and slaves on him to treat him in ways disagreeable to him. Once they slaughtered a camel at a place called al-Ḥazwara<sup>72</sup> while the Messenger of God was standing in prayer. They commanded a slave boy of theirs to carry the contents of the womb and stomach and put them before his shoulders while he was prostrating himself. The Prophet went away and came to Abū Ṭālib and asked, “How is my position among you?” Abū Ṭālib replied, “What is wrong, nephew?” So he told him what had been done to him. Abū Ṭālib set off, covering his sword with his garment, followed by a slave boy of his. Then he drew his sword and said, “By God, let no man of you speak or I will smite him.” Then he commanded his slave lad to smear the offal over their faces one by one. They said, “Let this be sufficient for you regarding us, son of our brother.”

The Quraysh came in a group to Abū Ṭālib and said: “We invite you to a fair exchange. Here is ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, the most handsome of the Quraysh in face and most perfect in figure. Take him and make him your son,

71 The fair at ʿUkāz (*Sūq ʿUkāz*) was a gathering for commerce held annually southeast of Mecca, between Nakhla and al-Ṭāʾif, in the month of Dhū l-Qaʿda, just before the start of the Meccan pilgrimage. See the article by Irfān Shahīd in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿUkāz.

72 A place in Mecca—*ḥazwara* means a small hill or rough place. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v., it was the marketplace of Mecca. The *Lisān al-Arab* cites Ibn al-Athīr as locating it near Bāb al-Ḥannāṭīn (the Gate of the Wheat Merchants).

and turn Muḥammad over to us and we will kill him.” He said, “You have not treated me fairly. I give you my son and you kill him, and you give me your son and I feed him!”

Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses concerning this:

You marveled, son of Shayba,<sup>73</sup> at the wisdom of one who knows,  
 and the intellect of peoples who in your opinion are foolish.  
 They say, “Support those who wish to mistreat Muḥammad;  
 rise up in opposition to his affair.”  
 Hopelessly deaf! Either envious and full of treachery,  
 or a relative lacking in sincerity.  
 Never shall they commit injustice toward you,  
 when you are a man from the best of ‘Abd Manāf. 2:25  
 He has a relationship that is a means of access to you:  
 he is not a confederate or a guest.  
 Rather, he is from the heart of Hāshim,  
 with access to “seas that float above seas.”<sup>74</sup>  
 Therefore, if the Quraysh bind themselves against him, say to them:  
 “Sons of our uncle, your people are not weak.  
 Your people are not people whose wrongdoing they fear,  
 and we are not light in weight when it comes to what will displease  
 you.”

He also said:

Men will rise up toward you not unarmed,  
 with bright [swords] newly acquainted with the sharpeners;  
 And a man free of faults, before whom the clouds are made to yield rain,  
 the stay of orphans, the protector of widows.

### The Night Journey

He was taken on a night journey: Gabriel brought him al-Burāq, which was smaller than a mule and larger than a donkey, flop-eared, with a stride as far as its eye could see, two wings that propelled it from behind, and a saddle of

73 That is, Abū Ṭālib, the birth name of whose father, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was Shayba.

74 That is, men supremely generous and noble. “Sea” is used in Arabic poetry as a metaphor for such a person.

sapphire. It took him to Jerusalem, where he prayed.<sup>75</sup> Then it ascended with him to heaven, where between him and his Lord there were, as God has said, “the length of two bows or closer,”<sup>76</sup> and then it brought him down. He came down at the house of Umm Hānī bt. Abī Ṭālib and told her the story. She said to him, “By my father and mother! Do not mention this to the Quraysh, lest they call you a liar.”

2:26 The night he was taken on his journey, Abū Ṭālib noticed that he was missing. Fearing that the Quraysh had seized or killed him, he gathered seventy men of the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib with knives. He commanded them to sit, each of them beside a member of the Quraysh. He said, “If you see me and Muḥammad with me, hold off until I come to you. Otherwise, let each of you kill | the man sitting beside him, and do not wait for me.” They found Muḥammad at Umm Hānī’s door. Abū Ṭālib led him before him until he stood by the Quraysh, and he let them know what had happened to him. They deemed the matter to be of great importance, and they promised him and agreed with him that they would not harm the Messenger of God and that nothing disagreeable to him would ever befall him at their hands.

### The Warning

God, who is mighty and majestic, commanded him to warn his closest kin.<sup>77</sup> So he stood on the Hill of al-Marwa and called out at the top of his voice, “O descendants of Fihr!” The clans of Quraysh assembled before him until no one was left. Abū Lahab said to him, “Behold, this is Fihr.” Then he called out, “O descendants of Ghālib!” So the Banū Muḥārib and the Banū l-Hārith b. Fihr went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Lu’ayy!” So the Banū Taym al-Adram b. Ghālib went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Ka’b!” So the Banū ‘Āmir and the Banū ‘Awf b. Lu’ayy went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Murra!” So the Banū ‘Adī b. Ka’b and the Banū Sahm and the Banū Jumah, both of whom descended from Huṣayṣ b. Ka’b, went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Kilāb!” So the Banū Taym b. Murra and the Banū Makhzūm b. Yaqaḏa b. Murra went away. [Then he called out, “O descendants of Quṣayy!” So the Banū Zuhra went away.] Then he called out, “O descendants

75 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 263–271; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 142–145; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1157–1159. Muḥammad’s Night Journey (*al-Isrā’*) and Ascent to Heaven (*al-Mi’rāj*) generated an extensive exegetical and mystical literature. For a summary, see the article by B. Schrieke and J. Horovitz, with bibliography, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mi’rāj.

76 Qur’ān 53:9.

77 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 166–170; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1169–1180.

of ‘Abd Manāf!” So the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār and the Banū ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā, both of whom descended from Quṣayy, went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Hāshim!” So the Banū ‘Abd Shams and the Banū Nawfal went away. The Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib stayed. [Abū Lahab said,] “Behold, Hāshim has assembled.” So he assembled them in one of their houses.

Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Faḍl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hāshimī, one of the descendants of Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith, related to me that they were in the house of al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, forty men, give or take a man. | He made food for them, and they ate in groups of ten until they were full. Their entire food was the leg of a sheep and their drink a large bowl of milk. Some of them were men who could eat a yearling sheep and drink a whole milking-tub. He warned them as God had commanded and summoned them to worship God. He told them how God had favored them and how He had distinguished them by sending him from among them and commanding him to warn them. Abū Lahab said, “Restrain your companion before others restrain him; for then, if you protect him you will be killed, and if you abandon him you will be humiliated.” Abū Ṭālib said, “O shameful one, by God we will help him and assist him. Nephew, if you wish to summon to your Lord, inform us, so that we may go out armed with you.” On that day, Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib and ‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith accepted Islam.

2:27

Many people accepted Islam. Their affair became visible, their number increased, and they opposed their relatives who were polytheists. The Quraysh tried to force those who were weak to turn away from Islam and revile the Messenger of God. Among those who were tormented for the sake of God was ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, along with Yāsir his father and Sumayya his mother. Abū Jahl killed Sumayya; he struck her with a spear in her heart and she died. She was the first martyr in Islam. Also among those tormented were Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, Ṣuhayb b. Sinān, Abū Fukayha al-Azdī, ‘Āmir b. Fuhayra, and Bilāl b. Rabāḥ.<sup>78</sup> Khabbāb b. al-Aratt said, “Messenger of God, pray for us.” He replied, “You are being too hasty. Men who lived before you were raked with iron combs and split with a saw, but it did not turn them from their religion. By God, God will bring this matter to such perfection that a rider will be able to go from Ṣan‘ā’ to Ḥaḍramawt, fearing none but God and the wolf for his goats.”

The torments grew and the people suffered greatly. Five persons turned away from Islam. | They were Abū Qays [b. al-Walid] b. al-Mughīra, Abū Qays b. al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra ...<sup>79</sup> It has been related that the following verse was

2:28

78 Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, an Ethiopian slave, tortured by his pagan master for accepting Islam, was rescued by Abū Bakr and became the first muezzin of the Muslim community. See the article by W. ‘Arafat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ.

79 Three names have dropped out of the text. The five men are given in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*,

revealed concerning them: “And those the angels take, while still they are wronging themselves—the angels will say, ‘In what circumstances were you?’ They will say, ‘We were abased in the earth.’ The angels will say, ‘But was not God’s earth wide, so that you might have emigrated in it?’ Such men, their refuge shall be Gehenna—an evil homecoming!”<sup>80</sup>

### Those Who Emigrated to Abyssinia

When the Messenger of God saw the distress and torment his companions were in and the security he enjoyed because of his uncle Abū Ṭālib’s protection, he said to them, “Depart as emigrants to the land of Abyssinia, to the Negus,<sup>81</sup> for he grants protection to the stranger.”<sup>82</sup> So twelve men departed in the first group, and in the second seventy, not counting their children and wives. They were the first emigrants. They were accorded hospitality by the Negus, who would send to Ja’far and ask him what he needed. When word of this reached the Quraysh, they sent ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and ‘Umāra b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī to the Negus with gifts and asked him to send them the companions of the Messenger of God who had come to him. They said: “Foolish men of our people, who have departed from our religion, declared our deceased to have gone astray, and denounced our gods! If we leave them to their opinion, we fear that they will corrupt your religion.”

When ‘Amr and ‘Umāra said this to the Negus, he sent for Ja’far and questioned him. The latter replied: “These men follow the worst religion. They worship stones, they make gifts to idols, they sever the bonds of kinship, they practice injustice, and they countenance things that are forbidden. God has sent among us a prophet, one of the greatest among us in rank, one of the most noble among us in lineage, one of the most truthful among us in speech, and one of the most honored among us in family. He has commanded from God that

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456: al-Ḥārith b. Zama’a, Abū Qays b. al-Fākih, Abū Qays b. al-Walīd, ‘Alī b. Umayya, and al-‘Āṣ b. Munabbih. Ibn Hishām adds: “These had been Muslims while the Messenger of God was in Mecca. When he migrated to Medina their fathers and families in Mecca shut them up and seduced them and they let themselves be seduced. Then they joined their people in the expedition to Badr and were all killed.”

80 Qur’ān 4:97.

81 Arabic *al-Najāshī*, from Ge’ez *nāgāsi*, ruler, used as a title for the ruler of Ethiopia. See the article by E. van Donzel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nadjāshī.

82 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 208–222; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 136–139; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1180–1184, 1189, 1196, 1198.



we should cease worshipping idols, avoid wrongdoing and forbidden things, do what is right, and worship God alone.”

The Negus, returning the gifts to ‘Amr and ‘Umāra, said, “Shall I deliver to you men under my protection who follow the religion of truth, while you follow the religion of falsehood?” And he said to Ja‘far, “Recite | to me something that has been sent down upon your prophet.” So he recited: “*Kāf Hā’ Yā’ ‘Ayn Šād*,”<sup>83</sup> and the bishops in his presence wept. 2:29

‘Amr and ‘Umāra said, “King, they allege that Christ was a slave who was owned.” Troubled by this, the Negus sent for Ja‘far and said to him, “What do you say and what does your companion say about Christ?” He replied, “He says that he is God’s Spirit and Word, which he sent into the chaste virgin.”<sup>84</sup> Taking a twig between his fingers, the Negus said, “Christ does not exceed what you have said even by this much.”

Now ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ and ‘Umāra b. al-Walīd had reviled one another on the way. ‘Umāra was a man very fond of women, and ‘Amr had his wife, Rābiṭa bt. Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Sahmī, with him. ‘Umāra said, “Tell her to kiss me.” “God be praised,” replied ‘Amr, “would you say such a thing to your paternal uncle’s daughter?” ‘Umāra said, “You shall do it, or I will strike you with this sword!” So he said to her, “Kiss him!” Then ‘Umāra bound ‘Amr and threw him into the sea. When ‘Amr floated to the surface, ‘Umāra pretended to him that he had done it as a joke. ‘Amr said: “Throw your cousin the rope, God be praised! Is this how one jokes?” So ‘Umāra threw him a rope and he came out.

When ‘Amr and ‘Umāra were about to leave and had despaired of obtaining anything from the Negus, ‘Amr said to ‘Umāra: “Why don’t you send a message to the wife of the Negus? Perhaps we shall obtain from her what we are seeking from him.” He did so and flattered her, so that she sent him some of the king’s own perfume. ‘Amr, however, using deception against ‘Umāra, said to the Negus, “This companion of mine sent a message to the king’s wife, with the result that she made him lust after her and sent him some of the king’s own perfume.” The Negus therefore took ‘Umāra and blew poison onto his testicles—some say it was mercury—with the result that he roamed bewildered and frenzied with the wild animals. He continued in his frenzy until some men from the Banū Makhzūm came and asked the king for permission to take him. They ambushed him and took him, and he kept trembling in their hands | until he died. ‘Amr returned to the polytheists disappointed. 2:30

83 The beginning of Sura 19 of the Qur’ān, which contains the story of the Virgin Mary and the birth of Jesus.

84 Cf. Qur’ān 4:171, where Christ is called “the Messenger of God, and His Word that He committed to Mary, and a Spirit from Him.”

The Muslims stayed in the land of Abyssinia until children were born to them—all of Ja'far's children were born in the land of Abyssinia—and they remained there in peace and safety. The name of the Negus was Aṣḥama.

### The Siege of the Messenger of God by the Quraysh and the Story of the Document

The Quraysh intended to kill the Messenger of God; their assembly agreed to this. When word reached Abū Ṭālib, he said:

By God, they shall not reach you with their assembly,  
 until I am laid to rest, buried in the ground.  
 You summoned me, saying you were giving sincere advice:  
 you spoke truly, and you were trustworthy, too.  
 You offered a religion that now I know is  
 truly the best of all creation's religions.

When the Quraysh realized that they could not kill the Messenger of God and that Abū Ṭālib would not hand him over and when they heard these words of Abū Ṭālib, they wrote up the iniquitous boycott document: that they would not buy from or sell to any of the Banū Hāshim, intermarry with them, or have any dealings with them until they delivered Muḥammad to them so that they might kill him.<sup>85</sup> They made a contract and pact with each other on these terms and sealed the document with eighty seals. The person who wrote it was [Manṣūr b.]<sup>86</sup> 'Ikrima b. 'Āmir b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār—his hand became paralyzed as a result.

The Quraysh then besieged the Messenger of God and the people of his household—the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf—in the side-valley known as Shi'b Banī Hāshim<sup>87</sup> six years after the commence-

85 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 230–232, 247–251; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 139–141; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:1189–1191, 1196–1198.

86 Supplied from Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 230.

87 “The Side-Valley, or Canyon, of the Banū Hāshim.” Montgomery Watt describes the topography in his article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Makka: “Mecca lies in a kind of corridor between two ranges of bare steep hills, with an area in the centre rather lower than the rest. The whole corridor is the *wādī* or the *baṭn Makka*, ‘the hollow of Mecca’, and the lower part is al-Baṭḥā, which was doubtless the original settlement and where the Ka'ba stands ... Into the Baṭḥā con-

ment of his mission. He, along with all the Banū Hāshim and the Banū l-Muṭṭalib, stayed in the side-valley for three years, until the Messenger of God had exhausted his wealth, Abū Ṭālib had exhausted his wealth, | and Khadija bt. Khuwaylid had exhausted her wealth, and they were on the verge of poverty and destitution. 2:31

Then Gabriel came down to the Messenger of God and said: "God has sent termites to attack the document of the Quraysh. They have eaten everything in it concerning boycotting and wrongdoing, everything except the places where there is mention of God." The Messenger of God informed Abū Ṭālib of this. Abū Ṭālib then went out, along with the Messenger of God and his household. When they reached the Ka'ba, they sat down in its courtyard. The Quraysh approached from every direction and said, "The time has come for you, Abū Ṭālib, to remember acquaintance, yearn for your people, and stop being obstinate about your nephew."

Abū Ṭālib said to them, "People, bring your document here; perhaps we shall find relief and a way to rebind the ties of kinship and cease the boycott." So they brought it—it along with its seals. He said, "Is this your document concerning the pact? You don't deny it, do you?" "Yes, it is," they answered. He asked, "Have you made any alteration in it?" "No, by God," they said. He said: "Muḥammad has informed me from his Lord that He, the Lord, has sent termites and that they have eaten everything in it except the mention of God. What do you think? If he has spoken the truth, what will you do?" They said, "We will cease and desist." "And if he has lied," he said, "I will deliver him to you for you to kill." "A fair and fine proposal!" they said.

So the document was unsealed, and lo and behold the termites had eaten everything in it, except the places where the words, "In the name of Allāh, the mighty and exalted," occurred.<sup>88</sup> So they said, "This is nothing but sorcery. Today we are more eager to call him a liar than ever."

Many people accepted Islam on that day. The Banū Hāshim emerged from the side-valley, as well as the Banū l-Muṭṭalib, and they did not return to it.

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verged a number of side-valleys, each known as a *shi'b*, often occupied by a single clan. The outer and higher area of settlement was known as the *ṣawāhir*."

88 The punctuation is uncertain. Al-Ya'qūbī may have intended "the mighty and exalted" as his own pious addition. One might translate, "Except the places where the words, 'In the name of Allāh' (the mighty and exalted) occurred." The parallels in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1198, and Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 249, give the miraculously surviving words as, "In Thy name, O Allāh." "Allāh" has been retained in translation, instead of rendering the name as "God," in order to bring out that the pagan Meccans venerated Allāh as a high god in their pantheon, though not as the sole deity, invoking him as the guarantor of contracts and promises.

### The Death of al-Qāsim, the Son of the Messenger of God

2:32 Al-Qāsim, the son of the Messenger of God, died. While the Messenger of God was at the funeral, he looked at one of the mountains of Mecca and said, “If you felt what I am feeling, it would crush you.” | Al-Qāsim was four years old when he died. ‘Abdallāh, the son of the Messenger of God, died one month after al-Qāsim; he had not been weaned. Khadija said, “Messenger of God, if only he had survived until I could wean him!” “His weaning,” he replied, “will be in heaven.” Khadija asked the Messenger of God, “Where are my children from you?” “In heaven,” he said. “Without any works?” she asked. He said, “God knows best what works they would have done.” “And where,” she asked, “are my children from other than you?”<sup>89</sup> “In the Fire,” he said. “Without any works?” she asked. He said, “God knows best what works they would have done.”

### The Part of the Qur’ān That was Revealed at Mecca

Eighty-two suras of the Qur’ān were revealed at Mecca, according to what Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ b. Asad al-Kūfī transmitted from Muḥammad b. Kathīr and Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib al-Kalbī,<sup>90</sup> from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ‘Abbās.<sup>91</sup>

The first revelation to the Messenger of God was, “Recite: In the Name of thy Lord who created.”<sup>92</sup> Then came, “*Nūn*. By the Pen, and what they inscribe.”<sup>93</sup> Then came, “By the forenoon.”<sup>94</sup> Then came, “O thou enwrapped in thy robes.”<sup>95</sup> Then came, “O thou shrouded in thy mantle.”<sup>96</sup> Then came the Opening of

89 Khadija had been married twice before marrying Muḥammad, one marriage ending in divorce and one in the death of her husband. She is said to have borne three children before her marriage to Muḥammad. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khadija*.

90 Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) wrote a Qur’ān commentary. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:34–35.

91 For an account of the foundational role of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās in the exegetical history of the Qur’ān, see the articles by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās, and Claude Gilliot in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:25–28.

92 Qur’ān 96.

93 Qur’ān 68.

94 Qur’ān 93.

95 Qur’ān 73.

96 Qur’ān 74.

the Book.<sup>97</sup> Then came, "Perish."<sup>98</sup> Then came, "When the sun shall be darkened."<sup>99</sup> Then came, "Magnify the Name of thy Lord the Most High."<sup>100</sup> Then came, "By the night enshrouding."<sup>101</sup> Then came, "By the dawn!"<sup>102</sup> Then came, "Did We not expand thy breast for thee?"<sup>103</sup> Then came, "The All-Merciful."<sup>104</sup> Then came, "By the afternoon!"<sup>105</sup> Then came, "Surely We have given thee abundance."<sup>106</sup> Then came, "Gross rivalry diverts you."<sup>107</sup> Then came, "Hast thou seen him who cries lies to the Doom?"<sup>108</sup> Then, "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with the Men of the Elephant?"<sup>109</sup> Then came, "By the Star when it plunges!"<sup>110</sup> Then came, "He frowned and turned away."<sup>111</sup> Then came, "Behold, We sent it down on the Night of Power."<sup>112</sup> Then came, "By the sun and his morning brightness!"<sup>113</sup> Then came, "By heaven of the constellations."<sup>114</sup> Then came, "By the fig and the olive!"<sup>115</sup> Then came, "For the composing of Quraysh!"<sup>116</sup> Then came, "The Clatterer!"<sup>117</sup> Then came, "No! I swear by the Day of Resurrection."<sup>118</sup> Then came, "Woe to every backbiter."<sup>119</sup> Then came, "By the loosed ones successively."<sup>120</sup> Then came, "*Qāf*. By the glorious Qur'ān!"<sup>121</sup> Then came, "No! I swear

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- 97 Qur'ān 1.
  - 98 Qur'ān 111.
  - 99 Qur'ān 81.
  - 100 Qur'ān 87.
  - 101 Qur'ān 92.
  - 102 Qur'ān 89.
  - 103 Qur'ān 94.
  - 104 Qur'ān 55.
  - 105 Qur'ān 103.
  - 106 Qur'ān 108.
  - 107 Qur'ān 102.
  - 108 Qur'ān 107.
  - 109 Qur'ān 105.
  - 110 Qur'ān 53.
  - 111 Qur'ān 80.
  - 112 Qur'ān 97.
  - 113 Qur'ān 91.
  - 114 Qur'ān 85.
  - 115 Qur'ān 95.
  - 116 Qur'ān 106.
  - 117 Qur'ān 101.
  - 118 Qur'ān 75.
  - 119 Qur'ān 104.
  - 120 Qur'ān 77.
  - 121 Qur'ān 50.

2:33 by this land.”<sup>122</sup> Then came, “By heaven and the night-star!”<sup>123</sup> | Then came, “The Hour has drawn nigh.”<sup>124</sup> Then came, “*Ṣād*. By the Qur’ān, containing the Remembrance.”<sup>125</sup> Then came, “The Battlements.”<sup>126</sup> Then came the Sura of the Jinn.<sup>127</sup> Then came the Sura of *Yā’ Sīn*.<sup>128</sup> Then came, “Blessed be He who has sent down the Salvation.”<sup>129</sup> Then came “Praise: the Angels.”<sup>130</sup> Then came the Sura of Mary.<sup>131</sup> Then came the Sura of *Ṭā’ Hā’*.<sup>132</sup> Then came, “*Ṭā’ Sīn Mīm*” (The Poets).<sup>133</sup> Then came, “*Ṭā’ Sīn*” (The Ant).<sup>134</sup> Then came, “*Ṭā’ Sīn Mīm*” (The Story).<sup>135</sup> Then came the Sura of the Children of Israel.<sup>136</sup> Then came the Sura of Jonah.<sup>137</sup> Then came the Sura of Hūd.<sup>138</sup> Then came the Sura of Joseph.<sup>139</sup> Then came “The Apartments.”<sup>140</sup> Then came “The Cattle.”<sup>141</sup> Then came “The Rangers.”<sup>142</sup> Then came “Luqmān.”<sup>143</sup> Then came, “*Hā’ Mīm*” (The Believer).<sup>144</sup> Then came “*Hā’ Mīm*” (The Prostration).<sup>145</sup> Then came “*Hā’ Mīm Ayn Sīn Qāf*.”<sup>146</sup> Then came “Ornaments.”<sup>147</sup> Then came “Praise: Sheba.”<sup>148</sup> Then came “The

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122 Qur’ān 90.

123 Qur’ān 86.

124 Qur’ān 54.

125 Qur’ān 38.

126 Qur’ān 7.

127 Qur’ān 72.

128 Qur’ān 36.

129 Qur’ān 25.

130 Qur’ān 35.

131 Qur’ān 19.

132 Qur’ān 20.

133 Qur’ān 26.

134 Qur’ān 27.

135 Qur’ān 28.

136 Qur’ān 17, more commonly called “The Night Journey.”

137 Qur’ān 10.

138 Qur’ān 11.

139 Qur’ān 12.

140 Qur’ān 49.

141 Qur’ān 6.

142 Qur’ān 37.

143 Qur’ān 31.

144 Qur’ān 40.

145 Qur’ān 32.

146 Qur’ān 42 (Counsel).

147 Qur’ān 43.

148 Qur’ān 34.

Sending Down: The Companies.”<sup>149</sup> Then came, “*Hā’ Mīm*” (Smoke).<sup>150</sup> Then came, “*Hā’ Mīm*” (The Open Way).<sup>151</sup> Then came “The Sand-dunes.”<sup>152</sup> Then came, “By the swift scatterers!”<sup>153</sup> Then came, “Hast thou received the story of the Enveloper?”<sup>154</sup> Then came the Sura of the Cave.<sup>155</sup> Then came the Sura of the Bee.<sup>156</sup> Then came, “We sent Noah.”<sup>157</sup> Then came the Sura of Abraham.<sup>158</sup> Then came, “Nigh unto men has drawn their reckoning.”<sup>159</sup> Then came, “Prosperous are the believers.”<sup>160</sup> Then came “Thunder.”<sup>161</sup> Then came, “By the Mount.”<sup>162</sup> Then came, “Blessed be He in whose hand is the Kingdom.”<sup>163</sup> Then came “The Indubitable.”<sup>164</sup> Then came, “A questioner asked.”<sup>165</sup> Then came, “Of what do they question one another?”<sup>166</sup> Then came, “By those that pluck out vehemently.”<sup>167</sup> Then came, “When heaven is split open.”<sup>168</sup> Then came the Sura of the Greeks.<sup>169</sup> Then came the Sura of the Spider.<sup>170</sup>

Authorities have differed about this sequence, giving versions other than that of Ibn ‘Abbās, though the difference is slight.

Muḥammad b. Kathīr and Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib transmitted from Abū<sup>171</sup> Šālīḥ from Ibn ‘Abbās that the latter said: “The Qur’ān was revealed bit by bit, not sura by sura.” We have assigned to Mecca any sura whose beginning was revealed in Mecca, even if its completion was in Medina, and likewise

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149 Qur’ān 39.

150 Qur’ān 44.

151 Qur’ān 45, more commonly called “Hobbling.”

152 Qur’ān 46.

153 Qur’ān 51.

154 Qur’ān 88.

155 Qur’ān 18.

156 Qur’ān 16.

157 Qur’ān 71.

158 Qur’ān 14.

159 Qur’ān 21, more commonly called “The Prophets.”

160 Qur’ān 23.

161 Qur’ān 13.

162 Qur’ān 52.

163 Qur’ān 67.

164 Qur’ān 69.

165 Qur’ān 70, more commonly called “The Stairways.”

166 Qur’ān 78, more commonly called “The Tiding.”

167 Qur’ān 79.

168 Qur’ān 82.

169 Qur’ān 30.

170 Qur’ān 29.

171 Following M; ed. Leiden, Ibn.

anything that was revealed in Medina. The Prophet recognized the division between sura and sura when the words “In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate” were revealed. So they knew that the first sura was finished and a new sura was begun.

2:34 Some authorities have transmitted that | the Torah was revealed on the sixth day of the month of Ramaḍān; the Psalms on the twelfth day of the month of Ramaḍān, one thousand five hundred years after the Torah; and the Gospel on the eighteenth day of the month of Ramaḍān, eight hundred years after the Psalms—some say six hundred.

Others relate that the Qurʾān was revealed on the twentieth day of the month of Ramaḍān.

Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad related that he said: Whenever God sent a prophet, He sent him with what dominated the people of his time. Thus, He sent Moses the son of ʿImrān to people who were dominated by magic; he came to them bringing things that confounded their magic, such the staff, his hand, the locusts, the lice, the frogs, the blood, the splitting of the sea, the cleaving of the rock so that water came out of it, and the obliteration of their faces; these were his signs.<sup>172</sup> He sent David at a time when workmanship and entertainments dominated the people; so He made iron soft for him and gave him a beautiful voice, so that wild animals gathered because of the beauty of his voice. He sent Solomon when people were dominated by a love of building and by the use of charms and wonders; so He made the wind and the jinn subservient to him. He sent Jesus at a time when medicine was the thing that dominated people; so He sent him to revive the dead and to heal the man born blind and the leper. He sent Muḥammad at a time when the people were dominated by speech, soothsaying, rhymed prose, and orations; so He sent him with the clear Qurʾān and disputation.

### The Deaths of Khadīja and Abū Ṭālib

Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid died in the month of Ramaḍān, three years before the Prophet’s emigration; she was sixty-five years old. As she was giving up the ghost, the Messenger of God came into her room and said, “How I hate what

<sup>172</sup> A similar list of nine signs visited on the Egyptians is given in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:485, where it is explained that the obliteration refers to when Moses prayed against the Egyptians and God turned their property into stone. A Syrian traveler is said to have seen a complete man who was turned into stone. Al-Yaʿqūbī, however, seems to be referring to a different version.



I see; but perhaps God will bring | much good out of what is hateful. When you meet your co-wives in paradise, Khadija, greet them.” “And who are they, Messenger of God?” she asked.<sup>173</sup> He said: “God married me to you in paradise, and He also married me to Mary the daughter of ‘Imrān, to Āsiya bt. Muzāḥim, and to Moses’s sister Kulthūm.”<sup>174</sup> She said, “May the marriages be tranquil and fruitful!” When Khadija passed away, Fāṭima clung to the Messenger of God, weeping and saying: “Where is my mother? Where is my mother?” Gabriel then descended upon him and said, “Say to Fāṭima, ‘God the Exalted has built for your mother in paradise a house of brilliant pearls wherein there is neither weariness nor tumult.’”<sup>175</sup> 2:35

Abū Ṭālib died three days after Khadija; he was eighty-six years old—some say ninety. When the Messenger of God was told that Abū Ṭālib had died, he took it to heart and was sorely grieved. He went into the room and wiped his right brow four times and his left brow three times, and said: “Uncle, you raised a young child, cared for an orphan, and helped an adult. May God reward you well for my sake.” He walked before his bed; then he faced it and said, “The ties of kinship bound you; may you be well rewarded!” He said: “Two blows have come together on this community in these days. I do not know for which of them I grieve more.” He meant the blow of [the deaths of] Khadija and Abū Ṭālib.

He is reported to have said, “God the Mighty and Exalted made a promise to me with regard to four people: my father, my mother, my uncle, and a brother I had in the time of ignorance.”<sup>176</sup>

### The Messenger of God Offers Himself to the Tribes and Leaves for al-Ṭāʾif

The Quraysh became emboldened against the Messenger of God after the death of Abū Ṭālib; they desired to overcome him and tried time after time to kill him. The Messenger of God would offer himself to the tribes of the Arabs at every

173 Khadija was Muḥammad’s only wife at this time; hence her surprise at Muḥammad’s mention of co-wives.

174 That is, to Mary the mother of Jesus, to the wife of Pharaoh who took pity on the infant Moses (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:444–449), and to the sister of Moses.

175 “A house of *brilliant pearls*”: This is the usual interpretation of the word *qaṣab* in this tradition—it normally means “reeds.” A lengthy explanation can be found in Lane, *Lexicon*, 7:2529c–2530a, s.v. *qaṣab*.

176 That is, a promise that they would enter paradise.

2:36 pilgrimage season.<sup>177</sup> He would speak to the nobleman of every group of men, asking them only that they shelter him | and protect him. He would say, “I will not compel any of you; I only want you to protect me from attempts on my life, until I transmit the messages of my Lord.” No one, however, accepted him. They said, “A man’s own people know best about him.”

Then he went to the Thaḳīf in al-Ṭāʾif.<sup>178</sup> He found three men, brothers who at that time were the chieftains of Thaḳīf: ‘Abd Yālayl b. ‘Amr, Ḥabīb b. ‘Amr, and Mas‘ūd b. ‘Amr. He presented himself to them and complained to them of his troubles. One of them said, “I will steal the coverings of the Ka’ba if God has sent you!”<sup>179</sup> The second said, “Was God incapable of sending anyone but you?” The last said: “By God, I will not speak to you [ever. If you are a messenger, as you say, you are too important for me to reply to you; and if you are lying against God, it is not fitting for me to speak to you.”]<sup>180</sup> They derided him and divulged among their kin what they had said to him. They lay in wait for him in two rows, and when the Messenger of God passed by, they pelted him with stones until they bloodied his leg. The Messenger of God said, “I could neither raise a foot or lower it except on a stone.”

In al-Ṭāʾif, ‘Utba b. Rabī’a and Shayba b. Rabī’a came to him, and with them was a Christian slave boy of theirs named ‘Addās.<sup>181</sup> They sent the latter to the Messenger of God, and when he heard his words, he accepted Islam.

The Messenger of God returned to Mecca.

177 Arabic *mawṣim*, which can refer to the pilgrimage festival or to a commercial fair such as held at ‘Ukāz.

178 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 279–281; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 141–142; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1199–1202.

179 The text of Ed. Leiden translates: “One of them said verily he would steal the coverings of the Ka’ba ‘if God has sent you.” The transition from third person to first is strange, and M has an undotted tooth letter that Houtsma deleted to obtain his reading of *alā* in *fa-qāla aḥaduhum alā yasriqu*. It would be better to read, *fa-qāla aḥaduhum an la-asriqu* ... Also, M does not show the *yā*’ needed for the Houtsma’s reading of *yasriqu*.

180 The text in brackets was restored by the Leiden editor from the parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 279, and in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1200. It has fallen out of the MSS by homeoteleuton.

181 MSS ‘Addāsh, corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 280.

### The Coming of the Anṣār<sup>182</sup> to Mecca

The Aws and the Khazraj, sons of Ḥāritha b. Thaʿlaba,<sup>183</sup> were people of strength and power in their lands until the wars took place between them that brought destruction upon them in well-known battles that they fought. Among these were the Day of al-Ṣufayna, which was the first day on which fighting took place, the Day of al-Sarāra,<sup>184</sup> | the Day of the Agreement of the Banū Khaṭma, the Day of Ḥāṭib,<sup>185</sup> the Day of Ḥuḍayr al-Katāʿib,<sup>186</sup> The Day of the Fortress of the Banū Sālim, the Day of [...],<sup>187</sup> the Day of al-Baqīʿ, the Day of Buʿāth, the Day of Muḍarris and Muʿabbis,<sup>188</sup> the Day of al-Dār, the Day of Buʿāth II, and the Day of the Sacrilege (*Fijār*) of the Anṣār.<sup>189</sup> They used to move around in these places by which their battle days came to be known and fight each other fiercely.

2:37

182 The Anṣār (Helpers) were the inhabitants of Medina, especially those of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj, who accepted Islam, as distinguished from the Muhājirūn, Meccans who emigrated to Medina. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Anṣār. Strictly speaking, the use of the designation here appears anachronistic. Ibn al-Athīr begins his section on the “Battle Days of the Anṣār (the Aws and Khazraj) and the Wars that Took Place Between Them,” with the statement: “*Anṣār* is a designation for the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, the two sons of Ḥāritha b. Thaʿlaba ... The Messenger of God bestowed this designation on them when he emigrated to them and they protected and helped him.” (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:491.) Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 286–313; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 145–150; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1207–1227. On the history of Yathrib/Medina before Islam, see the article by W. M. Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Madīna. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv/1 (“Medina vor dem Islam”), collects and translates the primary texts on the “days”—that is, tribal battles—in Medina from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil*.

183 For “the (two) sons (i.e., descendants) of Ḥāritha b. Thaʿlaba,” M reads, incorrectly, “and the two sons of Ḥāritha Abī (i.e., father of) Thaʿlaba.”

184 MSS: al-Sarāda. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:497–498. The poem on p. 498 shows that Wellhausen’s vocalization in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv/1, 41 (*al-Sarrāra*) is wrong.

185 Thus, correctly, M. The MS on which ed. Leiden was based (C) read “Ḥāṭib Qays,” which Houtsma corrected to “Ḥāṭib b. Qays” on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:503, where the Ḥāṭib after whom the war was named is identified as Ḥāṭib b. Qays.

186 This nickname of Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk means “Ḥuḍayr of the Battalions.” For its origin, see Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv/1, 57 (citing *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 15:165).

187 The word is unpointed in the MSS and uncertain. Houtsma’s conjectural reading can be vocalized as *ibtarawhu*, which would mean “they sharpened it (sc. the arrow)” or as *abtarūhu*, “they cut off its tail” or “they deprived him of male progeny.”

188 So called because the fighting took place near two walls called al-Muḍarris and al-Muʿabbis. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:507.

189 So called because it was triggered by the unjust killing of hostages. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:509.

When war had bitten them with its teeth and laid its breast upon them,<sup>190</sup> and they supposed that it would be their destruction, and when the Banū l-Naḍir, Qurayṣa, and other Jewish tribes became emboldened against them, some of their men set out for Mecca to ask the Quraysh to strengthen them. The latter, however, were disdainful and set them unacceptable conditions. The person who set these conditions for them was Abū Jahl b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī. Some say that the Quraysh had in fact agreed to their request, until Abū Jahl returned from a journey—he had been absent. He broke the pact and set unacceptable conditions for them.<sup>191</sup>

Next they went to al-Ṭāʾif and asked the Thaḳīf, but they were slow in responding to them, and so they left.

After the Messenger of God was sent with his mission, one of their men—he was named Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit of the Aws—came to perform the pilgrimage or the lesser pilgrimage.<sup>192</sup> Having learned of the affair of the Messenger of God, he met him and spoke to him, and the Messenger of God summoned him [to God]. Suwayd said to him, “I have the scroll of Luqmān<sup>193</sup> with me.” “Show it to me,” he said. So he showed it to him. The Messenger of God said, “This discourse is indeed good, but what I have with me is better than it: the discourse of God,” and he recited to him. So he said, “Muḥammad, this discourse is indeed good.” He then returned to Medina, where the Khazraj killed him soon afterward.

2:38 Then a group of them came again to Mecca—they were the Banū ‘Afrā’—to vie for glory, along with As‘ad b. Zurāra. | The Messenger of God met them, summoned them to God, and recited the Qur‘ān to them. One of them—his name was Iyās b. Mu‘adh—said, “Men, this, by God, is the prophet with whom the Jews have been threatening you; so let no one reach him before you.” They therefore accepted Islam. The Messenger of God obligated them to believe in God and in His Messenger. Then they went back and told their fellow tribesmen what had taken place. They had asked the Messenger of God to send with them a man from himself to summon the people by means of the Book of God, and

190 The metaphor is of war as a camel that bites people and then lies down crushing whatever is beneath its breast.

191 For a fuller narrative, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:507–508.

192 The lesser pilgrimage (*‘umra*) involves circumambulating the Ka’ba outside of the time of the main pilgrimage. Also omitted in the lesser pilgrimage are the rites connected with the journey to ‘Arafat.

193 Luqmān was a legendary hero and sage of pre-Islamic Arabia. For the legends connected with him, see the article by B. Heller and N. A. Stillmann, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Luqmān. The story of Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit can be found with more details in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 283–285; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 147–148; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1207–1209.

so the latter sent Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, who lodged with As'ad b. Zurāra. He began summoning them to God the Mighty and Exalted and teaching them Islam. He was the first to come to Medina.<sup>194</sup>

Then twelve of their men went out to him and met him. They were the participants in the First [Pledge of] al-'Aqaba.<sup>195</sup> They believed in God and affirmed his truthfulness. Then they returned to Medina. There were many reports about him, and Islam spread there.

When the next year came, a group of the Aws and a group of the Khazraj set out to meet him. Seventy men and two women came; they accepted Islam and affirmed his truthfulness. The Messenger of God took from them an oath of allegiance according to the pledge of women.<sup>196</sup> They asked him to leave for Medina with them. They said: "No group of men has come to be in such evil straits as we are. Perhaps God will bring us together through you and unify us; then no one will be stronger than you."<sup>197</sup> The Messenger of God answered them with kind words. Then they returned to their people and summoned them to Islam, which so increased that there remained not a single house of the Anṣār in which the Messenger of God was not well spoken of.

They asked him to leave with them.<sup>198</sup> They promised him that they would help him against near and far, black and ruddy.<sup>199</sup> Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to him, "As for me, may my father and my mother be your ransom, I will obligate them to that oath." So he granted that to him, and he took oaths and covenants from them that they would protect him and his family from what they would protect themselves, their families, and their children, that they would make war with him | against the black and the ruddy, and that they would aid him against near and far. He stipulated for them the fulfillment of this ... and paradise.<sup>200</sup>

2:39

194 That is, the first Meccan Muslim to emigrate to Medina.

195 Thus called because it was sworn at a place called al-'Aqaba on the pilgrimage route between Mecca and 'Arafat. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 288–290; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 148–150; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 1:1210–1213.

196 *Bay'at al-nisā'*: This was a pledge to accept Islam, without any commitment to defend Muḥammad.

197 Reading with M *a'azz minka*; ed. Leiden reads *a'azz minnā*, "stronger than we," agreeing with Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 287 and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 1:1210.

198 Either al-Ya'qūbī's account at this point is highly abbreviated or something has fallen out of the MSS indicating that this paragraph relates to events in the next pilgrimage season, the so-called Second Pledge at al-'Aqaba, involving an obligation to fight in Muḥammad's defense. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 293–303; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 1:1217–1227.

199 "The black and the ruddy" refers to the Arabs (the black) and the non-Arabs (the ruddy).

200 Some words apparently have dropped out of the text. In M, the word "and paradise" (*wa-*

## The Departure of the Messenger of God from Mecca

The Quraysh decided<sup>201</sup> to kill the Messenger of God. They said, “Today he has no one to help him, now that Abū Ṭālib has died.” They decided together that they would get a strapping young man from every clan; they would come against him together and strike him with their swords as one man. The Banū Hāshim would not have the strength to fall out with all of the Quraysh. When the Messenger of God learned that they had decided to attack him, in the night that they had set, the Messenger of God went out under cover of darkness; Abū Bakr was with him. He left ‘Alī<sup>202</sup> behind on his bed to return the things that had been entrusted to him and went to a cave in the mountains and hid there. The Quraysh came to his bed and found ‘Alī. They asked, “Where is your cousin?” He replied, “You said to him, ‘Depart from us,’ | and so he has departed.” They looked for footprints, but could find none; God blinded them to the places. They stood at the entrance to the cave—a turtle-dove had nested there—so they said that no one was in the cave and departed.

The Messenger of God came out [from the cave], heading for Medina. He passed by Umm Ma‘bad al-Khuzā‘iyya and stayed with her; then he continued on his way until he came to Medina. He had stayed a total of thirteen years in Mecca from the time he received his mission until he left it for Medina.

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*l-janna*) is written between the lines. What dropped out can be inferred from Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī, who read: “And what will we get in return if we keep our word?”—“Paradise,” he said.

201 Following ed. Leiden, *ajma‘at* here and in the next sentence; M has *ijtama‘at*, “came together, met together,” in both places.

202 M at this point has an x over the word ‘Alī, pointing to the following text in the margin, which was probably inserted by a copyist after al-Ya‘qūbī to exalt ‘Alī over Abū Bakr. Following C, ed. Leiden incorporates the passage into the main text at this point, although it clearly interrupts the flow of the narrative. The addition is as follows:

It has been related that God the Mighty and Exalted revealed to Gabriel and Michael in that night: “I have decreed death for one of you. Which of you, then, will share equally with his comrade?” Each of them chose life. God then revealed to them, “Why have you not been like ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib? I united him and Muḥammad in brotherhood, but made the lifespan of one of them greater than the other’s. ‘Alī has chosen death and preferred that Muḥammad should survive; he has gone to sleep in his bed. Go down both of you and protect him from his enemies.” So Gabriel and Michael went down. One of them sat by his head, the other by his feet, guarding him from his enemies and warding off the stones. Gabriel said: “Well done! Well done, son of Abū Ṭālib! Who is like you? God boasts of your goodness to the angels of seven heavens.”

Someone has related that he said that the Quraysh did not know where the Messenger of God had gone until they heard a mysterious voice from one of the mountains of Mecca call out, saying:

If the two Sa'ds accept Islam, Muḥammad then  
will not fear the opposition of any opponent in Mecca.

Abū Sufyān said, "Among the Sa'ds there are the Sa'd of Hudhaym,<sup>203</sup> the Sa'd of Tamīm, and the Sa'd of Bakr." The next night they heard someone say:

O Sa'd, Sa'd of the Aws, be you a helper;  
and Sa'd, Sa'd of the noble Khazrajīs.  
Turn you to the proclaimer of guidance, and hope to obtain  
from God in Paradise the hope of one who knows.

The Quraysh then knew that he had gone to Yathrib.<sup>204</sup>

Surāqa b. Ju'shum al-Mudlijī followed him when he came to the watering-place of the Banū Mudlij. When he caught up with him, the Messenger of God said, "O God, protect me from Surāqa." Thereupon, the legs of Surāqa's horse sank into the earth. "Son of Abū Quḥāfa,"<sup>205</sup> he cried out, "tell your companion to pray to God to release my horse. I swear by my life that if good does not come to him from me, no evil will come to him from me!" When Surāqa returned to Mecca, he reported the news to them, | but they did not believe him. The person 2:41  
strongest in his unbelief was Abū Jahl. Surāqa therefore said:

Abū Ḥakam, by God had you been present  
at the incident of my horse, when its feet sank into the ground,  
You would have known and not doubted that Muḥammad  
is a messenger and a proof.<sup>206</sup> Who then can conceal it?

203 MSS: Hudhayl, corrected by Houtsma on the basis of Ibn Qutayba, p. 51.

204 An early name of Medina.

205 That is, Abū Bakr.

206 A *burhān*, usually taken to mean a proof of God's power, sometimes referring to miraculous or prodigious events. See Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

## The Coming of the Messenger of God to Medina

The Messenger of God came to Medina on Monday, the eighth day of the month of Rabi' I.<sup>207</sup> Others say that it was on Thursday, the twelfth of the same month. The Sun on that day was in Cancer, 23° 6'; the moon in Leo, 6° 35'; Saturn in Leo, 2°; Jupiter in Pisces, 6°, retrograde; Venus in Leo, 13°; and Mercury in Leo, 15°.

He lodged with Kulthūm b. al-Hidm, but Kulthūm died only a few days later; so he moved and lodged with Sa'd b. Khaythama, among the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf.<sup>208</sup> He stayed a few days, but then the fools and hypocrites of the Banū 'Amr began to throw stones at him at night. When he saw that, he said, "This is no way to treat a guest,"<sup>209</sup> and he departed from them. He mounted his camel and said, "Give her free rein." Whenever he passed one of the neighborhoods of the Anṣār, they said to him, "Messenger of God, lodge among us and you will lodge among multitude and numbers." He would say, "Give the camel free rein, for she has been commanded." Finally, she stopped at the door of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and knelt. They prodded her with a stick, but she would not move. So he lodged with Abū Ayyūb and remained with him for several days; then he moved to his own quarters.

2:42 Others say that his camel knelt on the site of the mosque, | and he dismounted. Abū Ayyūb came, took his saddle, and led the camel to his home. The Anṣār spoke to him about staying with them, but the Prophet said, "A man stays with his saddle."

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib arrived with Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God. This was some days before his marriage to her. He traveled by night and hid by day until he arrived. He lodged with the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God married her to 'Alī two months after his arrival. A number of the emigrants<sup>210</sup> had asked the Messenger of God for her hand. When he married

207 By conventional reckoning, 8 Rabi' I of 1 A.H. would be equivalent to September 21, 622; however, this is very uncertain, as the Qur'ānic revelation abolishing the intercalary month inserted to synchronize the lunar calendar with the solar year had not yet been received. Furthermore, the sun would not have been in Cancer in September.

208 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mālik was a clan of the Aws. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 306, names Sa'd b. Khaythama as having been present at the Second Pledge of al-'Aqaba and as having been killed in the Battle of Badr. Ibn Hishām adds that although Sa'd lived among the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, he belonged to a different clan of the Aws, the Banū Ghanm b. Silm.

209 Literally, "What sort of *jīwār* is this?" *Jīwār* designates the protection that one gives to a guest, a *jār*.

210 *Al-Muhājirūn*, Muslims who had emigrated from Mecca to Medina.



her to 'Alī, they talked about it; so he said, "It wasn't I who made his marriage; God did."

Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib arrived with Zaynab,<sup>211</sup> the daughter of the Messenger of God; she had been in al-Ṭā'if when the Messenger of God emigrated, in the home of Abū l-'Āṣ b. Bishr b. 'Abd Duhmān al-Thaqafī. Then al-'Abbās returned to Mecca. The emigrants arrived and lodged in the homes of the Anṣār, and the latter shared their homes and wealth with them.

### The Imposition of the Duties of Fasting and Prayer

God the Mighty and Exalted made the month of Ramaḍān a duty and turned the direction for prayer<sup>212</sup> toward the Sacred Mosque<sup>213</sup> in the month of Sha'bān, one year and five months after the Prophet's arrival in Medina.<sup>214</sup> Others say it was one year and a half. God the Mighty and Exalted sent down [the verse]: "We have seen thee turning thy face about in the heaven; now We will surely turn thee to a direction that shall satisfy thee. Turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque."<sup>215</sup> There were thirteen days between the revelation of the duty of the month of Ramaḍān and the turning of the direction of prayer to the Ka'ba.

Some relate that the Messenger of God was praying the noon prayer in the mosque of the Banū Salima. When he had prayed two prostrations, the turning of the direction of prayer toward the Ka'ba was revealed to him. | So he turned around and set his face toward the Ka'ba. That mosque therefore was named the Mosque of the Two *Qiblas*.

2:43

211 M reads, "arrived with the two daughters of the Messenger of God; the two had been in al-Ṭā'if ..." C, the basis of ed. Leiden, apparently cancels "the two daughters of ..." with an interlinear correction reading, "with Zaynab, the daughter of ..." Houtsma, the Leiden editor, therefore emended the text to give what is translated here. Houtsma, however, doubted that the reading was correct. His note is as follows: "He [the inserter of the correction] has confused Abū l-'Āṣ b. Bishr with Abū l-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī'. According to *Khamīs*, 2:92, Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm are to be understood [as the two daughters], which does not square with what precedes. Sure emendation requires another manuscript."

212 Arabic, *qibla*. On the concept and its historical development in Islam, see the article by A. J. Wensinck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qibla*.

213 Arabic *al-masjid al-ḥarām*, that is, the Ka'ba in Mecca.

214 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 381–382; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 3–5, 8–9; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1279–1281.

215 Qur'ān 2:144.

He built a mosque of bricks and roofed it with palm branches. Someone said to him, “Messenger of God, why don’t you enlarge the mosque, for the Muslims have become many?” He said, “There is no tabernacle like the tabernacle of Moses.”<sup>216</sup>

A male slave of al-‘Abbās called Kilāb worked [on it].<sup>217</sup> The mosque had no minaret in the time of the Messenger of God. Bilāl used to give the call to prayer; then the son of Umm Maktūm gave the call to prayer with him—whichever of them arrived first would give the call to prayer. When the prayer started, one of them would give the second call.<sup>218</sup>

Al-Wāqidi reports that when Bilāl gave the call to prayer, he would stand at the door of the Messenger of God and say, “The prayer, Messenger of God! Come to prayer! Come to prosperity!”<sup>219</sup>

### The Part of the Qur’ān That was Revealed at Medina

Thirty-two suras of the Qur’ān were revealed in Medina. The first to be revealed was, “Woe to the stinters.”<sup>220</sup> Then came the Sura of the Cow.<sup>221</sup> Then came the

216 Literally, “There is no *‘arīsh* (ed. Leiden *‘arsh*) like the *‘arīsh* of Moses.” An *‘arīsh* (for which *‘arsh* can be a synonym) is “a booth, or shed, or thing constructed for shade, mostly made of canes, or reeds; and sometimes made of palm-sticks, over which is thrown *thumām*, a species of panic grass” (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). Cf. the account in Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 1–3, which reads *‘arīsh*.

217 Sic M. The text appears to be defective. One might emend *‘amila* to *‘amilahu* (made it), but there is no other account that singles out the builder of the mosque as this person; all the accounts portray it as a community effort in which Muḥammad joined. C, the basis of ed. Leiden, inserts the word *manāra* (minaret) between the lines, “... Kilāb made a minaret.” But the chronological leap ahead of Muḥammad’s lifetime is very abrupt. It seems best to leave the problem unresolved.

218 Arabic, *aqāma wāḥidun*, that is, one gave the *iqāma*, the second call that immediately precedes the prayer. In later usage, it is pronounced by the muezzin inside the mosque, whereas the first call to prayer, the *adhān*, is pronounced from the minaret.

219 Literally, “Come to *al-falāḥ*.” The meaning of *al-falāḥ* in the call to prayer is uncertain. The normal meaning of *falāḥ* in later Arabic is “prosperity,” and one would then understand it to mean something like “blessing” here. On the other hand, since the word for prayer (*ṣalāh*) is a loan from Syriac *ṣalōtā*, there is a strong possibility that *falāḥ* mirrors Syriac *pulḥānā* (service/worship).

220 Qur’ān 83.

221 Qur’ān 2.

Sura of the Spoils.<sup>222</sup> Then came the Sura of the Family of 'Imrān.<sup>223</sup> Then came The Mustering.<sup>224</sup> Then came the Sura of the Confederates.<sup>225</sup> Then came the Sura of Light.<sup>226</sup> Then came The Woman Tested.<sup>227</sup> Then came, "Surely We have given thee a manifest victory."<sup>228</sup> Then came the Sura of Women.<sup>229</sup> Then came the Sura of the Pilgrimage.<sup>230</sup> Then came the Sura of Iron.<sup>231</sup> Then came the Sura of Muḥammad.<sup>232</sup> Then came, "Has there come on man ...?"<sup>233</sup> Then came the Sura of Divorce.<sup>234</sup> Then came the sura, "The unbelievers of the People of the Book and the idolaters would never leave off, till the Clear Sign came to them."<sup>235</sup> Then came the Sura of the Congregation.<sup>236</sup> Then came the revelation of Prostration.<sup>237</sup> Then came The Believer.<sup>238</sup> Then came, "When the hypocrites come to thee ..."<sup>239</sup> Then came The Disputer.<sup>240</sup> Then came The Apartments.<sup>241</sup> Then came The Forbidding.<sup>242</sup> Then came Mutual Fraud.<sup>243</sup> Then came The Ranks.<sup>244</sup> Then came The Table.<sup>245</sup> Then came, "An acquittal."<sup>246</sup> Then came, "When comes the help of God, and victory."<sup>247</sup> Then came, "When the Event

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- 222 Qur'ān 8.
  - 223 Qur'ān 3.
  - 224 Qur'ān 59.
  - 225 Qur'ān 33.
  - 226 Qur'ān 24.
  - 227 Qur'ān 60.
  - 228 Qur'ān 48.
  - 229 Qur'ān 4.
  - 230 Qur'ān 22.
  - 231 Qur'ān 57.
  - 232 Qur'ān 47.
  - 233 Qur'ān 76.
  - 234 Qur'ān 65.
  - 235 Qur'ān 98.
  - 236 Qur'ān 62.
  - 237 Qur'ān 32.
  - 238 Qur'ān 40, listed above as Meccan.
  - 239 Qur'ān 63.
  - 240 Qur'ān 58.
  - 241 Qur'ān 49.
  - 242 Qur'ān 66.
  - 243 Qur'ān 64.
  - 244 Qur'ān 61.
  - 245 Qur'ān 5.
  - 246 Qur'ān 9, usually known as Repentance.
  - 247 Qur'ān 110.

descends.”<sup>248</sup> Then came The Runners.<sup>249</sup> Then came the two suras of taking refuge with God, together.<sup>250</sup> The last revelation was: “Now there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves; grievous to him is your suffering; anxious is he over you, gentle to the believers, compassionate. So if they turn their backs, say: ‘God is enough for me. There is no god but He. In Him I have put my trust. He is the Lord of the Mighty Throne.’”<sup>251</sup>

2:44 Others say that the last revelation was, “Today I have perfected | your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam for your religion.”<sup>252</sup>

Others have said that the last revelation was, “And fear a day wherein you shall be returned to God.”<sup>253</sup>

Ibn ‘Abbās said: “Whenever Gabriel brought the revelation down to the Prophet, he would say to him, ‘Put this verse in such and such a sura in such and such a place.’ When he revealed the verse, ‘And fear a day wherein you shall be returned to God,’ he said, ‘Put it in the Sura of the Cow.’”

Ibn Mas‘ūd said: “The Qur’ān came down bringing commandment and prohibition, warning and glad tidings.”

Ja‘far b. Muḥammad said: “The Qur’ān came down revealing the permitted and the forbidden, duties and precepts, stories and reports, abrogating verses and abrogated verses, clear verses and ambiguous verses, admonitions and parables, outward and inward meanings, and particular and general matters.”

The Messenger of God remained, taking his time and preparing for fighting, until God the Mighty and Exalted revealed: “Leave is given to those who fight because they were wronged—surely God is able to help them—who were

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248 Qur’ān 56.

249 Qur’ān 100.

250 Arabic *al-Mu‘awwidhatān*: Suras 113 and 114, each of which begins with the formula, “I take refuge with the Lord.”

251 Qur’ān 9:128–129.

252 Qur’ān 5:3. At this point, M inserts an editorial comment in the margin. It was incorporated into C (somewhat miscopied) as part of the text and included—in parentheses—by Houtsma in his edition, with a note that “the whole sentence included in the parentheses probably should be deleted as not having been written by the author [al-Ya‘qūbī].” This strongly Shī‘ī comment found in the margin of M can be translated as follows: “This is the sound, firm, and pure tradition. Its revelation took place on the day of the appointment (*naṣṣ*) of the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—God’s blessings upon him—at Ghadīr Khumm.”

253 Qur’ān 2:281.

expelled from their habitations without right, except that they say ‘Our Lord is God.’ Had God not driven back the people, some by the means of others, there had been destroyed cloisters and churches, oratories and mosques, wherein God’s Name is much mentioned. Assuredly God will help him who helps Him—surely God is All-strong, All-mighty.”<sup>254</sup> And God said: “So do thou fight in the way of God; thou art charged only with thyself. And urge on the believers; haply God will restrain the unbelievers’ might; God is stronger in might, more terrible in punishing.”<sup>255</sup> One believer was accounted as ten polytheists, until God the Mighty and Exalted revealed: “Now God has lightened it for you, knowing that there is weakness in you. If there be a hundred of you, patient men, they will overcome two hundred; if there be of you a thousand, they will overcome two thousand.”<sup>256</sup> God sent down to him from heaven a sword with a scabbard, and Gabriel said to him, “Your Lord commands you to fight your people with this sword until they say, ‘There is no god but God,’ and that you are the Messenger of God. If they do that, their blood and property are forbidden, save to one who has a valid claim to them; and to God belongs their reckoning.”

The first expedition | that went out and the first banner unfurled in Islam belonged to Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. We have mentioned it and others in this book of ours after finishing with the expeditions that the Messenger of God himself conducted.

2:45

### The Great Battle of Badr

The Battle of Badr took place on Friday, 13 nights remaining in the month of Ramaḍān, eighteen months after the Prophet’s arrival.<sup>257</sup> The circumstances were as follows: Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb came from Syria, leading a caravan carrying merchandise and money belonging to the Quraysh, and the Messenger of God

<sup>254</sup> Qur’ān 22:39–40. Al-Ya’qūbī gives no precise dating for the granting of permission to fight. Cf. the parallel accounts in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 313–314; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1225, 1234–1235. Since the Second Pledge of al-‘Aqaba involved an obligation to fight, the tendency was to date the permission from that time, even if other traditions dated the Qur’ānic verses granting such permission as later.

<sup>255</sup> Qur’ān 4:84.

<sup>256</sup> Qur’ān 8:66.

<sup>257</sup> Taking into account the uncertainty about the calendar at this early date, the date is approximately March 13, 624. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 427–466; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 6–18; al-Ṭabarī, 1:1281–1349; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 19–172. For a summary of the sources, see the article by Khalil Athamina in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Badr.

went out to intercept him. The Quraysh in Mecca received a call for help, telling them of the news—the messenger who brought it was Ḍamḍam b. ‘Amr al-Ghifārī. So they went out prepared and ready to fight.

Abū Sufyān took a different route and escaped with the caravan. The Quraysh arrived ready to fight the Messenger of God. They numbered a thousand men—others say nine hundred and fifty. They would slaughter ten or nine camels every day—Abū Jahl b. Hishām slaughtered ten, Umayya b. Khalaf al-Jumaḥī nine, Suhayl b. ‘Amr ten, ‘Utba b. Rabī’a ten, Shayba b. Rabī’a nine, Munabbih and Nubayh (the sons of al-Ḥajjāj al-Sahmī) ten, Abū l-Bakhtarī al-‘Āṣ b. Hishām al-Asadī ten, al-Ḥārith b. ‘Āmir b. Nawfal b. ‘Abd Manāf ten, and al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ten.

Some say that al-‘Abbās slaughtered meat on the day of the battle, that the cooking-pots were turned upside-down, and that he went out under compulsion like a prisoner. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās said, “My father provided food as a prisoner; no prisoner before him had ever provided food.”

Ibn Ishāq relates that Ḥakam b. Ḥizām was one of those who provided food.

Abū Lahab was sick and could not go out, but he aided them with four thousand dirhams. Others say that Abū Lahab had gambled with al-‘Āṣ b. Hishām | al-Makhzūmī and had beaten him; so Abū Lahab gave him to them in place of himself.

The Messenger of God went out with three hundred men—some say ninety<sup>258</sup>—eighty-one from the Emigrants and two hundred and thirty-two from the Anṣār. He had two horses with him, one belonging to al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām and one belonging to al-Miqdād b. ‘Amr al-Bahrānī—some say a horse belonging to Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī. He had seventy camels with him. The two sides met on Friday, the 10th of Ramaḍān. Fourteen Muslims were killed; of the polytheists, leading men of the Quraysh, seventy were killed and seventy were taken prisoner.

The Messenger of God commanded that two of the prisoners should be beheaded: ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayt b. Abī ‘Amr b. Umayya and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada b. ‘Abd Manāf b. ‘Abd al-Dār. He took ransom from sixty-eight men. Al-‘Abbās ransomed himself, his two nephews ‘Aqil b. Abī Ṭālib and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith, and an ally of theirs from the Banū Fihr. Al-‘Abbās said to the Messenger of God, “I have no money, so let me beg from the people with my palm.” “Where,” he asked, “is the money you gave to Umm al-Faḍl”—he meant

258 As Houtsma notes, there seems to be a corruption or lacuna in the text. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1296–1297, gives the number as 310, noting that “There is a difference of opinion as to how many more than [three hundred and] ten there were.” Perhaps one should simply understand here, “some say [three hundred and] ninety.”

Lubāba bt. al-Ḥārith al-Hilāliyya, his wife—“and you said to her that it would be for provisions?” He replied: “I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God. By God, no one but she and I knew of it.” So he ransomed himself with seventy ounces [of gold] and his two nephews with seventy ounces. The Messenger of God said about the night that al-‘Abbās spent as a prisoner, “The moaning of my uncle al-‘Abbās in bonds kept me awake all night.”

Al-‘Abbās accepted Islam and left for Mecca, concealing his conversion. Abū Lahab died a few days after the Battle of Badr or nine days after the news came to them. The first person who reached Mecca and brought the news about the Quraysh and who among them had been killed was ‘Amr | b. Jaḥdam al-Fihri. 2:47

God had strengthened His Prophet and had killed those of the Quraysh whom He killed. The Arabs then sent their delegations to the Messenger of God. The [tribes of] Rabīʿa waged war against Kisrā<sup>259</sup>—their battle took place at Dhū Qār.<sup>260</sup> They said, “Use the slogan of the man from Tihāma.”<sup>261</sup> So they shouted, “O Muḥammad! O Muḥammad!” They defeated the armies of Kisrā and slew them. The Messenger of God said, “Today is the first day on which the Arabs have obtained their due from the Persians, and it was through me that they were given victory.” The Day of Dhū Qār took place four or five months after the Battle of Badr.

The Messenger of God sacrificed in Medina.<sup>262</sup> The people went out to al-Muṣallā<sup>263</sup> on their two festivals; he<sup>264</sup> had not gone out before this. The short spear was in front of him,<sup>265</sup> and he sacrificed two sheep at al-Muṣallā by his own hand—some say one sheep. He went by one route and came back by another.

259 Kisrā (from the Persian proper name Khusraw) is the Arabic generic term for the rulers of Sasanian Iran.

260 For a discussion of the battle, its date, and a listing of the Arabic sources, see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhū Qār.

261 Tihāma is the southern part of the Red Sea coast of the Arabian peninsula. Here it is extended to include the Ḥijāz and Medina.

262 That is, celebrated the Feast of Sacrifice (ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā) on the 10th of Dhū l-Ḥijja.

263 The name means simply Prayer-Place. It was an open place southwest of the city in the territory of the Banū Salima. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muṣallā.

264 Possibly, “they”—the Arabic word is unpointed in M and could be read as *takhruj* to agree with *al-nās* (the people). Even if one accepts text of ed. Leiden, the word can be read as an impersonal passive (*lam yukhrāj*) “there had been no going out.”

265 Arabic *ʿanaza*, a short spear planted in the ground and serving as a *sutra* or *qibla*. For a discussion of the origin and significance of the custom, see the articles by G. C. Miles in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *ʿAnaza*, and by A. J. Wensinck, s.v. *Sutra*.

## The Battle of Uḥud

The Battle of Uḥud<sup>266</sup> took place in the month of Shawwāl, a year after Badr. The Quraysh gathered and prepared to seek revenge for the Day of Badr. They made use of the money that Abū Sufyān had brought. “Spend nothing of it,” they said, “except in making war on Muḥammad.” Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib wrote to inform the Messenger of God about them and sent the letter with a man from the tribe of Juḥayna, so the Messenger of God informed his companions about them.

The polytheists, numbering three thousand, set out with Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb as their head. The Messenger of God thought that it was best for him not to leave Medina. This was because of a vision that he had seen in his sleep, that there was a notch in his sword, that some cows<sup>267</sup> belonging to him were being slaughtered, and that he had put his hand into an invulnerable coat of mail. Muḥammad interpreted it to mean that some of his companions would be killed, that a man of his own family would be hit, and that the coat of mail was Medina.<sup>268</sup> The Anṣār advised him to go out; | but when he had already put on his battle garments, the Anṣār deferred to his judgment and said, “Let us not go out of Medina.” He replied: “Now that I have put on my breastplate? When a prophet puts on his breastplate, he does not take it off until he fights until God gives him victory.”<sup>269</sup> And so he went out.

The Muslims, numbering a thousand men, went out as far as Uḥud. The polytheists came, and the two sides fought fiercely. Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, “the Lion of God and the Lion of His Messenger,” was killed. Waḥshī, a slave belonging to Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im, hit him with a javelin and he fell. Hind bt. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a mutilated him. She split him open to expose his liver, took a piece of it, and ate it; she also cut off his nose. The Messenger of God was sorely grieved by his death, and said, “I shall never be afflicted by the like of your death.” He recited the words, “God is great,” seventy-five times over him.

266 Uḥud is a rocky, plateau-topped mountain about 5 km (3 miles) north of Medina. For a summary of the events and a listing of the sources, see the article by C. F. Robinson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Uḥud. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 555–638; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 25–34; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1383–1427; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 199–334.

267 Reading with M and Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 558, *baqaran*; ed. Leiden reads *ba’iran*, a camel.

268 This sentence, explaining Muḥammad’s hesitation as due to a dream, is written in the margin of the MSS and may not have formed part of al-Ya’qūbī’s original text.

269 Reading, with M and C, *aw*, but reading the following verb as subjunctive and understanding *aw* not as ‘or,’ but as equivalent to *hattā* (until). There is no need to amend *aw* to *wa* (and), as in ed. Leiden.



The Muslims were driven back until the Messenger of God remained with only three men: ‘Alī, al-Zubayr, and Ṭalḥa. The hypocrites said, “Muḥammad has been killed.” ‘Abdallāh b. Qamī’a<sup>270</sup> shot at him and left a mark on his face. Khālīd b. al-Walīd, who was in command of the left wing of the polytheists, rushed into the gap and killed ‘Abdallāh b. Jubayr and a group of Muslims with arrows; the Messenger of God had sent them to that gap.

The army of the Messenger of God came back, bringing with it the defeat that the Muslims had suffered. God said: “When you were going up, not twisting about for anyone, and the Messenger was calling you in your rear.”<sup>271</sup> God reproved the Muslims in verses of His book. Sixty-eight Muslims had been killed, and twenty-two polytheists. Then the polytheists went back, and God dispersed their host.

A Jew came and stood at | the door of the fort where the women were— 2:49  
Ḥassān b. Thābit<sup>272</sup> was with them. The Jew shouted, “Today the charm has been broken,” and he started to climb up. Ṣafiyya bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, “Ḥassān, go down to him!” “May God have mercy on you, daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib,” he replied. “If I were someone who fights with men of valor, I would have gone out with the Messenger of God to fight.” So Ṣafiyya took the sword—some say she took a stick—and struck the Jew until she killed him. Then she said, “Go down and take his booty.” He replied, “I have no need of his booty.” It has been related that the Messenger of God assigned Ṣafiyya a share [of the booty] on that day.

The morning after the Day of Uḥud, the Messenger of God called out, and the men came out despite their weakness and the wounds they had suffered. The Messenger of God went out as far as Ḥamrā’ al-Usd, and then came back to Medina, not having encountered any trickery.<sup>273</sup> They were “those who answered God and His Messenger after the wound had smitten them.”<sup>274</sup>

<sup>270</sup> The reading and vocalization are conjectural. The mss have no points over the letters.

<sup>271</sup> Qur’ān 3:153.

<sup>272</sup> Ḥassān b. Thābit, of the Khazraj, served as Muḥammad’s “poet laureate.”

<sup>273</sup> Located about eight miles from Medina (Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, s.v.), Ḥamrā’ al-Usd was where the Meccan army had encamped. Muḥammad’s action was intended to show that the Muslims had not really been defeated.

<sup>274</sup> Qur’ān 3:172.

### The Battle with the Banū l-Naḍīr

Then the battle with the Banū l-Naḍīr took place, four months after Uḥud.<sup>275</sup> They were a sub-tribe of the Judhām, except that they had become Jewish and had settled at a mountain called al-Naḍīr; so they were named for it, and similarly the Qurayza. After directing someone to kill Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, the Jew who had wanted to use cunning against the Messenger of God, the Messenger of God sent them a message, saying: "Leave your dwellings and your property." 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and his hypocrite friends sent word to them, saying: "Do not leave, for we will help you." So they did not leave. The Messenger of God marched against them after the mid-afternoon prayer, fought them, and killed a group of them; 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and his friends abandoned them. When they saw that they had no strength to fight the Messenger of God, they sued for peace, and he granted it, | provided that they left their lands; they could take such household utensils as camels could carry; they were not to leave taking gold, silver, or weapons. They set out for Syria. Sallām the son of [the sister of 'Abdallāh b. Sallām and]<sup>276</sup> Yāmīn al-Naḍīrī accepted Islam. The spoils of the Banū l-Naḍīr became the property of the Messenger of God exclusively. He divided them among the emigrants, to the exclusion of the Anṣār, except for two men: Abū Dujāna and Sahl b. Ḥunayf, who complained of need. During this raid, the Muslims drank date-wine and became intoxicated, so the prohibition on wine was revealed.<sup>277</sup>

### The Battle of the Trench

Then the Battle of the Trench, or the Day of the Confederates, took place in the sixth year, fifty-five months after the arrival of the Messenger of God in Medina.<sup>278</sup> The Quraysh would send to the Jews and other tribes, urging them to fight the Messenger of God. A group of the Quraysh gathered at a place called

275 On the Banū l-Naḍīr and the parallel sources for these events, see the article by V. Vacca in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Naḍīr, Banū l-.

276 Houtsma added the bracketed words on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 5:99.

277 Qur'ān 5:92; for the development of attitudes toward wine in the Qur'ān, from cautious acceptance to complete prohibition, see the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Sadan in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khamr.

278 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 669–684; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 47–53; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1463–1485; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 440–496; article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khandak.

Sal'. Salmān the Persian advised the Messenger of God to dig a trench. So he dug the trench and assigned each tribal division a point to which they should dig. The Messenger of God dug with them until the digging of the trench was finished. He made gates for it and set guards over the gates, one man from each tribal group. He set al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām over them and commanded him to fight, if he saw any fighting.<sup>279</sup> The number of the Muslims was seven hundred.

The polytheists arrived and were surprised by the trench. "The Arabs," they said, "have never known about such a thing." They waited five days. On the fifth day, 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd came out with four men of the polytheists: Nawfal b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl, ʿDirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihri, and Hubayra b. Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib went out to meet 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd, challenged him to single combat, | and killed him, 2:51 and the remaining men were put to flight. Nawfal b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Mughīra was thrown by his horse; 'Alī overtook him and killed him. God the Mighty and Exalted sent a wind and darkness over the polytheists. They went away fleeing, [not turning aside] for anything; Abū Sufyān even mounted his camel while it was still hobbled. When word of this reached the Messenger of God, he said, "The old man has been dealt with quickly!"

According to what some relate, the fighting went on for three days of shooting without sword-fighting or individual combat; on the third day it went on continuously until the time of the noon prayer, the mid-afternoon prayer, the sunset prayer, and the final night prayer had gone by. The Messenger of God said, "They kept us too busy to pray—God fill their bellies and their graves with fire!" Then he commanded Bilāl to announce prayers, and he prayed the noon prayer, the mid-afternoon prayer, the sunset prayer, and the night prayer. This was before the revelation to him of the verse: "And if you are in fear, then afoot or mounted; but when you are secure, then remember God, as He taught you the things that you knew not."<sup>280</sup>

During this battle, hypocrisy became evident. The hypocrites said: "Muḥammad, you promise the palaces of Kisrā and Caesar, but none of us can even go to the fields to relieve himself. This is nothing but delusion."<sup>281</sup> God the Mighty

279 Another possible translation: "if he thought it best to fight."

280 Qur'ān 2:239. This verse and Qur'ān 4:102, along with a number of *ḥadīths*, provided the legal basis for modifications to the five canonical prayers to render them feasible in times of warfare. The form of prayer used under such conditions came to be called "the prayer of fear," taking its name from this verse. For a detailed discussion, see the article by G. Monnot in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣalāt al-Khawf.

281 Cf. Qur'ān 33:12.

and Exalted therefore revealed the Sura of the Confederates<sup>282</sup> and related in it the things that He related.

Men from the Jews came to the Messenger of God—among them were Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab and Sallām b. Abī l-Ḥuqayq—and said to him, “Muḥammad, was *Alif Lām Mīm*<sup>283</sup> revealed?” “Yes,” he said. They asked, “Did Gabriel bring it to you from God?” “Yes,” he said. Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab said: “Whenever God sent a prophet, He informed him of the measure of his kingdom. *Alif* stands for one, *lām* for thirty, and *mīm* for forty; so it comes to seventy-one years. Is there anything else?” “Yes,” he said, “*Alif Lām Mīm Ṣād*.”<sup>284</sup> “That,” said Ḥuyayy, “is weightier and longer: *alif* stands for one, *lām* for thirty, *mīm* for forty, and *ṣād* for sixty; so it comes to one hundred and thirty-one years. Is there anything else?” “Yes,” he said, “*Alif Lām Rāʾ*.”<sup>285</sup> “That,” said Ḥuyayy, “is weightier and longer: *alif* stands for one, *lām* for thirty, and *rāʾ* for two hundred; so it comes to two hundred and | thirty-one years. Is there anything else?” “Yes,” he said, “*Alif Lām Mīm Rāʾ*.”<sup>286</sup> “That,” said Ḥuyayy, “is weightier and longer: *alif* stands for one, *lām* for thirty, *mīm* for forty, and *rāʾ* for two hundred; so it comes to two hundred and seventy-one. Your affair has become unclear to us, Muḥammad; we do not know whether you have been given few years or many. Perhaps you have been given *alif lām mīm*, plus *alif lām mīm ṣād*, plus *alif lām rāʾ*, plus *alif lām mīm rāʾ*; which comes to seven hundred and four years.”<sup>287</sup>

At the Day of the Trench, six Muslims were killed, and eight polytheists.

282 Qurʾān 33.

283 Apparently referring to Qurʾān 2 (the Sura of the Cow), which begins with the mysterious letters *Alif Lām Mīm*; however, suras 3, 29, 30, 31, and 32 also begin with these letters.

284 Qurʾān 7 begins with these letters.

285 Qurʾān 10, 11, 12, 14, and 15 begin with these letters.

286 Qurʾān 13 begins with these letters.

287 The MSS read “seven hundred and *sixty*-four years.” Houtsma conjectured that *sixty* was added by someone to make the total correspond to his own computations. Twenty-nine suras of the Qurʾān begin with disconnected letters for which no satisfactory explanation has come down in Islamic tradition. The attempt of the Jews to connect the numerical values of the letters to the presumed duration of Muḥammad’s prophetic dispensation is interesting, but was not accepted by Islamic tradition, especially because the doctrine that Muḥammad is the last prophet cannot be harmonized with the idea that his dispensation would last, at most, seven hundred and four (or sixty-four) years. For a discussion of various theories about these letters, see the article by Keith Massey in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, s.v. Mysterious Letters.

### The Battle of the Banū Qurayṣa

Then the battle of the Banū Qurayṣa took place.<sup>288</sup> They were a sub-tribe of the Judhām, brothers of the al-Naḍīr. They are said to have adopted Judaism in the days of ‘Ādiyā, the father of al-Samaw’al.<sup>289</sup> Then they settled by a mountain called Qurayṣa and took their name from it. Others say that Qurayṣa was the name of their ancestor. The battle took place on the heels of the Battle of the Trench. There was a peace agreement between them and the Messenger of God, but they broke it and sided with the Quraysh. He sent Sa’d b. Mu’ādh, ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa, and Khawwāt b. Jubayr to them; they reminded the Banū Qurayṣa of the compact, but the Banū Qurayṣa answered insultingly. After the Quraysh were defeated on the Day of the Trench, the Messenger summoned ‘Alī and said to him, “Advance the banner of the Emigrants to the Banū Qurayṣa.” He also said, “I have resolved that you shall pray the afternoon prayer only amid the Banū Qurayṣa.” The Messenger of God mounted a donkey of his, and when he came near them, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib met him and said, “Messenger of God, don’t come near.” He said, “I think that the men have spoken insultingly.” “Yes, Messenger of God,” replied ‘Alī. He is said to have spoken by means of his hand in a certain way. Then the palm trees parted so that they could see him.<sup>290</sup> The Messenger of God said, “Idol-worshippers! Faces of apes and swine! God do to you—and do!” The Banū Qurayṣa said, “Abū l-Qāsim,<sup>291</sup> | you have never been one to act immoderately.” So he felt shame and turned back; none of the Emigrants held back from him, and most of the Anṣār turned around; and so he was turned away from the Banū Qurayṣa.<sup>292</sup> Then they barricaded themselves in their stronghold. The Messenger of God besieged them for some days, until they submitted to the judgment of Sa’d b. Mu’ādh al-Anṣārī. When

288 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 684–697; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 53–56; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 496–521; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1485–1498; further details and bibliography in the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qurayṣa.

289 Reading with M *abī* (father of), instead of L *ibn* (son of). I.e., the father of the famous Jewish-Arab poet, al-Samaw’al b. ‘Ādiyā, who lived in the middle of the 6th century CE and resided in the castle of al-Ablaq near Taymā’. See the article by Th. Bauer in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Samaw’al b. ‘Ādiyā.

290 Reading with M *fa-nfaraja l-nakhlu hattā ra’awhu*. Ed. Leiden emends unnecessarily to read *fa-nfaraja al-bajalu hūna ra’awhu* (The slander ceased when they saw him).

291 That is, Muḥammad, addressing him by his *kunya* or familiar name.

292 The text is problematic. C and M both have the unpointed word, which Houtsma read as *fa-futila* (so he was turned away). M adds the word *naḥar* (group), which would mean, ‘so a group from the Banū Qurayṣa was turned away.’

Sa'd, who was ill, arrived, they said to him, "Speak, Abū 'Amr, and be gracious." He replied: "The time has come for Sa'd, for the sake of God, not to be influenced by anyone's reproach. Have you accepted my judgment?" "Yes," they replied. He said: "I pass judgment that their fighters shall be killed, their children made captives, and their property given to the emigrants, to the exclusion of the Anṣār." The Messenger of God said, "You have judged with the judgment of God above seven heavens." He had them brought forward ten by ten, and they were beheaded; they numbered seven hundred and fifty. The Messenger of God went back and chose sixteen girls from them; he divided them among the poor of the clan of Hāshim, and he took one of them, named Rayḥāna, for himself. The property and wives of the Banū Qurayẓa were divided. He made known the share of the horseman and the share of the foot soldier. A horseman would take two shares, and a foot soldier one. It was the first booty in which he made known the share of the horseman. The mounted troops had thirty-eight horses.

### The Battle of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq

Then the battle of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq took place.<sup>293</sup> They belonged to the Khuzā'a; the Messenger of God met them at al-Muraysī', defeated them, and took them captive. Among those whom he took captive in his expedition was Juwayriya bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār—her father, paternal uncle, and husband had been killed. She fell to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Khazrajī, who contracted with her to free her in exchange for a certain sum. She thereupon went to the Messenger of God concerning the contract; he paid it for her and married her, making her freedom her bridal dowry. There was not one of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq whom he captured that he did not free. | They married those among them who were women because of the Messenger of God's marriage to Juwayriya.

During this expedition, the authors of the lie said about 'Ā'isha what they said, but God revealed her innocence.<sup>294</sup> She had lagged behind to attend to some business of hers. Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'attal al-Sulamī came, put her on his camel, and led her back; and so certain people spoke the lie about her. The

293 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 725–731; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* 11/2, 45–47; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 404–426; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1511–1517.

294 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 731–740; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 426–440; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1517–1528. See the articles by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, and by Denise L. Spellberg in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, both s.v. 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr. "The lie" (*al-ifk*) was an accusation of unchastity, based on 'Ā'isha's having been alone with a young man.

Messenger of God had Ḥassān b. Thābit, Miṣṭaḥ b. Uthātha, and ‘Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl flogged—the latter was the one who “took upon himself the greater part of it”<sup>295</sup>—as well as Ḥamna bt. Jaḥsh, the sister of Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh.

The Banū l-Muṣṭaliq accepted Islam and sent word of their conversion to the Messenger of God. He sent al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayt to collect their alms payments,<sup>296</sup> but he returned to the Messenger of God. God the Mighty and Exalted revealed: “O believers, if an ungodly man comes to you with a tiding, make clear, lest you afflict a people unwittingly, and then repent of what you have done.”<sup>297</sup>

### The Expedition of al-Ḥudaybiya

Then the expedition of al-Ḥudaybiya took place.<sup>298</sup> The Messenger of God set out in the year 6, intending to make the lesser pilgrimage. He had men with

295 Qur’ān 24:11, traditionally seen by Sunnī exegetes as referring to this episode. Interestingly, al-Ya‘qūbī, accepts this interpretation of the verse. Later Shī‘ī exegetes applied the verse to Māriya the Copt, leaving the question of ‘Ā’isha’s innocence or guilt open. See D. A. Spellberg’s article in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, s.v. ‘Ā’isha.

296 Arabic, *ṣadaqāt*. Here probably referring to an obligatory payment. See the article by T. H. Weir and A. Zysow in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣadaqa.

297 Qur’ān 49: 6. Al-Ya‘qūbī leaves unstated the connection between al-Walīd’s mission and the revelation of the verse. The story is given by al-Ṭabarī in his Qur’ānic commentary on the verse on the authority of the Prophet’s wife Umm Salama: “The Messenger of God sent a man to collect the poor-alms of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq after the battle. The men [of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq] heard of this and went to meet him in order to glorify the Messenger of God. Satan, however, put it into his mind that they intended to kill him; so he returned to the Messenger of God and said that the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq had refused to pay the poor-alms. The Messenger of God and the Muslims became angry. When the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq learned that the man had returned, they came to the Messenger of God, stood in a line for him when he had prayed the noon prayer, and said: ‘We take refuge in God from the wrath of God and the wrath of His Messenger. You sent a man to collect the poor-alms from us. We were gladdened by it and it found favor in our eyes. Then, however, he went back while he was still some way off, and we feared that it might be because of anger on the part of God and His Messenger.’ They continued addressing him until Bilāl came and gave the call to the afternoon prayer, and the verse was revealed.” (al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān*, ed. Boulaq, 26:78–79).

298 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 740–755; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 69–76; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 571–633; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 11528–1550. Al-Ḥudaybiya was a small town with a well one stage from Mecca and nine from Medina. It was on the edge of the Meccan *ḥaram* (sacred territory). See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥudaybiya.

him, and he drove seventy head of sacrificial animals. His companions also drove sacrificial animals, and they went out with weapons. When the Quraysh turned him away from the House [of God], he said, "I did not set out intending to fight; I wanted only to visit this house." The Messenger of God had dreamt that he had entered the House, had shaved his head, and had taken the key.

2:55 The Quraysh sent Mikraz b. Ḥaṣṣ to him, but he refused to speak to him, saying, "This is a dissolute man." They sent al-Ḥulays b. 'Alqama to him, one of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt—he was from people who devoted themselves to piety. When he saw that the sacrificial animals had eaten away their hair,<sup>299</sup> he went back and said, "People of Quraysh, I have seen camels<sup>300</sup> that it is not lawful | to turn away from the House." So they sent 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi, and he spoke to the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God said to him, "'Urwa, is it according to God that these sacrificial animals should be turned away from this house?" 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd returned to them and said, "By God, I have never seen the like of Muḥammad for (carrying out) what he has come for."<sup>301</sup> Then they sent to him Suhayl b. 'Amr. He spoke to the Messenger of God, was courteous to him, and said, "We will evacuate the city for you next year for three days." The Messenger of God accepted their proposal, and they wrote up a peace treaty between them for three years. They disputed over the document when he wrote, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God." Fighting almost broke out between them. Suhayl b. 'Amr and the polytheists said, "If we had known that you are the Messenger of God, we would not have fought you." The Muslims said, "Do not erase it." The Messenger of God commanded them to desist and commanded 'Alī to write, "In thy name, O God, from Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh." He said, "My name and the name of my father do not take away my being a prophet." They stipulated that they would evacuate Mecca for him next year for three days and depart from it, so that he might enter it with the weapons of a rider.<sup>302</sup> The truce between them would be for three years. They would not harm any of the companions of the Messenger of God or prevent him from entering Mecca, and

299 The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1538, adds in explanation, "from being penned up so long."

300 Reading with M: *qad ra'aytu mālan lā yaḥillu ṣadduhū*.

301 Ed. Leiden notes at this point: "Much appears to have fallen out of the text." However, the text as is, though terse, is idiomatic and makes sense. 'Urwa is saying that he has never seen anyone with the like of Muḥammad's determination and ability to carry out his purpose.

302 The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1547, adds in explanation, "with swords in scabbards; you shall not enter with other weapons."



none of the companions of the Messenger of God would harm any of them. The document was drawn up by Suhayl b. 'Amr.

The Messenger of God then commanded the Muslims to shave and slaughter their sacrificial animals in the area outside the sacred precinct. They refrained, and doubt came over most of the men. So the Messenger of God shaved and slaughtered, and the Muslims shaved and slaughtered, and the Messenger of God went back to Medina.

He set out the next year—it was the Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment—and entered Mecca on a camel with the weapons of a rider. The Quraysh evacuated the city | for three nights. They left Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā behind in it. The Messenger of God touched the corner [of the Ka'ba] with his stick—God had spoken truly to His Messenger in the dream. He left the city after three nights and consummated his marriage to Maymūna bt. al-Ḥārith al-Hilāliyya at Sarif.<sup>303</sup> The Quraysh treacherously killed a man from the tribe of Khuzā'a who had entered under the terms granted to the Messenger of God.

2:56

### The Battle of Khaybar

Then the Battle of Khaybar took place at the beginning of year 7.<sup>304</sup> The Messenger of God conquered their fortresses—there were six of them: al-Sulālim, al-Qamūš, al-Naṭāh, al-Quṣāra,<sup>305</sup> al-Shiqq, and al-Marbaṭa, with twenty thousand fighting men in them. He conquered them fortress by fortress. He killed the fighters and took the children captive.

Al-Qamūš was one of the strongest and most impregnable of them. It was the fortress where Marḥab b. al-Ḥārith the Jew was. The Prophet said: "I shall give the banner<sup>306</sup> to a man who returns to the fight and does not flee, who loves God and His Messenger, whom God and His Messenger love. He will not return until God grants victory by his hand." He gave the banner to 'Alī, who killed Marḥab the Jew. He tore off the door of the fortress—it was a stone four

303 Sarif is close to Mecca. Yāqūt (*Muḥjam al-buldān*, 5:70f.) gives the distance as six, seven, nine, or twelve miles.

304 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 755–776; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 77–85; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 633–705; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:575–1591. See also the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khaybar.

305 This name and that of al-Marbaṭa occur in no other sources. The letters are written with distinguishing points in M, but the vocalization is conjectural.

306 C interlines, "tomorrow, God willing"; ed. Leiden incorporates the words into the text.

cubits long, two cubits wide, and a cubit thick. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib threw it behind him, and entered the fortress, and the Muslims entered it.

Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib arrived on that day from the land of Abyssinia. The Messenger of God went to meet him, kissed him between the eyes, and said, “By God, I don’t know what makes me happier: the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Ja‘far.”

2:57 The Messenger of God selected Ṣafiyya bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab, freed her, | and married her. He divided their women, their men, and the loads of dates, wheat, and barley among the Banū Hāshim; then he made division among the people as a whole. When he received word about the hardship, need, drought, and famine that the people of Mecca were experiencing, he sent them *sha‘tras* of gold—some say *nawāhs* of gold<sup>307</sup>—with ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, and he commanded him to deliver it to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. Khalaf, and Sahl b. ‘Amr, and to divide it one-third to each. However, Ṣafwān b. Umayya and Sahl b. ‘Amr refused to take it; Abū Sufyān took it all and divided it to the poor of the Quraysh. He said, “May God reward my brother’s son well, for he makes fast the bonds of kinship.”

Zaynab bt. al-Ḥārith, the sister of Marḥab, brought him the poisoned sheep. When he took a bit of it, the foreleg spoke to him, saying, “I am poisoned.” Bishr b. al-Barā’ b. Ma‘rūr was eating with him, and he died.

Al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Ilāṭ al-Sulamī said to the Messenger of God: “I have become a Muslim. I have property belonging to me in Mecca. Do you give me permission to speak something that will put them at ease, so that perchance I can take my property?” The Prophet gave him permission, and so al-Ḥajjāj set out and arrived in Mecca. The Quraysh came to him and said, “Welcome to you, Ibn ‘Ilāṭ! Have you any news about this cutter [of kinship ties]?” “Yes,” he replied, “if you will conceal my telling it.” They promised that they would conceal the fact until he left. So he said: “Before I came, by God, Muḥammad and his companions were thoroughly defeated; he was even taken prisoner, and they said, ‘We will kill him in return for our chief, Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab.’” So they rejoiced and drank wine. When al-‘Abbās and the Muslims got word of this, they were deeply grieved. Al-Ḥajjāj took everything that belonged to him and then came to al-‘Abbās and told him of the victory that God had given to His prophet; that God’s  
2:58 arrows had been directed at Khaybar; that Ibn Abī Ḥuqayq had been killed; | and that the Messenger of God had become the husband of the daughter of

307 Apparently two standards of weight used by the Quraysh. See the Glossary to de Goeje’s edition of al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān*, 58.

Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab. Al-Ḥajjāj then left Mecca, and al-‘Abbās became cheerful. Abū Sufyān said to him, “Bear the misfortune patiently, Abū l-Faḍl.”<sup>308</sup> Al-‘Abbās said: “By God, al-Ḥajjāj deceived you until he got his property. He told me that he had become a Muslim and that before he left God granted His prophet victory; he has killed Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq, become the husband of the daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab, and conquered all the fortresses.” The wife of al-Ḥajjāj wept.<sup>309</sup> The wives of the polytheists joined with her, and the dejection and grief of the polytheists were very great.

### The Conquest of Mecca<sup>310</sup>

The Khuzā’a were in league with the Messenger of God, and the Kināna were in league with the Quraysh. The Quraysh aided the Kināna, who sent their clients, assaulted the Khuzā’a, and killed some of them. The Khuzā’a came to the Messenger of God and complained to him about this. God then gave permission to His Prophet to cut short the period [of truce] between him and the Quraysh, and he decided to attack Mecca. “O God,” he said, “keep the information hidden from them,” meaning the Quraysh. However, Ḥaṭīb b. Abī Balta’a wrote to the Quraysh via Sāra, the *mawlāh* of Abū Lahab, with information about the Messenger of God and what he had decided. Gabriel descended and told the Messenger of God what Ḥaṭīb had done. So he sent out ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Zubayr, saying, “Take the letter from her.” They overtook her—she had turned aside from the road—and the letter was found in her hair. (Others say it was found in her vagina.) They took it to the Messenger of God. The latter sent in secret to each tribal leader, telling him what he intended. He commanded each to meet him in a place that he named to him, but to conceal what he had said to him. He secretly told Khuzā’ī b. ‘Abd Nuḥm to meet him with the Muzayna at al-Rawḥā’, ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik to meet him with the Ghifār at al-Suqyā, Qudāma b. Thumāma to meet him with the Banū Sulaym at Qudayd, and al-Ṣa’b b. Jaththāma to meet him with the Banū Layth at al-Kadīd. The Messenger of God left on Friday after praying the afternoon prayer on the second day of Ramaḍān of the year 8—others say on the tenth. He left behind

2:59

308 That is, al-‘Abbās, whose *kunya* was Abū l-Faḍl.

309 As al-Wāqidi’s account makes clear, she was a pagan.

310 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 802–832; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 780–785; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 96–105; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1618–1647.

Abū Lubāba b. ‘Abd al-Mundhir as his deputy over Medina. The tribes met him at the places he had named for them. He commanded the men to break the fast; those who did not do so were called “the Disobeyers.” He called for water and drank it. Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib met him along the way.

When he reached Marr al-Zahrān,<sup>311</sup> Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb went to spy out information. With him were Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqā’. Abū Sufyān asked Ḥakīm, “What are these fires?” He replied, “Khuzā’a, roused by war.” Abū Sufyān said, “Khuzā’a is too small and too lowly.” Al-‘Abbās heard his voice and called out to him, “Abū Ḥanzala!”<sup>312</sup> Abū Sufyān replied and said, “Abū l-Faḍl, what is this host?” He said, “This is the Messenger of God,” and he mounted him behind him on his mule. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb overtook him and said, “Praise be to God, who has delivered you up without treaty or covenant.” However, al-‘Abbās got to the Messenger of God before him, and said, “Messenger of God, this is Abū Sufyān, who has come to accept Islam voluntarily.” So the Messenger of God said to him, “Say, ‘I bear witness that there is no god but God,’ and that I, Muḥammad, am the Messenger of God.” He said, “I bear witness that there is no god but God,” but he began to balk at saying “and that you are the Messenger of God.” Al-‘Abbās shouted at him, and he said it. Then al-‘Abbās asked the Messenger of God to grant Abū Sufyān some honor, saying that he loved honor. So the Messenger of God said, “Whoever enters your house, Abū Sufyān, shall be safe.” Al-‘Abbās detained Abū Sufyān until he had seen God’s  
2:60 army. Abū Sufyān said to him, | “Abū l-Faḍl, your nephew has been granted a great kingdom!” Al-‘Abbās replied, “It is not kingship, but prophethood.”

Abū Sufyān hurried back and, having entered Mecca, told them the news. “It is utter destruction,” he said, “if you do not accept Islam; however, he has granted that whoever enters my house shall be safe.” They jumped on him and said, “Your house isn’t big enough!” So he<sup>313</sup> said, “And anyone who locks his door shall be safe, and anyone who enters the sanctuary<sup>314</sup> shall be safe.”

God granted His Prophet victory and spared him fighting. He and his companions entered Mecca from four places. God made the city profane for him

311 Marr al-Zahrān, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:494, is a valley with many springs, palm trees, and sycamores, one stage from Mecca. Modern maps locate it approximately 25 km northwest of Mecca.

312 Calling Abū Sufyān by his *kunya*. Abū Sufyān responds with al-‘Abbās’s *kunya*, Abū l-Faḍl.

313 The MSS add, “may God bless him and grant him peace,” implying that pronoun refers to Muḥammad. Perhaps the word *wa-qāl* (and he said) has dropped out by homeoteleuton. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:1633, assigns the second promise also to Muḥammad.

314 Arabic *maṣjid* (mosque), here meaning the area around the Kaʿba.

for one hour of daylight; then the Messenger of God stood up, preached, and declared it sacred.<sup>315</sup>

Umm Hānī' bt. Abī Ṭālib gave sanctuary to two of her relatives by marriage: al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'a.<sup>316</sup> 'Alī wanted to kill them, but the Messenger of God said, "'Alī, we have given sanctuary to those to whom Umm Hānī' has given sanctuary."

He granted safety to everyone, except for five men whom he ordered to be killed even if they took hold of the curtains of the Ka'ba, and four women. They were: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Khaṭal of the Banū Taym al-Adram b. Ghālib—the Messenger of God had sent him out with one of the Anṣār, and he had assaulted the Anṣārī and killed him, saying, "No obedience to you or to Muḥammad!"<sup>317</sup>

Also among them was 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ al-'Āmirī—he had acted as secretary for the Messenger of God, but then he went to Mecca and said: "I say<sup>318</sup> as Muḥammad says. By God, Muḥammad is no prophet! He used to say<sup>319</sup> to me, 'Write [*God is*] *Mighty, wise*,' and I would write *Subtle, knowing*. If he were a prophet, he would know." 'Uthmān sheltered him—he was his foster-brother<sup>320</sup>—brought him to the Messenger of God, and started talking about him to the Messenger of God, who remained silent. Then the Messenger of God said to his companions, "Why didn't you kill him?" They said, "We were waiting for you to make a sign." He replied, "Prophets do not kill by making signs."

315 Mecca being sacred as a place of sanctuary, and the month, Ramaḍān, being sacred, there were two reasons that would render fighting sacrilegious. God, however, is said to have made a special dispensation in this case, though He also rendered fighting unnecessary. The consequence, though, was that the people of Mecca could legally be considered prisoners of war with the status of slaves. Muḥammad, however, declared them free. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1643.

316 Umm Hānī', Muḥammad's cousin, was married to Hubayra b. Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī. There is irony in her giving sanctuary to her in-laws, as her husband Hubayra never accepted Islam. He was reported to have been in Najrān at the time of the conquest, and stayed there until his death. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 828; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1647.

317 The story of the apostasy of this Muslim is given with more details in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1640.

318 Perhaps one should emend the text to read, "I *write* as Muḥammad says."

319 Following the reading of M (*wa-laqqad kāna yaqūlu*); ed. Houtsma has *wa-law kāna yaqūlu*, "If he said to me," but the Arabic syntax then becomes strained and unusual.

320 That is, the two men as infants had been nursed by the same woman. This was considered to create a bond similar in some ways to a blood relationship. See the article by J. Schacht and J. Burton in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Raḍā'.

2:61 Also among them was Miqyas | b. Šubāba, one of the Banū Layth b. Kināna. His brother had been killed. He accepted blood-money<sup>321</sup> from the killer, but then attacked and killed him.<sup>322</sup>

Also among them was al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuqaydh<sup>323</sup> b. Wahb b. ‘Abd Quṣayy.<sup>324</sup> He was someone who used to harass the Messenger of God in Mecca and use vile language against him.

Among the women was Sāra, a *mawlāh* of the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She used to speak insultingly of the Messenger of God.

Also among the women were Hind bt. ‘Utba and two of Ibn Khaṭal’s slave girls: Qarība and Fartanā, who used to sing satirical verses about the Messenger of God.

The Quraysh accepted Islam willingly or reluctantly. The Messenger of God took the key of the Ka’ba from ‘Uthmān b. [Abī] Ṭalḥa. He opened the door and its curtains with his hand, entered the Ka’ba, and prayed two prostrations in it. Then he came out and took hold of the side-posts of the door and said: “There is no god but God alone; He has no partner. He has fulfilled His promise and helped His servant. He alone has overcome the confederates. So to God belong praise and the kingdom; He has no partner.”

Then he said: “What do you think and what do you say?” Suhayl<sup>325</sup> said, “We think well and we say well: a noble brother and the son of a noble uncle; and now you have won.” “I say to you,” he said, “as my brother Joseph<sup>326</sup> said, ‘No reproach shall be on you today.’”<sup>327</sup> Then he said: “Now every [claim of] blood, wealth, and hereditary privilege in the Time of Ignorance is abolished,<sup>328</sup>

321 Arabic *diyya*: a specified amount of money or goods due in cases of homicide or other injuries to physical health unjustly committed upon the person of another. The payment for homicide was normally 100 camels, payable to the aggrieved family. The payment forestalled all further vengeance. See the article by E. Tyan in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Diya*.

322 Further details about Miqyas in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 728, 819; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1515–1516, 1640–1641.

323 Ed. Leiden and M read *b. Hind*; Houtsma emends on the basis of Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 819.

324 The name is given in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 819, and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1640, as “... b. ‘Abd b. Quṣayy.”

325 That is, Suhayl b. ‘Amr, who had represented the Quraysh in drafting the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya.

326 Brother, because a fellow prophet.

327 Qur’ān 12:92.

328 The Time of Ignorance (*al-jāhiliyya*) was the time before Islam brought knowledge of God to the Arabs. The term occurs four times in the Qur’ān, and its exact meaning has been much discussed. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djāhiliyya*. The phrase that I have translated

except the custodianship of the Ka'ba and the right of supplying of water to the pilgrims; they are restored to those entitled to them.<sup>329</sup> Behold, Mecca is inviolable, with the inviolability of God; it was not allowed as profane to anyone before me, and will not be allowed as profane to anyone after me. It was allowed to me as profane for only an hour; then it was closed, and shall be inviolable until the day of resurrection. Its fresh herbage shall not be cut; its trees shall not be lopped; its game shall not be frightened; and property found in it is permitted only to one who makes public announcement.<sup>330</sup> For murder with the likeness of intention the blood money shall be made rigorous.<sup>331</sup> The child belongs to [the owner of] the bed,<sup>332</sup> and for the fornicator there shall be stoning." Then he said: | "Truly, what bad neighbors you have been! But go now, 2:62 for you have been set free."<sup>333</sup>

He entered Mecca not in a state of consecration.<sup>334</sup> He commanded Bilāl to climb to the top of the Ka'ba and give the call to prayer. The Quraysh were distressed by this. 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl and Khālīd b. Asīd said, "Ibn Rabāḥ<sup>335</sup> is braying on the Ka'ba." Some other men spoke along with them. The Messenger of God sent someone to them, and they said, "We did say it, but we ask God's forgiveness." He said: "I don't know what I should say to you. But let him attend

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as "is abolished" is more vivid in the Arabic. Literally, the Arabic says, "is [as dust] under these two feet of mine."

329 On the custodianship (*sidāna*) of the Ka'ba and the right of supplying water to the pilgrims (*siqāya*), see the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ka'ba.

330 Arabic *wa-lā taḥillu luqṭatuhā illā li-munshidin*. Similar wording occurs in a *ḥadīth* attributed to Ibn 'Abbās; see the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Book 7 (Ḥajj), Chapter 80, no. 3139. That is, if someone finds something, he must not simply take it as his own; but he may pick it up and advertise that he has done so, in hope of locating the owner.

331 Arabic *al-diya mughallaza*: the full payment of 100 camels. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 6:2283.

332 That is, the paternity of the child is attributed to the owner of the bed in which it is born.

333 Literally, "you are *ṭulaqā*." The word (plural of *ṭaliq*) designates "a captive having his bond loosed from him," or "a man freed from slavery, emancipated." See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCCXLII. The word became a technical term for those of the Quraysh who became Muslims at the time of the conquest of Mecca.

334 Arabic *bi-ghayri iḥrāmīn*. That is, he did not enter the state of ritual consecration required of those intending to perform the greater or lesser pilgrimage. The state is marked by the wearing of a simple two-piece garment and abstention from cutting the hair, shedding blood, sexual relations, and a number of other activities. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Iḥrām*.

335 That is, Bilāl, the freed Ethiopian slave who had become the muezzin of the Muslim community.

the prayer. Anyone who prays, that shall be a way of safety. Otherwise, I will have him brought forward and beheaded."

He commanded that every picture in the Ka'ba should be erased and washed away with water. He summoned 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and said: "I saw the two horns of the ram in the Ka'ba.<sup>336</sup> Hide them, for it is not proper for anything to be in the Ka'ba." So they put them in one of the walls.

Some have reported that the Messenger of God divided the money that was in the Ka'ba among the Muslims. Others say that he allowed it to remain.

The crier of the Messenger of God announced: "Whoever has an idol in his house, let him break it." So they broke the idols.

The Messenger of God summoned the women, and he received their allegiance.

The cavalry on the day of the conquest consisted of four hundred horses.

The sura, "When comes the help of God, and victory ..." was revealed to him, whereupon he said, "My own death has been announced to me."<sup>337</sup>

While he was at Mecca, the Messenger of God sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd to the Banū Jadhīma b. 'Āmir, who were at al-Ghumaysā'. In the Time of Ignorance the Banū Jadhīma had attacked the sons of al-Mughīra and had killed 'Awf, the father of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf.<sup>338</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf went out with Khālīd b. al-Walīd, along with some men from the Banū Sulaym. The latter

336 Legend has it that the horns of the ram that God commanded Abraham to sacrifice in place of his son were preserved in the Ka'ba. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ka'ba.

337 Qur'ān 110. The sura continues: "... and thou seest men entering God's religion in throngs, then proclaim the praise of thy Lord, and seek His forgiveness; for He turns again unto men." The sura was taken to refer to the conquest of Mecca, and the injunction to "proclaim the praise of thy Lord, and seek His forgiveness" was taken as a veiled reference to the Prophet's imminent death. A tradition recorded by al-Ṭabarī on the authority of the early Qur'ān commentator Mujāhid reads: "The words, 'Proclaim the praise of thy Lord,' mean: Praise Him and exalt Him with praise and thanksgiving for His fulfillment of His promise for you; for then you will join Him and taste the death that His messengers who preceded you tasted." See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, xxx, 215–217.

338 'Awf b. al-Mughīra was the uncle of Khālīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra. Hence, a blood feud existed between Khālīd and the Banū Jadhīma, although, according to one report, vengeance for 'Awf had already been exacted by Khālīd's family. The parallel accounts say that a second uncle, al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra, mentioned below, had been killed. Since no mention of retaliation for his death is mentioned, one can assume that Khālīd still nursed a grudge against the Banū Jadhīma. In any case, Muḥammad had sent Khālīd to preach Islam, not to fight. The parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 833–839, Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 106–108; and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1649–1653, are more detailed. On the ambivalence of



had killed Rabi'a b. Mukaddam in the Time of Ignorance, whereupon Jidhl al-Ṭi'ān<sup>339</sup> went out and killed Mālik b. al-Sharīd of the Banū Sulaym for Rabi'a's blood. The Banū Jadhīma received word that | Khālīd had come and that the Banū Sulaym were with him. Khālīd said to them, "Put down your weapons." They said: "We are not taking up arms against God or against His Messenger; we are Muslims. Look to what the Messenger of God has sent you do. If he has sent you to collect the tax levied for the support of the poor, here are our camels and sheep; go to them in the morning."<sup>340</sup> He said, "Put down your weapons." They said, "We are afraid that you will take us because of rancor retained from the Time of Ignorance." So he turned away from them, gave the call to prayer, and the people prayed. At dawn, he turned the horsemen against them, killing the fighters and taking the children captive. When word of this reached the Messenger of God, he said, "O God, I declare to Thee my innocence of what Khālīd has done." He sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who paid to them what had been taken from them, down to a camel's hobbling rope or a dog's drinking bowl. With him he sent camels that had arrived from Yemen, and so he paid blood money for those who had been killed. When something remained left over, 'Alī gave it to them so that they would acquit the Messenger of God for what he knew and what he did not know. The Messenger of God said, "Surely, what you did is more pleasing to me than the finest red camels." And on that day he said to 'Alī, "May my father and mother be your ransom!" 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf said, "By God, Khālīd killed the men when they were Muslims!" Khālīd said, "I killed them only to avenge your father, 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf." To which 'Abd al-Raḥmān replied, "You did not kill to avenge my father; you killed to avenge your uncle al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra."

2:63

### The Battle of Ḥunayn

Then the battle of Ḥunayn took place.<sup>341</sup> While the Messenger of God was at Mecca, he received word that the Hawāzin had assembled a large host at

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the tradition toward the figure of Khālīd b. al-Walīd, see the article by P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khālīd b. al-Walīd.

339 The name means, "Post of Contention."

340 Reading, with M, *fa-ghdu*, instead of ed. Leiden, *fa-du*, pass over, which makes little sense.

341 Ḥunayn is a deep valley, about a day's journey from Mecca on one of the roads to al-Ṭā'if. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 840 ff., al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 885 ff., Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 108–113; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1654 ff. See the article by H. Lammens and Abd al-Hafez Kamal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥunayn.

Ḥunayn. Their head was Mālik b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī, and with them was Durayd b. al-Ṣimma from the Banū Jusham, an aged leader whose judgment they thought would be advantageous. With the Hawāzin, Mālik brought along their camels and their women.

2:64 The Messenger of God went out to meet them amid a large army numbering twelve thousand: ten thousand of his companions | with whom he had conquered Mecca, and two thousand Meccans who had accepted Islam willingly or reluctantly. He obtained a hundred coats of mail from Ṣafwān b. Umayya, saying that they were a guaranteed loan. The Muslims were pleased by the fact that they were many, and some of them said, “We shall not be overpowered on account of small numbers.” The Messenger of God was displeased by their saying this.

The Hawāzin hid in ambush in the valley; then they came out to attack the Muslims, and a battle of great importance took place. The Muslims were driven away from the Messenger of God, until he remained amid ten of the Banū Hāshim—some say nine. They were: ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith, Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith, Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith, Abū Lahab’s two sons ‘Utba and Mu‘attib, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās, and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib—some say Ayman b. [Umm] Ayman.

God the Mighty and Exalted said: “... and on the day of Ḥunayn, when your multitude was pleasing to you, but it availed you naught, and the land for all its breadth was strait for you, and you turned about, retreating. Then God sent down His Presence upon His Messenger and upon the believers, and He sent down legions you did not see.”<sup>342</sup>

Some of the Quraysh expressed what was in their souls. Abū Sufyān said, “Their rout, by God, will not end until they reach the sea.” Kalada b. Ḥanbal said, “Today sorcery is useless.” Shayba b. ‘Uthmān said, “Today I will kill Muḥammad.” He made for the Messenger of God, to kill him, but the Prophet took the lance from him and stabbed him in the heart.

342 Qur’ān 9:25–26. The term translated as Presence (*Sakīna* in Arabic) occurs six times in the Qur’ān. It is cognate to—perhaps directly borrowed from—the Hebrew *shəkhīnā*, conceived as God’s indwelling presence in a place or His presence as manifested in divine aid in battle to those whom God favors. Because the Arabic root *s-k-n* can mean not only *to dwell*, but also *to be still, tranquil, peaceful*, Muslim commentators, moved perhaps by a desire to avoid materialism or anthropomorphism, have often interpreted *sakīna* as “tranquility” (so Rodwell, “His spirit of repose”; Pickthall, “His peace of reassurance”; Yusuf Ali, “His calm”; M. H. Shakir, “His tranquillity”; Ahmad Ali, “a sense of tranquillity”). A. J. Arberry simply uses the Hebrew term *Shekhina* without explanation. See the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sakīna*.

The Messenger of God said to al-‘Abbās: “Cry out, ‘Help, Anṣār!’ Cry out, ‘O people who swore the Pledge of Good Pleasure!’”<sup>343</sup> Cry out, ‘O people of the Sura of the Cow! O comrades of the acacia tree!’”<sup>344</sup>

Then the men dispersed, and God granted victory to His Prophet and strengthened him with troops of angels. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib advanced on the standard-bearer of the Hawāzin and killed him, and a rout took place. | Many 2:65 of the Hawāzin were killed and many prisoners taken. Their number came to a thousand horsemen. The booty came to twelve thousand female camels, apart from the spoils. Durayd b. al-Ṣimma was killed, and the people were very distressed by this. The Messenger of God said: “To the Fire—what an evil home-coming! A leader of unbelief! If he did not aid with his hand, he aided with his counsel.” He was killed by one of the Banū Sulaym. Also killed was Dhū l-Khimār Subay‘ b. al-Ḥārith.<sup>345</sup> The Messenger of God said: “God curse him! He hated the Quraysh.” The captives and the cattle became the property of the Muslims. The rout of the polytheists reached al-Ṭā‘if; Mālik b. ‘Awf was with them. The total number of those slain as martyrs was four men.

Al-Shaymā’ bt. Ḥalima, the Prophet’s foster-sister,<sup>346</sup> came to the Messenger of God. He greeted her,<sup>347</sup> honored her, and spread out his cloak for her. She spoke to him about the female captives, saying, “After all, they are your maternal aunts and your sisters.”<sup>348</sup> He replied, “I grant you whatever has become my

343 The Pledge of [God’s] Good Pleasure (Arabic, *Bay‘at al-Riḍwān*) received its name from the Qur’ānic verse: “God was well pleased with the believers when they were swearing allegiance to you under the tree.” (Qur’ān 48:18). In 6 A.H. Muḥammad summoned his followers to renew their allegiance to him at al-Ḥudaybiya, on the border of the Meccan sacred territory. Muḥammad had come intending to perform the lesser pilgrimage, but the Meccans made a show of force and blocked his way. Eventually a compromise was reached, known as the Truce of al-Ḥudaybiya, but not before some tense moments. At one point, there were rumors that the Meccans had killed Muḥammad’s messenger, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, and this occasioned Muḥammad’s summons to his followers to renew their allegiance. For details and parallels, see the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥudaybiya.

344 That is, comrades who swore the Pledge of al-Riḍwān under an acacia tree. The reference to the Sura of the Cow (Qur’ān 2) may refer to the narrative in Qur’ān 2:246–251 of the story of Saul, David, and Goliath, when the presence of God’s *sakīna* is said to have enabled a small band to overcome a much larger force.

345 He was chief of part of the Thaḳīf.

346 Shaymā’s mother, Ḥalima, had nursed Muḥammad as an infant. This created a tie similar to kinship between her daughter and Muḥammad. See footnote 320 above.

347 Reading with M *fa-ḥayyāhā*; ed. Leiden *fa-ḥabāhā*, ‘he gave her a gift.’

348 That is, sisters and children of your foster mother.

property and that of the Banū Hāshim.” And the Muslims granted whatever female captives were in their hands, as he had done—except for al-Aqra’ b. Ḥābis and ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn. The Messenger of God said, “O God, render their shares notorious.” An old woman of theirs came out and spoke to him about Mālīk b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī, the head and commander of the army of the Hawāzin, and he granted him safe-conduct. Mālīk then came and accepted Islam. The Messenger of God sent him to besiege al-Ṭā’if.

He gave some of the booty from the Hawāzin to “those whose hearts were to be reconciled.”<sup>349</sup> He gave twelve men a hundred camels each. They were Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Mu’āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada al-‘Abdarī, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, Suhayl b. ‘Amr, Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. | Khalaf, Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā, al-‘Alā’ b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafī (an ally of the Banū Zuhra), Mālīk b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī, ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī, and al-Aqra’ b. Ḥābis. He gave the rest less than that.<sup>350</sup> The Anṣār, who felt slighted, questioned him. The Messenger of God replied, “To some men I give in order to reconcile them; you I entrust to your faith.” Some of them spoke, saying, “Muḥammad fought by means of us; but when his affair prospered and triumphed, he showed kindness<sup>351</sup> to his own people and left us.” God accordingly cancelled their share, but confirmed to those whose hearts were to be reconciled a share of the poor alms.

The Messenger of God went out to al-Ṭā’if.<sup>352</sup> He sent ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who encountered Nāfi’ b. Ghaylān b. Salama b. Mu’attib with a troop of horsemen from the Thaqīf and killed him; his comrades were routed. The Messenger of God besieged the town for a few more than twenty days. Forty men came down to him. The Messenger of God ordered that the grapevines should be cut down,

349 Arabic *al-mu’allaḥafatu qulūbuhum*. Cf. Qur’ān 9:60: “The freewill offerings (*ṣadaqāt*) are for the poor and needy, those who work to collect them, those whose hearts are brought together (*al-mu’allaḥafati qulūbuhum*), the ransoming of slaves, debtors, in God’s way, and the traveller; so God ordains; God is All-knowing, All-wise.” (Arberry translation.) That the occasion of the verse was this incident is unlikely, since division of booty is different from “freewill offerings”—whether one sees these *ṣadaqāt* as alms or, as is more likely, a compulsory tax. The point is that Muḥammad reserved the right to distribute payments to influential new converts to cement their loyalty, whatever the source of these payments.

350 That is, the rest of the people who fell into the category of “those whose hearts were to be reconciled.” The parallels make it clear that “the rest” refers not to the generality of Muslims, but to people who, while receiving more than ordinary shares of the booty, received less than a hundred camels each.

351 Reading with *M abarra*; ed. Leiden reads *atā* (he came to).

352 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 869–876; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 922–938; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt* 11/1, 114–115; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 11:670–1674.

but they spoke to him, and so he left them and ordered that they should not be cut. The Messenger of God then went away, leaving Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb in charge of the siege of al-Ṭā'if. He sent 'Alī to smash the idols, and he did so.

### The Expedition to Mu'ta<sup>353</sup>

He sent Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa with an army to Syria<sup>354</sup> to fight the Romans<sup>355</sup> in year 8. Some relate that he said: "The commander of the army is Zayd b. Ḥāritha; if Zayd b. Ḥāritha is killed, it is Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; if Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib is killed, it is 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa; and if 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa is killed, let the Muslims approve whomever they like." Others have said rather that Ja'far was put in charge, then Zayd b. [Ḥāritha, then] | 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa. [The army]<sup>356</sup> came to a place called Mu'ta in Syria, in the area called al-Balqā', part of the territory of Damascus. Zayd took up the banner and fought until he was killed. Then Ja'far took it up; when his right hand was cut off, he fought with his left hand until it was cut off; then he was struck in the waist. Then 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa took up the banner and was killed.

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Every low place was raised up and every high place was lowered for the Messenger of God until he could see where they fell. He said: "I saw that the couch of Ja'far was placed ahead; so I said, 'Gabriel, I put Zayd ahead!' He replied, 'God has put Ja'far ahead because of his kinship to you.'"

The Messenger of God announced their deaths and said: "God has caused two emerald-green wings to grow for Ja'far, by which he can fly anywhere he wishes in paradise." His grief was intense, and he said, "For Ja'far let the weeping women weep."

Khālīd b. al-Walīd was appointed commander of the army.

Asmā' bt. 'Umays al-Khath'amiyya—she was Ja'far's wife and the mother of all his children—said: "The Messenger of God came to visit me while I had my

353 The title is not in M; ed. Leiden supplies it from the margin of C.

354 Arabic *al-Sha'm*, broadly conceived as the lands northwest of the Arabian peninsula. The modern town of Mu'ta, Jordan, about 10 km south of Karak and 20 km east of the southern end of the Dead Sea, is on the site. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 791–802; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 755–769; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 92–94; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1610–1619; also see the article by F. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mu'ta.

355 Arabic *al-Rūm*: the forces of the Byzantine Empire.

356 The subject of the verb is not clear—apparently the army, or possibly the leader of the army, whoever he was.

hand in some dough. He said, 'Asmā', where are your children?' So I brought him 'Abdallāh, Muḥammad, and 'Awn. He sat them all on his lap, embraced them, and stroked their heads. His eyes were shedding tears, so I asked: 'My father and my mother be your ransom, Messenger of God! Why are you doing to my children what you do<sup>357</sup> for orphans? Has something perhaps reached you about Ja'far?' Tears overcame him, and he said, 'May God have mercy on Ja'far!' I cried out, 'Alas for me! Alas, my husband!' He said, 'Hush! Do not cry out "Woe!" or "Grief!"—yet in all you say you are right.' I cried out, 'Alas, Ja'far!' Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God, heard my voice and came crying, 'Alas, my cousin!' The Messenger of God left dragging his cloak, unable to control his tears, and saying, 'For Ja'far let the weeping women weep.' Then he said, 'Fāṭima, make some food for Ja'far's family, for they are preoccupied.' So she made them food for three days, and this became a custom among the Banū Hāshim."

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### The Expeditions in Which No Fighting Took Place

Interspersed with these there were expeditions in which no fighting took place. The Messenger of God would go out, encounter no trickery, and return. We have put those in which there was fighting ahead of those in which there was no fighting so that we might list separately the expeditions in which there was no fighting.

THE EXPEDITION TO AL-ABWĀ': The Messenger of God went out to Waddān and returned, having encountered no trickery.<sup>358</sup>

THE EXPEDITION TO BUWĀṬ: This was like the preceding.<sup>359</sup>

THE EXPEDITION TO DHŪ AL-'USHAYRA:<sup>360</sup> This was part of the Yanbu' basin. He made a treaty of friendship there with the Banū Mudlij and allies

357 Reading *taf'alu*, as in ed. Leiden. M leaves the first letter undotted, and a better reading might be *yuf'alu*, "as is done" or "as one does."

358 Al-Abwā' is on the road between Medina and Mecca. Muḥammad's mother, Āmina bt. Wahb, is said to be buried there. Waddān is said to be about eight miles from al-Abwā'. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Abwā', Waddān. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 421; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 11–12; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 3; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1266, 1270.

359 Buwāṭ was a mountain in the direction of Raḍwā (itself a chain of mountains about seven post stages from Medina) in the territory of the tribe of Juḥayna. The expedition is said to have taken place in 2 A.H. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Buwāṭ. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 421; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 12; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 3–4; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1268.

360 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 421; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 12; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 4–5; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1268–1269.

of theirs, the Banū Ḍamra, and wrote a treaty between them. He who did this between them was Makhshī b. ‘Amr al-Ḍamrī.

THE EXPEDITION OF QARQARAT AL-KUDR:<sup>361</sup> The Messenger of God went out in pursuit of Mikdar b. Jābir al-Fihri—others say Kurz b. Jābir—when he had raided the cattle pasturing around Medina. [...] This was because Abū Sufyān had stayed as the guest of Sallām b. Mishkam, the chief of the Banū l-Naḍir, who entertained him and gave him wine to drink. Then he went out under cover of night. He passed through a place called al-‘Urayḍ, where he found two of the Anṣār in a small garden of palm trees belonging to them. He killed them and returned to Mecca. [...] When the Messenger of God received word of this, he went as far as Qarqarat al-Kudr, but, encountering no trickery, he returned.

THE EXPEDITION TO ḤAMRĀ’ AL-USD: The Messenger of God went out the morning after the battle of Uḥud. We have mentioned this in the account of Uḥud.

THE SMALLER EXPEDITION TO BADR: This is known as “Badr of the Rendezvous”<sup>362</sup> on account of a promised meeting with Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. The Messenger of God went out in Sha‘bān of the year 4 and stayed there | for eight nights, waiting for Abū Sufyān. It happened to be the time of the market, which was large, so the Muslims traded at the market and made a good profit. The hypocrites said to the believers when they left for the rendezvous with Abū Sufyān: “They killed you at your own homes; so what will happen if you

361 This notice combines details from three separate incidents, separated here by inserting [...] between them. Either al-Ya‘qūbī has conflated them, or, more likely, the copyist of M, who is noticeably more prone to error in this section, has omitted material separating them. There are references to a cattle raid by Kurz b. Jābir, without mention of a place called Qarqarat al-Kudr, in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 423; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 4; and al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 12. The incident involving Abū Sufyān and one of the chiefs of the Banū al-Naḍir is connected with another expedition (al-Sawīq); see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 543–544; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1364–1367; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 20; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 181–182. Finally, an expedition to Qarqarat al-Kudr to deal with a reported massing of the tribes of Sulaym and Ghaṭafān is mentioned in al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 182–184 and Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 21. Specific evidence of text omitted by homeoteleuton can be found in the sentence beginning “This was because ...” (*wa dhālika anna ...*), which is not logically connected to what precedes. The copyist may have jumped from a sentence giving the reason for the expedition in pursuit of Mikdar b. Jābir to a sentence in the next section giving the reason for the expedition of al-Sawīq, omitting everything between, and something similar seems to have caused the second omission.

362 Arabic *Badr al-Maw’id*. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 666–668; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 384–391; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 42–43; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1457–1460.

come to them on their own territory, when they have gathered against you? By God, you will never come back!" The believers replied: "God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is He." Concerning this, God revealed: "Those to whom the people said, 'The people have gathered against you, therefore fear them'; but it increased them in faith, and they said, 'God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is He.' So they returned with blessing and bounty from God, untouched by evil; they followed the good pleasure of God; and God is of bounty abounding."<sup>363</sup> The Messenger of God came back, having encountered no trickery. Abū Sufyān broke his promise to them. "This is a year of drought," he said. "People of Quraysh, only a year of abundant vegetation in which you can pasture the camels on shrubs and drink milk is suitable for you. I intend to go back." So they went back after he had reached Marr al-Ẓahrān.

THE EXPEDITION TO TABŪK: The Messenger of God traveled with a large army to Tabūk, which is located in the land of Syria,<sup>364</sup> to avenge the blood of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. He sent to the chiefs of the tribes and clans, summoning them to war and arousing their interest in *jihād*.<sup>365</sup> The Messenger of God urged [the people of wealth to spend],<sup>366</sup> and they made great expenditures and strengthened those who were weak. The Messenger of God said, "The best kind of charity is the effort<sup>367</sup> of those who have little."

Men who came to be known as "the Weepers" came asking him to provide them with mounts: they were Haramī b. [ʿAbdallāh of the Banū]<sup>368</sup> ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, Sālim b. ʿUmayr, ʿAmr<sup>369</sup> b. al-Ḥumām, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb, and Ṣakhr b. Salmān.<sup>370</sup> He said, "I cannot find anything | on which to mount you."

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<sup>363</sup> Qurʾān 3:173–174.

<sup>364</sup> Located, that is, to the north in the area known to the Arabs as al-Shaʿm. Tabūk lies about 550 km/342 mi northwest of Medina, east of the Gulf of Aqaba, from which it is separated by the Ḥismā mountains, and about 125 km/78 mi south of the present border between Jordan and Saudi Arabia. See the article by M. A. al-Bakhit in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tabūk. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 893–913; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 989–1025; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 118–121; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1693–1705.

<sup>365</sup> The term *jihād* (striving, sc. in the way of God) is fraught with controversy. One can begin with the article by E. Tyan in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djihād*.

<sup>366</sup> The bracketed words are added from the parallel in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 896.

<sup>367</sup> Arabic *jahd* (effort) is etymologically related to *jihād*.

<sup>368</sup> The bracketed words are based on Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 895–896; there is a lacuna in the MSS. Ibn Hishām mentions seven men.

<sup>369</sup> Correcting MSS ʿUmayr on the basis of Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 896.

<sup>370</sup> MSS Sālim, corrected on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, s.v.



Some rich men came asking him to excuse them, saying, "Leave us to be with those who stay behind." God the Exalted therefore said, "They were well-pleased to be with those behind."<sup>371</sup> They were al-Jadd b. Qays, Mujammī' b. Jāriya, and Khidām b. Khālid. The Messenger of God gave them permission, but God, the Mighty and Exalted, said to His Prophet:<sup>372</sup> "God pardon you! Why did you give them leave?"<sup>373</sup>

The Messenger of God set out on the first day of Rajab in the year 9.<sup>374</sup> He left 'Alī as his deputy in charge of Medina. He appointed al-Zubayr to be bearer of the standard of the Emigrants, Ṭalḥa to be in charge of the right wing, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf to be in charge of the left wing. The women and children came out to bid him farewell at the place where the road crosses the mountain, and so it came to be known<sup>375</sup> as Farewell Pass (*Thaniyyat al-Wadā'*).

While the Messenger of God was traveling, the men suffered great thirst. "Messenger of God," they said, "if you prayed to God, He would give us something to drink." So he prayed to God, and He gave them to drink.

The Messenger of God arrived at Tabūk in Sha'bān.<sup>376</sup> Yuḥanna b. Ru'ba, the bishop of Ayla,<sup>377</sup> came to him, made a treaty with him, and paid the poll-tax.<sup>378</sup> He wrote him a written document.

As the Messenger of God was returning, the people of the mountain pass<sup>379</sup> lay wait for him, intending to frighten his camel.<sup>380</sup> So he said to Ḥudhayfa, "Make them go aside, and tell them, 'Either you go aside, or I will call you by your names and the names of your fathers and clans.'" Ḥudhayfa shouted at them.

371 Qur'ān 9:87 = 93.

372 The words "to His Prophet" are written interlineally in M; omitted in ed. Leiden.

373 Qur'ān 9:43.

374 October 14, 630.

375 Reading with M *fa-summiyat*, instead of ed. Leiden's conjecture *fa-sammāhā* (so he named it).

376 Sha'bān is the month following Rajab, that is, sometime after November 13, 630.

377 Ayla, modern Eilat, is at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. See the article by H. W. Glidden in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ayla.

378 Arabic *jizya*: the poll-tax, which, in traditional Islamic law, is levied on non-Muslims in Muslim states. See the article by Cl. Cahen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḍjizya*.

379 "The people of the mountain pass" (Arabic *aṣḥāb al-'aqaba*). The parallel in al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1042–1044, makes it clear that *al-'aqaba* has its general meaning here and is not the name of a specific place. The account in al-Wāqidī identifies them as hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*) from Medina who had gone along on the expedition. This explains Muḥammad's threat to reveal their identities, exposing them to retaliation. According to one account, they had veiled their faces, but Ḥudhayfa recognized their mounts.

380 And cause it to throw its rider or fall from the mountain trail.

His departure took place in Rajab, and he returned in Ramaḍān.<sup>381</sup> Ḥudhayfa used to say, “Indeed, I know their names and the names of their fathers and tribes.”

### The Commanders of the Raiding Parties and Armies

The Messenger of God sent out the commanders over the raiding parties and armies and tied banners and standards for them.<sup>382</sup> The first such was Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was in charge of a raiding party to the seacoast.<sup>383</sup> Others say that the first of the commanders was ‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib,<sup>384</sup> who was in charge of | a raiding party to Thaniyyat al-Mara<sup>385</sup> with sixty or eighty riders from the Emigrants; none of the Anṣār was among them. He traveled as far as a watering-place in the Ḥijāz at the foot of Thaniyyat al-Mara, where he encountered a large group of the Quraysh. No fighting took place, except that Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ shot an arrow on that day; it was the first arrow that was shot in Islam. Then the two groups separated. The Muslims had a line of defense. Al-Miqdād b. ‘Amr al-Bahrānī, who was an ally of the Banū Zuhra, and ‘Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir al-Ḥārithī, who was an ally of the Banū Nawfal, came [to it].<sup>386</sup> Both were Muslims, but they had gone out in an attempt to reach [the Muslims] by means of the unbelievers.<sup>387</sup> ‘Ikrima b. Abī Jahl was in charge of the enemy force.

[He sent out] Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ in charge of a raiding party to al-Kharrār, which is a watering-place near al-Juhfa.<sup>388</sup> Sa’d captured some camels belong-

381 Ramaḍān of 9 A.H. began on December 12, 630.

382 Tying a banner to a spear marked the commissioning of a military commander.

383 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 416–418; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 9–11; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 2–3; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1265–1267.

384 M and ed. Leiden: b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, corrected in ed. Leiden, *Addenda et emendanda*.

385 The name means al-Mara Pass. The account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1265, adds that it is near al-Juhfa, which Yāqūt places on the road from Mecca to Medina, four stages from Mecca.

386 That is, al-Mara Pass.

387 That is, the two men, who were Muslims living in Mecca, accompanied the pagan Meccans only in order to make contact with the Muslims and join the community in Medina. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1267, makes this clear. The translation by W. Montgomery Watt & M. V. McDonald, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, VII, 12—“They were Muslims, but they had gone to try to effect a reconciliation between the unbelievers and the Muslims”—is incorrect. See ed. Leiden of al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. The verb *tawaṣṣala* often implies the use of deception or stratagems to arrive at a goal.

388 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 422; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 11; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 3; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1265–1266.

ing to the Banū Ḍamra. The latter sent word to the Messenger of God, who returned the camels because of the pact between them and him.

[He sent out] Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib in charge of a raiding party to the seacoast in the vicinity of al-‘Īṣ,<sup>389</sup> with thirty riders from the Emigrants; none of the Anṣār was among them. He encountered Abū Jahl b. Hishām, who had three hundred Meccan riders with him. Majdī b. ‘Amr al-Juhanī intervened between them—he was on friendly terms with both sides. The men separated from each other, and there was no fighting.

[He sent out] ‘Abdallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri‘āb in charge of a raiding party to Nakhla<sup>390</sup> with eight men from the Emigrants; none of the Anṣār was among them. He wrote him a letter and commanded him not to look at it until he had traveled for two days; then he was to look at it | and carry out what he was commanded, but he was not to compel any of his companions. Having traveled for two days, ‘Abdallāh b. Jaḥsh opened the letter to look at it. It read: “When you look at this letter of mine, proceed until you halt at Nakhla, between Mecca and al-Ṭā’if, to observe the Quraysh there and to find out what they are doing.” So he proceeded, and his companions went with him; none of them stayed behind. When he halted at Nakhla, a caravan belonging to the Quraysh passed by him, carrying raisins, hides, and trade goods; ‘Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī was with it. They fought him and took two men prisoner. The two were the first of the polytheists to be taken prisoner. The enemy escaped. [The raiding party] took what they had with them. The Messenger of God set aside a fifth of the camels and distributed the rest of them to his companions. It was the first fifth (*khums*) that was divided in Islam.

2:72

He sent out Marthad b. Abī Marthad, an ally of Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, in charge of a raiding party to a group of men.<sup>391</sup> This took place as follows. A group of men from al-‘Aḍal and Dīsh—the two are clans of [the tribe of] al-Hūn b. Khuzayma—came to the Prophet and said, “Messenger of God, among us there are some who have accepted Islam, so send some of your companions with us to instruct us and to teach us to recite the Qur’ān.” So he sent with

389 Al-‘Īṣ is four nights’ journey from Medina and two nights’ journey from Dhū l-Marwa (a village in Wādī al-Qurā, the long valley extending north from Medina toward Syria). Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 419; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 9–10; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 2; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1265.

390 Nakhla (Date Palm) is the name of several places near Mecca, but the text identifies it as lying between Mecca and al-Ṭā’if. Parallels with more details: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 423–427; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 13–19; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 5; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1273–1279.

391 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 638–648; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 354–363; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 39–40; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1431–1437.

2:73 them Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī, Khālid b. al-Bukayr (an ally of the Banū ‘Adī), ‘Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abī l-Aqlaḥ al-‘Amrī, Zayd b. Dathinna al-Bayāḍī, ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāriq al-Zafarī, and Khubayb b. ‘Adī al-‘Amrī. When they were at a watering-place called al-Rajī‘, which belongs to [the tribe of] Hudhayl, a certain man went out, made his way to the Hudhayl, and said: “There are a group of Muḥammad’s companions here. Would you like us to take them, plunder them, and sell them to the Quraysh?” Before the Muslims knew what was happening, there were men with swords in their hands. “Submit as captives,” [they said,] | “and you shall have a pact and covenant. We will not kill you, but we will sell you to the Quraysh.” Marthad, who was the commander of the men, cried out, along with ‘Āṣim and Khālid. They called to the men, drew their swords, and prepared to fight. For their part, Khubayb, ‘Abdallāh, and Zayd yielded and surrendered. Their companions fought fiercely. Marthad and Khālid b. al-Bukayr were killed. ‘Āṣim b. Thābit fought until he was killed.

[He sent out] Zayd b. Hāritha al-Kalbī, a client of the Messenger of God, [in charge of a raiding party to Qarada].<sup>392</sup> After the Messenger of God returned from the smaller expedition to Badr, where he had expected a rendezvous with Abū Sufyān, the Quraysh, fearing to follow their route to Syria by way of Badr, abandoned that route and followed the Iraq route. Abū Sufyān and Abū l-‘Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘ set out for Syria with a Quraysh caravan carrying great wealth. The Messenger of God sent out and intercepted them and the contents of the caravan. The men left fleeing—Abū Sufyān and his companions—and outdistanced them. Zayd brought back the wealth. He took prisoner Mu‘āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī l-‘Āṣ, the grandfather of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Some say that he brought him back. Abū l-‘Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘ came, entered Medina, and sought protection with Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God.<sup>393</sup> [When the Messenger of God had prayed] the morning prayer, Zaynab cried out, “Behold, I have granted protection to Abū l-‘Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘.” The Messenger of God said, as he was leaving, “Have you heard?” “Yes,” they said. He said: “I have granted protection to whomever she grants protection. The least of believers may grant protection against the greatest of them.” He arose and, going into the presence of the two of them, said: “Let him not depart from you. Lodge him generously.” He returned to him what had been taken from him, and he went

392 The bracketed words were added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 547–548. Cf. also al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 197–198; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 63; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1373–1375.

393 Zaynab had been married to Abū l-‘Āṣ, who was the nephew of Muḥammad’s wife Khadija, before Muḥammad began to receive revelations. Abū l-‘Āṣ remained a pagan. The accounts of his relations with Zaynab vary. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1346–1351.

back to Mecca. He returned to every claimant what was rightfully his. Then Abū l-ʿĀṣ accepted Islam and returned to the Messenger of God, who restored Zaynab to him by virtue of the original marriage. |

2:74

Again [he sent out] Zayd b. Ḥāritha in charge of a raiding party to al-Jaḥūm or al-Jamūm.<sup>394</sup> He captured a woman from the tribe of Muzayna named Ḥalīma, and she guided them to one of the encampments of the Banū Sulaym, where they captured cattle and prisoners. Among the prisoners was Ḥalīma's husband. When Zayd came back with her, the Messenger of God granted the woman from Muzayna her husband and her life.<sup>395</sup>

Another time, he put Zayd in charge of an army against the [tribe of] Judhām.<sup>396</sup> When [Diḥya] b. Khalifa al-Kalbī came back from the court of the Byzantine emperor,<sup>397</sup> he passed through the territory of Judhām, where al-Hunayd b. ʿĀriḍ<sup>398</sup> al-Judhāmī attacked him and stripped him of everything he had with him. A group of Muslims overtook [al-Hunayd], recovered what he had taken from [Diḥya b. Khalifa], and handed it over to Diḥya. The Messenger of God sent out Zayd b. Ḥāritha, who took prisoners and killed [men]. He took al-Hunayd and his son and beheaded them.

He sent Zayd out again in charge of an army to Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>399</sup> Umm Qirfa, the daughter of Rabīʿa b. Badr<sup>400</sup>—her husband was Mālik b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr—had sent forty men of her clan to [attack] the Messenger of God and had said, “Enter Medina against him.” The Messenger of God sent out

394 Parallels: al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1555; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 5; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 62, all of whom read al-Jamūm.

395 That is, her freedom.

396 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 975–979; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 63–64; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1555–1556, 1561–1568.

397 The account in al-Ṭabarī identifies Diḥya b. Khalifa as a Muslim whom Muḥammad had sent to the court of the emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641 C.E.), who was in Palestine at the time, to deliver a letter inviting Heraclius to accept Islam. The account in Ibn Hishām simply says that Diḥya was coming back from “Caesar, king of the Greeks ... with some merchandise.”

398 Variant: al-Hunayd b. ʿUṣ (note ed. Leiden).

399 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 979–980; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 564–565; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 65–66; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1557–1559.

400 Ed. Leiden and M read Zayd rather than Badr (twice), corrected by Houtsma on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī. Al-Wāqidī reads Zayd rather than Badr for the grandfather of Umm Qirfa; however, the correction of the name of her husband's grandfather (not mentioned by al-Wāqidī) is almost certainly correct, as Ḥudhayfa b. Badr was a well-known chief of the Banū Fazāra. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fazāra.

2:75

Zayd b. Ḥāritha with horsemen. He met them<sup>401</sup> in Wādī al-Qurā, where his companions were driven back; Zayd himself was carried away wounded from among the slain. He vowed that he would not wash or anoint himself until he raided them. He asked the Messenger of God to send him against them, and the latter sent him with a large troop of horsemen. The two sides met in Wādī al-Qurā and fought fiercely. The Banū Fazāra were defeated and slain. Umm Qirfa was captured on that day, and he killed her | cruelly by splitting her asunder between two young camels. Her daughter fell to the lot of Qays b. al-Muḥassir. The Messenger of God requested her as a gift from him for his maternal uncle Ḥazn b. Abī Wahb b. ‘Ā’idh b. ‘Imrān b. Makhzūm, and she gave birth to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥazn.

Once [he sent him] in charge of a fifteen-man force [to] al-Ṭaraf against the Banū Tha‘laba.<sup>402</sup> The Bedouins fled, fearing that the Messenger of God had set out against them. Zayd took twenty camels from their herds. There was no fighting between them.

[He sent out] al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr al-Anṣārī in charge of a raiding party to Bi‘r Ma‘ūna.<sup>403</sup> The reason for this is that Asad b. Ma‘ūna came to the Messenger of God bringing a gift from his uncle Abū Barā’ b. Mālik, “the Player with spearheads.” He gave him two mares and some fine camels—he was friendly toward the Prophet. The latter, however, said, “By God, I will not accept the gift of a polytheist.” Labīd b. Rabī‘a<sup>404</sup> said, “I never imagined that a man from Muḍar would turn away the gift of Abū Barā’.” So the Prophet said, “If I were to accept a gift from any polytheist, I would accept it from him.” [Asad] said, “He seeks healing from you from an ulcer in his stomach that has overcome him.” The Messenger of God took a lump of clay and passed it over his tongue. [Asad] then mixed it<sup>405</sup> with water and gave it to him to drink, and it was as if he had been loosed from a shackle. Abū Barā’ had asked the Messenger of

401 That is, the Banū Fazāra, the tribe of Umm Qirfa.

402 Parallels: al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 555; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 63; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1555.

403 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 648–652; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 346–352; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 36–39; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1441–1448.

404 Labīd b. Rabī‘a was one of the most admired pre-Islamic poets. He is said to have come to Medina as part of his tribe’s delegation in A.H. 9 (some five years after the Bi‘r Ma‘ūna incident) and to have accepted Islam. See the article by C. Brockelmann in *EF<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Labīd b. Rabī‘a. The words of Labīd are cited here for their proverbial content, with no implication that he was present. “A man from Muḍar” might simply mean “an Arab,” Muḍar being the eponymous ancestor of one of the largest groups of northern Arabian tribes; in several *ḥadīths*, however, Muḥammad says, “I am of Muḍar.” See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 2–3, for examples.

405 Amending the text of ed. Leiden and M (*daffahā*), which makes no sense, to *dāfahā*. The

God to send to him a group of his companions to instruct them in the religion and acquaint them with the laws of Islam. The Messenger of God said, "I fear that the Banū 'Āmir will kill them." Abū Barā' sent word that they would be under his protection, and so the Messenger of God sent to him al-Mundhir b. 'Amr with twenty-nine of his companions, most of whom were veterans of Badr. They were attacked by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl,<sup>406</sup> | who was followed by three clans of the Banū Sulaym—Ri'l, Dhakwān, and 'Uṣayya—whom the Messenger of God cursed for this reason. 'Āmir approached Ḥarām b. Milḥān while he was reading out the letter of the Messenger of God and struck him with a spear. Milḥān said, "God is most great! I have won Paradise." The men fought with each other fiercely. The Banū Sulaym outnumbered them, and they were killed to the last man, except for al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, who said to them, "Let me pray over my brother Ḥarām b. Milḥān." They said yes, so he prayed over him; then he took a sword, hastened toward them, and fought them until he was killed. Al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma said: "I am not so desirous of my life as to avoid a path that al-Mundhir took. By God, I will go. If he is victorious, I surely shall be victorious. If he is killed, I shall be killed." So he went and was killed. 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl freed As'ad b. Zayd al-Dīnārī<sup>407</sup> in place of [the freeing of] a slave that had been incumbent upon his mother. 2:76

He sent out Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa to al-Balqā' in the land of Syria. They suffered a disaster at Mu'ta. We have already presented an account of what happened to them.

The Messenger of God sent out Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh al-Kalbī to the Banū Mudlij, who were allies of his.<sup>408</sup> They are the ones about whom God said:

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confusion seems to have arisen from the fact that al-Ya'qūbī is paraphrasing the same account that al-Wāqidi gives in detail. Al-Wāqidi has the Prophet, after taking the lump of clay, give instructions in the imperative for its use, "Mix it (*duḥā*) with water and give it to him to drink." In converting the imperative to the past tense, al-Ya'qūbī has made a spelling error of one letter.

406 One of the chiefs of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a. Al-Ya'qūbī mentions him briefly below (ed. Leiden, 2:86) as later heading his tribe's delegation (*wafḍ*) to Muḥammad, ostensibly to accept Islam, adding that "he went back without accepting Islam." According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1745–1747, his real intention on that occasion was to assassinate Muḥammad; for which reason he received the title of "Enemy of God" (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 939).

407 Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī, al-Wāqidi, and Ibn Sa'd give 'Amr b. Umayya [al-Ḍamrī] as the name of the prisoner whom 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl freed.

408 No parallel accounts of this and the following three incidents have been found. Each ends in an enigmatic saying by Muḥammad referring to a particular tribe, and they seem to form a unit.

2:77

“Or those who come to you with breasts constricted.”<sup>409</sup> They said, “We are not against you and we are not for you,” and they did not respond to him. So the people said, “Attack them, Messenger of God!” But he said: “They have a well-mannered chief who will only take | what is best in his affair. When they sacrifice, they make blood flow; when they say *labbayka*,<sup>410</sup> they raise their voices. Many a fighter from the Banū Mudlij will be a martyr in the way of God.”

He sent out Numayla b. ‘Abdallāh al-Laythī to the Banū Ḍamra. He returned to the Messenger of God and said: “Messenger of God, they said, ‘We will not make war on him or make peace with him; we neither attest to his truthfulness nor call him a liar.’” So the people said, “Messenger of God, attack them!” But he said: “Leave them, for among them are numbers and nobility. Many a righteous shaykh from the Banū Ḍamra will be a fighter in the way of God.”

He sent out ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Banū l-Dīl. He returned to the Messenger of God and said: “Messenger of God, I overtook them while they were in flight, and I came to them while they were in their dwellings. I summoned them to God and His Messenger, but they refused in the strongest terms.” So the people said, “Attack them, Messenger of God!” But the Messenger of God said: “Leave the Banū l-Dīl. Beware! Indeed their chief has already prayed and accepted Islam. He will say, ‘Accept Islam,’ and they will say yes.”

The Messenger of God sent out ‘Abdallāh b. Suhayl b. ‘Amr al-‘Āmirī with five hundred men to the Banū l-Maʿīṣ, Muḥārib b. Fihr, and those near them on the seacoast. He encountered them at al-Madtharā.<sup>411</sup> When he fell upon them, he summoned them to Islam. A group came back with him. The Messenger of God said, “Lo,<sup>412</sup> the district of faith is like the trunk of a date-palm: the first of it is sweet, and the last of it is sweet.”

409 Qurʾān 4:90. The verse comes at the end of a passage concerning “hypocrites,” not taking them as friends, and fighting them “if they turn their backs,” “except those that betake themselves to a people who are joined with you by a compact, or come to you with breasts constricted from fighting with you or fighting their people.” (Arberry translation.) No other texts have been located asserting that this passage refers to the Banū Mudlij or giving more details of the incident.

410 That is, when they come to Mecca as pilgrims and recite the traditional pilgrim’s greeting to the Kaʿba, *Labbayka Allāhumma labbayka* (At your service, O God, at your service).

411 The reading and vocalization are uncertain. The reading used here is that of ed. Leiden (the vocalization is conjectural). Houtsma suggested emending to al-Madrāʾ, which is attested as the name of several places. M omits the dots over the *thaʾ*, and codex Schaefer puts two dots under the letter, making it a *yāʾ* (al-Madīrā, or perhaps to be read as a diminutive al-Mudayrāʾ, but neither is attested).

412 The text and its meaning are uncertain. For the *hāʾ* (lo) of ed. Leiden, cod. Schaefer reads *tihāma* (Tihāma, a lowland district along the coast of the Red Sea). M has an undotted



He sent out Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of an army to Dhāt al-Qaṣṣa, where there were men from [the tribes of] Muḥārib, Tha'labā, and Anmār.<sup>413</sup> Abū 'Ubayda and his companions | set out by night, marching until morning. The enemy fled at the sight of them, leaving their camels behind, and so they plundered their possessions. They took one man and brought him to the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God divided everything into five parts: he took the fifth part and distributed the remainder to the members of the detachment. The man accepted Islam, so he let him go.

2:78

[He sent out] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in charge of an army to Zabya,<sup>414</sup> a village near al-Ṭā'if, but he encountered no intrigue.

[He sent out] 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in charge of an army to Fadak.<sup>415</sup> Word had reached the Messenger of God that there was a force there that intended to aid the Jews of Khaybar. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib traveled by night and hid during the day, until he attacked them at dawn and killed them.

[He sent out] Abū<sup>416</sup> l-'Awjā' al-Sulamī in charge of an expedition. Everyone in the expedition died as a martyr; not one of them returned.

[He sent out] 'Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥurthān al-Asadī (of the tribe Asad b. Khuzayma) in charge of an expedition to al-Ghamr.<sup>417</sup>

[He sent out] Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl al-Makhzūmī to Qaṭan.<sup>418</sup>

[He sent out] Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī, a member of the Banū Ḥāritha, in charge of an army to al-Quraṭā', which belonged to the tribe of Hawāzin.<sup>419</sup>

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tooth letter (*b, t, th, n, or y*) followed by the letters *hā'* and *alif*, probably to be read *bihā*, in/by it.

413 Parallel in al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 552; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 62. Yāqūt so vocalizes the toponym; ed. Leiden vocalizes it as Dhū l-Quṣṣa.

414 The reading is Houtsma's conjecture. The MSS read Zaytha (or Raytha). Houtsma also considered Runniyya a possible reading.

415 Parallels: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:556; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 562–563; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 65. See the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fadak, on the subsequent history of the place.

416 MSS Ibn: corrected by Houtsma on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, which says that the expedition was against the Banū Sulaym. However, al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 6, 741, and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 89, give the name as Ibn Abī l-'Awjā' and date the expedition to Dhū l-Ḥijja of 7 A.H. They also say that although Ibn Abī l-'Awjā' was wounded, he managed to return to Medina.

417 Sic MSS. Houtsma corrects to al-Ghamra, but the reading al-Ghamr is supported by al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 4, 550; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 61.

418 Details in al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 340–346; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 35. Qaṭan is a mountain near Fayd in Najd, some 250 km northeast of Medina.

419 Parallels: al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 534–535; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 56. In al-Wāqidī the place is vocalized as al-Qurṭā'; in Ibn Sa'd as al-Quraṭā'.

[He sent out] Bashīr b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī in charge of an expedition to Fadak.<sup>420</sup> All of his companions met with disaster; not one of them returned. Then he sent Ghālīb b. 'Abdallāh al-Mulawwaḥī<sup>421</sup> to deal with the enemy, and he brought back Mirdās b. Nahīk al-Fadakī. |

On another occasion [he sent him] to Marūḥān<sup>422</sup> in the territory of Khaybar.

[He sent out] 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa al-Anṣārī in charge of an expedition [to Khaybar]<sup>423</sup> twice. One of the expeditions [was against] the companions of the Jew al-Yusayr b. Rizām and his companions.<sup>424</sup> Al-Yusayr was gathering the tribe of Ghaṭafān to attack the Messenger of God.

[He sent out] 'Abdallāh b. Unays al-Anṣārī against [Khālīd b. Sufyān b.] Nubayḥ, [who was gathering men] to attack the Messenger of God, and he killed him.<sup>425</sup> Some say that it was not an expedition, but that he was alone.

[He sent out] 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī in charge of an army to the Bal'anbar,<sup>426</sup> whom he attacked while the men were away from their encampment. He brought back the female captives and set them apart in the mosque. Their men rode<sup>427</sup> to him; having entered the mosque, they shouted, "Muḥammad, come out to us!" Among them were Bassāma b. al-A'war

420 Parallels: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1592; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 723–726; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 86.

421 Thus in the MSS. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 973–975, mentions Ghālīb b. 'Abdallāh al-Kalbī, whom Muḥammad sent on another occasion to raid the Banū l-Mulawwaḥ at al-Kadīd, and the error seems to have arisen from confusion on the part of al-Ya'qūbī.

422 The reading and vocalization are uncertain. Thus M; ed. Leiden Ṣarūḥān, with note in *Addenda* referring to a reading of Farūḥān in Codex Schefer.

423 Added from the parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 980–981; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1759–1760. Cf. al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 566–568; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 66–67, where the Jew's name is given as Usayr b. Zārim.

424 Thus in the MSS. The first occurrence of "companions" seems to be a copyist's error for some other word.

425 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 981–982; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 531–533; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 35–36; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1760–1761. Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd give the name as Sufyān b. Khālīd b. Nubayḥ.

426 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 983; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1762, both of whom use the full form of the tribe's name: Banū l-Anbar (a subgroup of the Banū Tamīm); also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 119–120.

427 The MSS read *kataba* (wrote), which Houtsma corrected to *rakiba* (rode). The MSS reading may make sense if one vocalizes *kattaba* (form a squadron). As the glossary to the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī, 446, notes, this is sometimes used without an object. One might understand the original reading to mean, "Their men gathered a contingent to go to him (or to attack him)," or possibly, "Their men came in a contingent to him."

and Samura<sup>428</sup> b. ‘Amr. God, the Mighty and Exalted, has said: “And if they had had patience, until you came out to them, that would have been better for them.”<sup>429</sup> The Messenger of God came out to them, and they questioned him. They asked him to appoint Samura b. ‘Amr as mediator and to give them one-third, defer one-third, and take one-third. We have been told that the Messenger of God said, “Anyone who wishes to free one of the children of Ismā‘īl, let him free one of these.”

[He sent out] Ka‘b b. ‘Umayr al-Anṣārī in charge of an expedition to Dhāt Aṭlāḥ<sup>430</sup>—some say Dhāt Abātiḥ.<sup>431</sup> All died as martyrs; no one returned from the expedition. |

2:80

The Messenger of God sent ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in charge of an army to Dhāt al-Salāsil in the land of Syria, where there were people from the Banū ‘Udhra, Balī, and tribes from Yemen.<sup>432</sup> With him were Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. He gave ‘Amr money and said, “Seek the assistance of anyone you can get.” When he drew near the enemy, he forbade the men to light a fire; this was burdensome for the Muslims because it was very cold. He said, “The Messenger of God commanded you to listen to me and obey.” They spoke to Abū Bakr about this. Abū Bakr went to ‘Amr, but the latter would not allow him to enter. So Abū Bakr shouted, “You son of a woman seller of cloaks, come out to me!” ‘Amr refused, so Abū Bakr said, “You son of a woman tanner, come out to me!” He refused. When it was daybreak, ‘Amr led the men in an attack, struck the enemy, and was victorious. He said to Abū Bakr, “What do you think of the judgment of the son of a woman seller of cloaks?” ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ led the men in prayer even though he was ritually unclean. When they returned to the Messenger of God, Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ told him, whereupon ‘Amr said, “Messenger of God, it was very cold, and if I had washed myself, I should have died.” The Messenger of God laughed.

428 Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī: Sabra.

429 Qur’ān 49:5.

430 M, C al-Ṭalāḥ. Parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1762, al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 752–753; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 92, which locate Dhāt Aṭlāḥ in “Syria,” that is, north of Medina. Yāqūt locates it in Wādī al-Qurā.

431 Following Cod. Schefer and M. Ed. Leiden originally read Anātiḥ, but corrected this in its *Addenda et emendanda*.

432 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 984–987; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 6, 769–774; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 94–95; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1604–1605. Ibn Sa’d locates Dhāt al-Salāsil ten days’ journey north of Medina.

[He sent out] ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī in charge of an expedition to Iḍam.<sup>433</sup> He encountered ‘Āmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ al-Ashja‘ī, whom Muḥallim b. Jaththāma b. Qays attacked and speared. ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn brought suit before the Messenger of God against Muḥallim for ‘Āmir’s blood-money. The Messenger of God made half payable immediately and deferred half. Muḥallim b. Qays stood up and said, “Messenger of God, ask forgiveness for me.” The Messenger of God said: “You killed a Muslim. May God curse you.” Muḥallim died just five days later.

[He sent out] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf in charge of an expedition against the Kalb.<sup>434</sup> The Messenger of God put a black turban on him and let it hang down in front and behind. “Turban yourself thus,” he said, “for it is better and neater.” He commanded him that, if God granted him victory, he would marry him  
2:81 to the daughter | of their chief. God did grant him victory, and so he married Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣṣbagh, who was reconciled for one-fourth of the price, for eighty thousand dinars.<sup>435</sup>

When [the Messenger of God] set out for Tabūk, he commanded ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ...<sup>436</sup>

433 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 987–991; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 6, 777–780, 796–797; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 96; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1607–1610. Yāqūt lists a number of places with the name. Al-Wāqidi and Ibn Sa’d note that the raiding party to Iḍam was intended to divert attention from Muḥammad’s march on Mecca, implying that Iḍam did not lie on the direct route between Medina and Mecca.

434 The expedition was to the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal. Parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 991–992; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 560–562; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 64–65 and 8:218–220 (biography of Tumāḍir); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1556.

435 The meaning unclear. Possibly, one-fourth of the tribute from Dūmat al-Jandal was reserved for her as a dowry; none of the parallel accounts clarifies the matter.

436 A considerable section of text has fallen out of the mss. Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 897 (parallel with al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1696): “The Messenger of God left ‘Alī behind to look after his family, and ordered him to stay with them. The hypocrites spoke evil of him, saying that he had been left behind because he was a burden to the Messenger of God and he wanted to get rid of him. On hearing this, ‘Alī seized his weapons and caught up with the Messenger of God as he halted in al-Jurf and repeated to him what the hypocrites were saying. He replied: ‘They lie. I left you behind because of what I have left behind, so go back and represent me in my family and yours. Are you not content, ‘Alī, to stand to me as Aaron stood to Moses?—except that there will be no prophet after me.’ So ‘Alī returned to Medina and the Messenger of God went on his way.”

**[Those Whom the Messenger of God Sent Out to Collect the Alms Payments (*Ṣadaqāt*)]<sup>437</sup>**

Al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya was his commander over Ṣanʿā'. Ziyād b. Labīb al-Bayāḍī was over Ḥaḍramawt and its alms payments. 'Adī b. Ḥātim was in charge of the alms payments of Ṭayyī'. Mālīk b. Nuwayra al-Yarbū'ī was in charge of the alms payments of the Ḥaṇẓala. Al-Zibriqān b. Badr and Qays b. 'Āṣim were in charge of the alms payments of the Banū Sa'd. [He sent] 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the people of Najrān, to gather their alms payments and collect their poll tax. He sent out Khālīd b. al-Walīd in charge of an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal.<sup>438</sup> 'Attāb b. Asīd b. Abī Umayya was in charge of Mecca. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was in charge of Najrān. Yazīd b. Abī [Sufyān] was in charge of Taymā'. Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya was in charge of Ṣanʿā'—the Messenger of God died while he was in charge of it. 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya was in charge of the villages of 'Arabiyya.<sup>439</sup> Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya was in charge of al-Khaṭṭ in al-Baḥrayn. Al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayṭ [was sent] to the [Banū] l-Muṣṭaliq, and a lie [about his intentions] was told to them—we have mentioned the report about him in [our account of] the raid on the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq. Al-'Alā', an ally of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, was in charge of al-Ghuṭayf in al-Baḥrayn. Mu'ayqīb b. Abī Fāṭima al-Dawsī<sup>440</sup> was in charge of the spoils.<sup>441</sup> Abū Ranam<sup>442</sup> al-Ghifārī was his commander in charge of Medina when he attacked Khaybar—some give his name as Abū | Ruhm Kulthūm b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ghifārī. Abū Ruhm<sup>443</sup> al-Ghifārī was also in charge of al-Medina during the conquest of Mecca. His commander over the pilgrimage season while the people were still in a state of polytheism was 'Attāb b. Asīd: 'Attāb stood [at 'Arafāt] with the Muslims; the polytheists stood by themselves. Abū Bakr was his commander over the

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437 Parallel: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1750.

438 These two sentences ("[He sent] 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the people of Najrān, to gather their alms payments and collect their poll tax. He sent out Khālīd b. al-Walīd in charge of an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal.") refer to expeditions and interrupt the list of people in charge of collecting the alms of various places. The text may have been disturbed.

439 MSS 'Araniyya or 'Azaniyya. Houtsma emends on the basis of Bekrī, *Geogr. Wörterb.* (ed. Wüstenfeld), s.v.

440 M: al-Sadūsī.

441 One would expect the name of a place, but no reference to a place called al-Ghanā'im (Spoils) could be found.

442 As Houtsma mentions in a note, the name Abū Ranam (M could be read as Abū Rīm as the middle letter is undotted) is probably to be interpreted as the otherwise unattested *kunya* of Sibā' b. 'Urfaṭa al-Ghifārī. The reading Abū Ruhm occurs in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 810.

443 MSS Abū Rīm, amended by Houtsma.

pilgrimage season in the year 9 A.H. Some of the people were still polytheists, so Abū Bakr stood [at ‘Arafāt] with the Muslims; the polytheists stood aside at their places.

In that year, he sent out ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib with the sura “An Acquittal.”<sup>444</sup> He took it from Abū Bakr. So Abū Bakr said, “Messenger of God, has anything been revealed concerning me?” He said, “No, rather Gabriel has said to me, ‘Only you or a person from your family shall convey this [message].’” So [‘Alī] read it to the people of Mecca—some say that he read it at the distribution of water from the well of Zamzam. He proclaimed a safe conduct. Then he announced that whoever had a covenant from the Messenger of God granting him a term of four months would continue to have his covenant; whoever did not have a covenant had been granted a term of fifty nights.

His commander in charge of the prayers of the delegation of the Thaḳīf was ‘Uthmān b. Abī al-‘Āṣ al-Thaqafī. Mu‘ādh b. Jabal was in charge of part of Yemen. In charge of the booty at the Battle of Badr was Maḥmiya b. Jaz’ b. ‘Abd Yaghūth al-Zubaydī, an ally of the Banū Jumaḥ. Usāma b. Zayd, the *mawlā* of the Messenger of God, was in charge of an army to be sent toward Syria—Abū Bakr | implemented it after the death of the Messenger of God; Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were in the army. Whenever the Messenger of God sent out expeditions or armies, he said: “Attack in the name of God, in the way of God. Fight whoever disbelieves in God. Do not act faithlessly, use treachery, or mutilate; and do not kill a newborn child.”

444 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 919; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1076–1078; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1720–1721. Sura 9 of the Qur’ān is usually known as “Repentance” (*Al-Tawba*), but also called “Acquittal” from its first words: “An acquittal (*barā’u*), from God and His Messenger, unto the idolaters with whom you made covenant.” The sura, said to have been revealed in 9 A.H., begins with an abrogation of treaty obligations toward polytheists participating in the pilgrimage, and was interpreted to mean that henceforth only Muslims could participate in the pilgrimage. Al-Ya’qūbī’s account conflates two contradictory traditions: that the sura (or perhaps only the beginning of it) was revealed after Abū Bakr had set out with the pilgrims to Mecca, so that Muḥammad sent ‘Alī to bring the sura to Abū Bakr; or, alternatively, that Abū Bakr had the sura with him, but that ‘Alī was sent to take it from him and proclaim it at the pilgrimage because of a revelation received by Muḥammad that only a member of his own family should read it.

[The Missions to Foreign Rulers]<sup>445</sup>

The Messenger of God sent to the kings, calling them to Islam. He sent ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī to Kistrā and wrote to him: “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Kistrā, the ruler of Persia. Peace be upon whoever follows right guidance, believes in God and His Messenger, testifies that there is no god but God alone—no partner has He—and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger to all mankind, to warn whoever is alive, and that the word might be fulfilled against the unbelievers.<sup>446</sup> Submit yourself and you shall be safe.<sup>447</sup> If you refuse, the sins of the Magians<sup>448</sup> shall be upon you.”

Kistrā wrote him a letter that he set between two pieces of silk, and he put musk between them. When the messenger handed it to the Prophet, he opened it, took a handful of the musk, smelled it, and gave it to his companions, saying, “We have no need of this silk: it is no part of our clothing.” And he said: “You shall surely enter into my affair, or I will come to you myself and with those who are with me; but God’s command is swifter than that. As for your letter, I know more about it than you. It contains such and such.” He did not open it and did not read it. The messenger returned to Kistrā and informed him. Some say that when Kistrā received the letter—and it was ...<sup>449</sup> ... of leather, he cut it into strips. So the Messenger of God said, “God will utterly tear apart their kingdom.”

He sent Dihya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī to Caesar,<sup>450</sup> to whom he wrote: “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Heraclius, the ruler of the Romans. Peace be upon whoever | follows right guidance. To proceed: I call you with the call of Islam. Submit your-  
self and you shall be safe, and God will give you your reward twice over. ‘Say:

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445 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 971–972; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1559–1575; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 15–86; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:161–165. Concerning the historicity of these reports, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 345–347.

446 Cf. Qur’ān 36:69.

447 Arabic: *Aslīm taslam*: a lapidary utterance involving a play on words. The original meaning of *aslīm* is “submit” (sc. yourself to God), but the noun derived from this verb—*islām*—became the designation for the religion that Muḥammad proclaimed. Hence, *aslīm* also means “become a Muslim.” A further play on words is involved because *taslam*, “you shall be safe” or “you shall be at peace,” is derived from the same Arabic root.

448 *Al-Majūs*, the usual Arabic name for Zoroastrians.

449 There is a lacuna in the MSS. The sense of the first word following the lacuna is unclear.

450 That is, the Byzantine emperor.

“People of the Book! Come now to a word common between us and you: that we serve none but God, that we associate nothing with Him, and that we do not take each other as Lords, apart from God.” And if they turn their backs, say: “Bear witness that we are Muslims.”<sup>451</sup> If you turn your back, the sin of the heretics<sup>452</sup> shall be upon you.”

Heraclius wrote: “To Aḥmad, the Messenger of God whom Jesus foretold,<sup>453</sup> from Caesar, the king of the Romans. Your letter has come to me with your messenger. I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God. We find you in the Gospel that we possess. Jesus the son of Mary foretold you to us. I called on the Romans to believe in you, but they refused. Had they obeyed me, it would have been better for them. I wish I were with you, that I might serve you and wash your feet.” The Messenger of God said, “Their kingdom will remain as long as my letter remains with them.”

451 Qurʾān 3:64.

452 M appears to read *al-risīyyīn*, though the word lacks dots. C, which ed. Leiden follows, was read by Houtsma as *al-rifīyyīn* (those of the countryside), but the context calls for the name of a sinful or heretical group, and no group with such a name is known. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:1565 and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:163, read “the sin of the *Akkārūn*.” *Akkārūn*, plural of *akkār*, appears to be a loanword from Syriac *akkārā*, “plowman, husbandman.” However, the word does not occur in the Qurʾān, and does not appear to have been borrowed into Arabic until later. (See the article by M. A. J. Beg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Akkār*). Guillaume, in his translation of the *Sīra* (p. 655), speculated that this might be reference to the parable of the wicked husbandmen in Matthew 33–41. The text of this letter is also contained in a *ḥadīth* included by al-Bukhārī, “*Jihād*,” 99, 102, where the reading is *al-Arīṣīyyūn*, which the dictionaries (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ʿ-r-s*) gloss as a synonym of *akkārūn*, mentioning an alternative vocalization, *irrisūn*. On the basis of al-Bukhārī, Houtsma therefore emended his main text to read *al-Arīṣīyyīn* (genitive case). Given the parallelism between *al-Arīṣīyyīn* and *al-Majūs* in the letter to Kisrā, the word probably refers to a religious sect or heresy. One suggestion is that it is a loan from Syriac *heresis* (from Greek ἁρσις) and that *al-risīyyīn* (or *al-irīṣīyyīn*) are simply “people of heresy, heretics.”

453 The names Aḥmad and Muḥammad are derived from the same root and both mean “highly praised.” Cf. Qurʾān 61:6, where Jesus says to the Jews that he brings “good tidings of a messenger who comes after me, whose name is Aḥmad.” Muslims came to believe that Jesus had foretold Muḥammad’s coming and that the refusal of Christians to recognize him was due to blindness or perverseness. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 149–150, finds a prediction of the coming of Muḥammad in the Gospel of John, 15:23 ff. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:1141, mentions that one of the pre-Islamic monotheists of Mecca predicted the coming of a prophet named Aḥmad from the descendants of Ismāʿīl. See the article by J. Schacht in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Aḥmad*.



He sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus;<sup>454</sup> Shujā' b. Wahb to al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shimr al-Ghassānī;<sup>455</sup> Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'a to al-Muqawqis,<sup>456</sup> the governor of Alexandria; Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī to Dhū l-Kalā' al-Ḥimyarī;<sup>457</sup> al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā of the Banū Tamīm in al-Baḥrayn;<sup>458</sup> 'Ammār b. Yāsir to al-Ayham b. al-Nu'mān al-Ghassānī; Salīṭ b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams al-Āmirī to the two sons of Hawdha b. 'Alī al-Ḥanafī in al-Yamāma; al-Muhājir b. Abī<sup>459</sup> Umayya to al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Kulāl al-Ḥimyarī; Khālīd b. | 2:85  
al-Walīd to the Banū<sup>460</sup> al-Dayyān and the Banū Qanān; and 'Amr b. al-Āṣ to Jayfar and 'Abbād, the sons of al-Julandā, to Oman. He wrote to them all as he had written to Kisrā and Caesar. And [he sent] Salīm b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī to Ḥaḍramawt.

He sent men from among his companions to kill certain polytheists. He sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to kill Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, but he did not kill him.<sup>461</sup> He sent Muḥammad b. Maslama, Abū [Nā'ila]<sup>462</sup> Silkān b. Salāma, 'Abbād b. Bishr, Abū 'Abs b. Jabr, and al-Ḥārith b. Aws to kill Ka'b b. al-Ashraf the Jew, and they killed him among the al-Naḍir.<sup>463</sup> He sent 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa to al-Yusayr b. Rizām, the Jew of Khaybar, and he killed him.<sup>464</sup> He sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Atīk, Abū Qatāda b. Rib'ī, Khuzā'ī b. al-Aswad, Mas'ūd b. Sinān—Ibn 'Atīk

454 The ruler of Ethiopia. See note 81 above.

455 That is, to the ruler of the Banū Ghassān, an Arab tribal kingdom in Syria. The Ghassānids were Monophysite Christians and ruled a client state of the Byzantine Empire. See the article by Irfan Shahīd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghassān.

456 Al-Muqawqis refers to the Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus "of the Caucasus," who arrived in Egypt in 631. See the article by K. Öhrnberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muqawqis. The account, which places the mission in 627–628, involves an anachronism.

457 That is, one of the rulers of Yemen. Dhū l-Kalā' was one of the most powerful tribes of Yemen on the eve of Islam, and its chief, Samayfa', appears in al-Ṭabarī's history during the reign of Abū Bakr.

458 See the article by M. J. Kister in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mundhir b. Sāwā (Sāwī is a variant), for a summary of what the sources say about the mission. Al-Mundhir, the chief of the tribal division Dārim of Tamīm, had close relations with the Persian empire and controlled the market of Ḥajar (now al-Ḥasā) and al-Baḥrayn.

459 Omitted in M.

460 Supplied from M.

461 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 992–994; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1437–1441.

462 Supplied from Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 551.

463 That is, they killed him in the part of Medina inhabited by the Jewish tribe of Banū l-Naḍir. Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, whose mother was from the Banū l-Naḍir, composed verses against Muḥammad after the Battle of Badr. Parallel: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 548–553; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1368–1373; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 184–193.

464 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 980–981; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1759–1760.

was their commander—to kill Sallām b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq, and they killed him at Khaybar.<sup>465</sup> He sent someone to kill Ibn Abī [Ḥad'a<sup>466</sup>] and said to the person, "If you find him alive, kill him and burn him with fire." He found him when he had been bitten by a snake, and he died. He sent 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad to kill Rifā'a b. Qays al-Jushamī, and he killed him.<sup>467</sup> He sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to kill Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya, and he killed him.<sup>468</sup>

### The Deputations of the Arabs Who Came to the Messenger of God

Deputations of the Arabs came to him, each tribe having a headman who led the delegation.<sup>469</sup> | The Muzayna came, their head being Khuzā'ī b. 'Abd Nuhm;<sup>470</sup> the Ashja', their head being 'Abdallāh b. Mālik; [the Aslam,] their head being Burayda; the Sulaym, their head being Waqqāṣ b. Qumāma; the Banū Layth, their head being al-Ṣa'b b. Jaththāma; the Fazāra, their head being 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn; the Banū Bakr, their head being 'Adī b. Sharāḥīl; the Ṭayyi', their head being 'Adī b. Hātim; the Bajila, their head being Qays b. Ghurba; the Azd, their head being Ṣurad b. 'Abdallāh; the Khath'am, their head being 'Umays b. 'Amr; the deputation of a group of the Ṭayyi', their head being Zayd b. Muḥalhil, who is [known as] Zayd al-Khayl;<sup>471</sup> the Banū Shaybān [...];<sup>472</sup> and [the 'Abd al-Qays,] their head being al-Ashajj al-ʿAṣarī. Then came the deputation of al-Jārūd b. al-Mu'allā, and the Messenger of God made him governor of his

465 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 714–716; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1375–1383; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 391–395.

466 Thus in M and ed. Leiden, written with no diacritical points. The name is unknown.

467 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 989–991; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1607–1609; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 777–780.

468 The report in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 590–591, gives three accounts of the death of Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra after the Battle of Uḥud, none of them involving 'Alī; similarly, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1430–1431, does not mention 'Alī, nor does al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 332–334.

469 The histories refer to A.H. 9 as "The Year of Deputations/Delegations (*Wufūd*)."<sup>470</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 933–965; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 38–86; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1706 ff. *passim*. For a summary of the various delegations or deputations, see the article by M. Lecker and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Wufūd*.

470 Corrected by Houtsma from MSS Khuzā'a b. 'Abdallāh. Houtsma's note in the apparatus (translated from the Latin) reads: "It should be noted that nearly all the names in this section are corrupt; to which an even worse problem is added: a lacuna that is not indicated." The translation follows Houtsma's corrected text.

471 That is, Zayd of the Horses.

472 The sense requires a lacuna here, but there is no space in the MSS.

people. The kings of Ḥimyar—al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd Kulāl, Nu‘aym b. ‘Abd Kulāl, and al-Nu‘mān, the prince of Dhū Ru‘ayn—sent deputations to announce their acceptance of Islam. They wrote to the Messenger of God announcing their acceptance of Islam, and he sent Mu‘ādh b. Jabal to them. The ‘Ukl came, their head being Khuzayma b. ‘Āṣim; the Judhām, their head being Farwa b. ‘Amr; the Ḥaḍramawt, their head being Wā’il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī; the al-Ḍibāb, their head being Dhū l-Jawshan; and the Banū Asad, their head being Ḍirār b. al-Azwar (some say Nuqāda b. al-‘Āyif). ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl came with the Banū ‘Āmir, but he went back without accepting Islam; Arbad b. Qays also went back without accepting Islam. The Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b came, their head being Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Madān; the Banū Tamīm, | headed by ‘Uṭārid b. Ḥājib, al-Zibriqān b. Badr, Qays b. ‘Āṣim, and Mālīk b. Nuwayra; the Banū Nahd, headed by Abū Laylā Khālīd b. al-Ṣaq‘ab; the Kināna, their heads being Qatan and Anas, the sons of Ḥāritha, of the Banū ‘Ulaym; the Hamdān, their head being Ḍimām b. Mālīk; the Thumāla and the al-Ḥuddān, a subdivision of the Azd, their head being Maslama b. Hazzān al-Ḥuddānī; the Bāhila, their head being Muṭarrīf b. Kāhin al-Bāhili; the Banū Ḥanīfa, with whom came Musaylima b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥanaṭī;<sup>473</sup> the Murād, their head being Farwa b. Musayk; and the Mahra, their head being Mahrī b. al-Abyaḍ.

2:87

### [The Prophet's Scribes]

He wrote to the heads of the tribes, calling them to Islam. His scribes who wrote down the revelation, letters, and treaties were ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana, ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d b. Abī Sarḥ, al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, Zayd b. Thābit, Ḥanzala b. al-Rabī‘, Ubayy b. Ka‘b, Juḥaym b. al-Ṣalt, and al-Ḥuṣayn al-Numayrī.<sup>474</sup>

He wrote to the people of Yemen:<sup>475</sup> “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is a letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to the people of Yemen. I praise God to you, | apart from whom there is no god. Your

2:88

473 Musaylima, who later claimed to be a prophet and went down in Islamic history as “Musaylima the Liar,” was killed during the caliphate of Abū Bakr. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Musaylima.

474 Parallel: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1782.

475 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 955–957; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1718–1720; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 68–72.

messenger reached us on our arrival from the land of the Romans and met us in Medina. He conveyed to us the message you sent and informed us of what has taken place among you. He reported to us that you have accepted Islam and that God has guided you aright—if you do well, obeying God, obeying His Messenger, performing the prayer, paying alms (*zakāh*), giving from the spoils God's fifth, the Prophet's share, and the *ṣaḥī*,<sup>476</sup> and [paying] the poor tax (*ṣadaqa*) that is incumbent upon the faithful—namely, a tenth of [the produce of] whatever is watered without irrigation<sup>477</sup> or that the heavens water, and one-half of a tenth of whatever is watered by buckets; from each camel flock of forty a young female ready to be saddled that has not borne a second foal; in each [flock of] twenty-five, a one-year-old camel; for every thirty camels, a two-year-old camel;<sup>478</sup> for every twenty camels, four ewes; for every forty cattle, one cow; for every thirty cattle, a male yearling or a two-year-old female; for every forty sheep, one ewe—this is God's ordinance that He has made incumbent on believers. If anyone does more in the way of good, it will be to his credit. Whoever gives this, is made to bear witness to his Islam, and backs the believers against the unbelievers is one of the believers: he has God's promise of safety and the promise of safety of His Messenger, Muḥammad, the Messenger of God.<sup>479</sup> Any Jew or Christian who accepts Islam is one of the believers: he has the same rights as they and the same obligations. Anyone who holds fast to his Judaism or Christianity shall not be made to change his religion, but shall pay the poll-tax (*jizya*): for every adult male or female, free or slave, a full dinar's worth of Ma'āfirī [cloth] or its substitute.<sup>480</sup> Whoever pays that to the Messenger of God, has God's promise of safety and the promise of safety of

476 The *ṣaḥī* is the portion of spoils that the chief chooses for himself before the spoils are divided.

477 The parallels in Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī read, “whatever is watered by a spring.” The version here reads, “whatever *al-baʿl* waters.” *Baʿl*—ultimately the same word as the Canaanite god of rain, Baal—is a term for any crops not in need of artificial irrigation.

478 For an explanation of the terms used for “one-year-old camel” (*ibn makhād*) and “two-year-old camel” (*ibn labūn*), see Lane, *Lexicon*, 7:2694, s.v. *makhād*.

479 Literally, “he has God's *dhimma* and the *dhimma* of God's Messenger.” As used here, *dhimma* means “a promise of safety” and is synonymous with *amān*. Later usage reserved the term *dhimmī* for non-Muslims resident in Muslim lands as protected aliens. Here, however, it refers to new Muslim converts.

480 The formula appears to mean that the poll-tax was to be paid in Ma'āfirī cloth (a kind of Yemeni cloth named after the tribe that produced it) worth one dinar or its equivalent. The text however, may be corrupt. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1719, has: “one full dinar, or its value in Ma'āfirī [cloth], or its substitute in clothes.”

His Messenger; anyone who withholds it is an enemy of God, His Messenger, and the believers. The Messenger of God is the trustee<sup>481</sup> of your rich and your poor. The poor-tax (*ṣadaqa*) is not lawful for Muḥammad or his family; it is an alms (*zakāh*) that you pay to the poor believers for the sake of God. Mālik b. Murāra<sup>482</sup> | has communicated the report and kept what is secret. I command 2:89 you to treat him well. I have sent to you one of the most righteous of my people, of those who possess the book among them, and those who possess knowledge among them. I command you to treat him well, for he is one who is looked to.<sup>483</sup> Peace!" The messenger who carried the letter was Mu'ādh b. Jabal.

He wrote to Hamdān:<sup>484</sup> "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is a letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to 'Umayr Dhū Murrān and to those of Hamdān who have accepted Islam. You are at peace!<sup>485</sup> I praise God to you—God, apart from whom there is no god. To proceed: I received word of your acceptance of Islam upon our return from the land of the Romans. Rejoice, for God has guided you with His guidance. If you testify that there is no god but God and Muḥammad is God's servant and messenger, perform the prayer, and give alms (*zakāh*), you shall have God's promise of safety and His Messenger's promise of safety for your lives, your property, and the unsown land on which you accepted Islam—its plain, its mountains, its springs, and its water-courses—being neither wronged nor straitened. The poor-tax (*ṣadaqa*) is not lawful for Muḥammad or his family; it is an alms (*zakāh*) that you pay from your property for the poor of the Muslims. Mālik

481 Literally, "the *mawlā* of your rich and your poor." For a discussion of the various meanings of the word (here in the sense of trustee, helper, defender), see the article by A.J. Wensinck and P. Crone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mawlā*.

482 So corrected by Houtsma from MSS Murāda. The parallels in Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī refer to Mālik b. Murra.

483 The meaning of the Arabic (*fa-innahū manẓūrun ilayhi*) is unclear. Being "looked-to" can be a way of saying that someone or something is of importance. It can also mean that a person will be called to account or is specially favored.

484 A large tribe in Yemen. Parallel in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 963.

485 The Arabic (*silmun antum*) involves a play on words with implications for the meaning of *Islām* as the designation of Muḥammad's religion. The letter is addressed to "those of Hamdān who have accepted Islam" (*man aslama min Hamdān*). If one interprets *aslama* as "enter into a state of peace," and translates "those of Hamdān who have entered into a state of peace: you are at peace," the progression of ideas becomes clear. *Islām*, the verbal noun of *aslama*, would have the primary meaning of "entering into a state of peace" (sc. with God). The term *silmi* is discussed in de Goeje's edition of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, Glossary, 33.

b. Murāra al-Rahāwī has kept what is secret and communicated the report. I command you to treat him well, for he is one who is looked to.” ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib wrote the letter.

He wrote to Najrān:<sup>486</sup> “From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to the bishops of Najrān. In the name of God, I praise to you the God of Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, and Jacob. To proceed: I call you to the worship of God from the worship of human beings.<sup>487</sup> I call you to God’s guardianship from the guardianship of servants. If you refuse, then it is the poll-tax (*jizya*). If you refuse, I declare war on you. Peace!”

2:90 He wrote to the people of Hajar:<sup>488</sup> “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger | of God, to the people of Hajar. You are at peace! I praise God to you, apart from whom there is no god. To proceed: I urge you by God and your souls that you not go astray hereafter, when you have been guided, and that you not be misled hereafter, when you have been on the right way. To proceed: Your deputation came to me, and I did to them only what gave them joy. If I had exerted my full right among you, I would have expelled you from Hajar; but I accepted the intercession of those of you who were present and bestowed favor on those of you who were absent. Remember God’s grace to you. To proceed: I have received word of what you have done. Whoever of you acts well, I<sup>489</sup> will not hold him responsible for the guilt of the wrongdoer. When your commanders come to you, obey them and help them to do God’s command and in His way. Any of you who does a good deed, it will not be lost for him with God or with me. To proceed: Mundhir b. Sāwā, my messenger has praised you to me, and I will reward you for your deed, God willing.”

486 A city in northern Yemen with a large Christian community. See the article by Irfan Shahīd in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Najrān. The translation follows the corrected text in the margin of M.

487 Literally, “from the worship of servants [of God].” Addressed to Christians, this is a summons to cease worshipping Christ, whom Muslims hold to have the nature of a servant, like all human beings. The letter echoes Qur’ān 19:30, where Christ says, “Lo, I am God’s servant.” This is followed by verse 35: “It is not for God to take a son unto Him,” and by a strongly anti-Christian passage in verses 88–93, where the Christian claim that God has “taken” to Himself a “son” (*walad<sup>an</sup>*) is contrasted with the doctrine that everything “in the heavens and earth shall come to the All-merciful as a servant (*‘abd<sup>an</sup>*).”

488 The largest town at the time in the eastern part of Arabia, now known as al-Ḥasā. See the article by F. S. Vidal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥasā. Parallel: al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 79–80.

489 Reading with M *aḥmilu* (first person) instead of ed. Leiden *yuhmalu*, “he will not be held responsible ...”

The people of Najrān came to him.<sup>490</sup> Their head was Abū Ḥāritha, the bishop, and with him were al-ʿĀqib, al-Sayyid, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, Kūz, and Qays b. al-Ayham.<sup>491</sup> They came to the Messenger of God. When they entered, they displayed brocade and crosses and entered in such guise as no one had ever entered. The Messenger of God said, “Let them.” So they met the Messenger of God. They consulted with him all day and asked him all sorts of questions. Abū Ḥāritha asked, “Muḥammad, what do you say about Christ?” He replied, “He is God’s servant and messenger.” Abū Ḥāritha said: “May God be exalted above what you have said, Abū Qāsim. He is such and such.”<sup>492</sup> | Concerning them, the following was revealed:<sup>493</sup> “Truly, the likeness of Jesus, in God’s sight, is as Adam’s likeness; He created him of dust, then said He unto him, ‘Be,’ and he was. The truth is of God; be not of the doubters. And whoso disputes with thee concerning him, after the knowledge that has come to thee, say: ‘Come now, let us call our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, ourselves and yourselves, then let us humbly pray and so lay God’s curse upon the ones who lie.’” So they agreed to such a contest.<sup>494</sup> The next morning Abū Ḥāritha said, “See who comes with him.” The Messenger of God came early that morning, holding the hand of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, followed by Fāṭima, and with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib before him. Al-ʿĀqib and al-Sayyid came with two of their sons wearing pearls and jewels, and they stood around Abū Ḥāritha. Abū Ḥāritha said, “Who are these who are with him?” They said, “This is his cousin, this is his daughter, and these two are their<sup>495</sup> sons.” The Messenger of God knelt on

490 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 401–411; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 84–85; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 63–68; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1740; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:223–224.

491 The note in ed. Leiden calls the text badly corrupted. Al-ʿĀqib and al-Sayyid are titles, not given names. The parallel in Ibn Hishām reads: “A deputation from the Christians of Najrān came to the Messenger of God. There were sixty riders, fourteen of them from their nobles of whom three were in control of affairs, namely (a) the ʿĀqib, the leader of the people, a man of affairs, and their chief adviser whose opinion governed their policy, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ by name; (b) the Sayyid, their administrator who saw to transport and general arrangements, whose name was al-Ayham; and (c) their bishop, scholar, and religious leader who controlled their schools, Abū Ḥāritha b. ʿAlqama, one of the Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil.” Ibn Hishām identifies Kūz as the brother of Abū Ḥāritha and also mentions Qays.

492 The Arabic formula *kadhā wa-kadhā* (such and such) is a way of saying that he spoke at length.

493 Qurʾān 3:59–61.

494 Literally, they agreed to *mubāhala*. The original meaning of the word is “mutual imprecation, mutual cursing” (that is, “May God’s curse be over the one of us who is wrong or lies”). The article by W. Schmucker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mubāhala*, discusses the episode.

495 Reading *ibnāhumā* with M; ed. Leiden has *ibnāhā*, “her two sons.”

his knees and then bowed down. Abū Ḥāritha said, “By God, he knelt as the prophets kneel for calling down a curse.” Al-Sayyid said to him, “Approach, Abū Ḥāritha, for the mutual calling down of curses.” However, Abū Ḥāritha said: “I see a man adept at calling down curses. I fear that he may have spoken the truth; and if he has spoken the truth, before the year is out there will be not one Christian in the world eating food.” Then Abū Ḥāritha said, “Abū Qāsim, we will not engage in a contest of curses with you; we will pay you the poll-tax.” So the Messenger of God made peace with them on the basis of two thousand suits of clothing worth an *uqīyya*, the value of each suit being forty dirhams, with anything that exceeded or fell short being taken into account.<sup>496</sup>

2:92 The Messenger of God wrote a letter to them: “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is a letter from the Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Najrān and its dependencies. Concerning everything white, yellow,<sup>497</sup> fruit, and slave: he has bestowed it all on them, save two thousand suits of clothing worth an *uqīyya*, the value of each | suit being forty dirhams, with whatever exceeds or falls short to be taken into account: one thousand in Ṣafar and one thousand in Rajab. They shall be liable for thirty dīnārs to lodge my messengers [for a month] and whatever is above that.<sup>498</sup> In addition, in each war that may take place in Yemen they shall also be liable for coats of mail as a guaranteed loan. In return for this they shall have God’s protection and Muḥammad’s promise of security. Any of them who shall engage in usury after this year, my promise of security to them is withdrawn.”

Al-ʿĀqib said, “Messenger of God, we fear that you will hold us responsible for the offenses of others.” So he wrote: “No one shall be held responsible for the offense of another.” Witnesses to this were ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib acted as scribe. When they arrived in Najrān, al-Ayham accepted Islam and returned [to Medina] as a Muslim.<sup>499</sup>

496 Either the MSS of al-Yaʿqūbī are defective at this point, or al-Yaʿqūbī himself condensed the report he had before him, as a comparison with the fuller text in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 64–65, shows: “He made peace with the two men (viz. al-Sayyid and al-ʿĀqib) who represented the people of Najrān on the basis of two thousand suits of clothing—one thousand suits in the month of Ṣafar and one thousand suits in Rajab—the value of each suit to be one *uqīyya* (an *uqīyya* is the weight of forty dirhams). If they paid with a suit worth more than an *uqīyya*, the excess would be credited to them; if they paid with something worth less than an *uqīyya*, the shortfall would be subtracted from them.” An *uqīyya*, therefore, is a monetary unit worth forty dirhams.

497 Apparently meaning silver and gold.

498 Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 65: “It is binding on Najrān to provide board and lodging for my messengers for one month or less, and never to detain them for more than a month.”

499 Arabic *wa-aqbalā musliman*. In Ibn Saʿd’s version, two members of the delegation, al-



## The Wives of the Messenger of God

He married twenty-one women—some say twenty-three.<sup>500</sup> He consummated his marriage with some of them, some he divorced, and with some he did not consummate his marriage.

Of those with whom he consummated his marriage, the first was Khadija bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Quṣayy. She bore all his children, except Ibrāhīm. He married no other besides her until she died.

Then he married Sawda bt. Zam‘a b. Qays [b. ‘Abd Shams] b. ‘Abd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ‘Āmir b. Lu‘ayy. He married her in Mecca.

Then he married ‘Ā’isha bt. Abī Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfa. He married her in Mecca and consummated the marriage in Medina.

Then he married Ghaziyya bt. Dūdān b. ‘Awf b. Jābir b. Ḍabāb of the Banū ‘Āmir b. Lu‘ayy.<sup>501</sup> She was Umm Sharīk, who gave herself | to the Prophet. 2:93

Then he married Ḥafṣa bt. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and [grand]daughter of Nufayl b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā al-‘Adawī.<sup>502</sup>

Then he married Zaynab bt. Khuzayma b. al-Ḥārith from the Banū ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa’a. She was called Umm al-Masākīn.<sup>503</sup> Of his wives, none but she and Khadija died while married to him.

Then he married Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf.

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Sayyid (that is, al-Ayham) and al-‘Āqib, return to Medina as Muslims. Another possible meaning is that he turned in the direction that Muslims turn in prayer, that is, toward Mecca, signaling his conversion to Islam. In Ibn Sa’d’s account, when the delegation from Najrān arrives in Medina, they pray in the Prophet’s mosque facing east, which elicits the Prophet’s remark, “Let them.” Al-Ya’qūbī includes the remark, while neglecting to indicate its cause.

500 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 1000–1005; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:7–11, 35–160; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, 1:396–467; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1766–1778; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:233–236.

501 “The genealogy at this point, as quite frequently with our author, differs from the one handed down by others. In emending, I have acted only to correct the errors of scribes as much as was possible through the manuscript.” (Houtsma’s note *ad locum*.) Cf. the accounts of her in Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:110–112; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1774–1775. “Gave herself to the Prophet,” (Arabic: *wahabat nafsahā lil-nabī*) is a legal expression meaning that she offered herself directly to Muḥammad “without the participation of a *walī* (guardian) to negotiate a marriage contract, and without expectation of a dower.” See Stowasser, *Women in the Qur’an, Traditions, and Interpretation*, 87.

502 Following the reading of M; ed. Leiden reads al-‘Abdawī; M has al-‘Adawī, though with a dot under the letter *dāl*.

503 Umm al-Masākīn means the Mother of the Poor.

Then he married Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh b. Riʿāb b. Qays b. Yaʿmur b. Šabra from the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma.

Then he married Umm Salama bt. Abī Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Makhzūm.

Then he married Juwayriya—her name was Barra<sup>504</sup> bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār al-Muṣṭaliqiyya from the Khuzāʿa.

Then he married Šafiyya bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab of the Banū l-Najjār, of the tribe of the prophet Aaron.

Then he married Maymūna bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr al-Hilālī.

Then he married Māriya, the mother of Ibrāhīm.

These are the women with whom he consummated his marriage. Of them, he divorced Umm Sharīk. Of them, he deferred Sawda, Šafiyya, Juwayriya, Umm Ḥabība, and Maymūna, and he lodged ʿĀʾisha, Ḥafṣa, Zaynab, and Umm Salima.<sup>505</sup>

The women with whom he did not consummate his marriage were: Khawla bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayra al-Thaʿlabiyya. She died on the road before reaching him.

Also, Shirāf, the sister of Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī. She was carried to him, but died before reaching him.

2:94 Also, Sanā bt. al-Šalt b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥāritha al-Sulamī. | She died before reaching him.<sup>506</sup>

Also, Rayḥāna bt. Shamʿūn al-Qurayziyya. The Prophet offered her Islam, but she insisted on maintaining her Judaism, so he put her away. Later she accepted Islam, and he proposed marriage to her, and she accepted. When the veil was

504 That is, her name before marriage to Muḥammad. She was among the captives taken in the raid against the Banū Muṣṭaliq, and Muḥammad gave her a new name when he chose her to be his wife.

505 The language refers to Qurʾān 33:51: “You [viz. Muḥammad] may defer whom you will of them, and whom you will you may lodge; and if you seek any you have set aside there is no fault in you.” Normally, Muslim husbands are limited to four wives at any one time, but this restriction was lifted for Muḥammad in his capacity as prophet. Furthermore, Muslim husbands are required to treat each wife equally in terms of conjugal rights, but Muḥammad was exempted from this provision, too. Sawda, Šafiyya, Juwayriya, Umm Ḥabība, and Maymūna had their turns for conjugal relations deferred, although they were not divorced, while ʿĀʾisha, Ḥafṣa, Zaynab, and Umm Salima lived in Muḥammad’s household, sharing his bed and board on equal terms.

506 Reading with M *qabla an taṣila ilayhi*; ed. Leiden reads *qabla an yaṣila ilayhā* (before he reached her).

imposed, she said, “Rather leave me in your possession, Messenger of God.” So she remained in his possession until he died.<sup>507</sup>

Also, Asmā’ bt. al-Nu‘mān al-Kindī of the Banū Ākil al-Murār. She was one of his most beautiful and perfect wives. They—his wives—said to her, “If you wish to find favor with him, take refuge with God when you come into his presence.” When he came in and lowered the curtain, she said, “I take refuge in God from you.” He turned his face away from her and said: “One who takes refuge in God has become safe. Go join your people.” Al-Muhājir b. Umayya al-Makhzūmī was the next husband of Asmā’ bt. al-Nu‘mān al-Kindī; after al-Muhājir, Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī followed as her next husband.

Also, Qutayla bt. Qays b. Ma’dikarib, who was the sister of al-Ash’ath b. Qays b. Fulān.<sup>508</sup> The Messenger of God died before she left to come to him from Yemen. Afterward, ‘Ikrima b. Abī Jahl became her husband.

Also, ‘Amra bt. Yazīd b. ‘Ubayd b. Ru’ās al-Kilābī. He received word that she had leprosy,<sup>509</sup> so he divorced her and did not consummate the marriage.

Also, al-‘Āliya bt. Zabyān b. ‘Amr al-Kilābī, whom he divorced.

Also, al-Jawniyya, a woman from the Kinda, different from Asmā’. Abū Usayd al-Sā’idī brought her to him, and ‘Ā’isha and Ḥafṣa took charge of combing her hair and making her beautiful. One of them said to her, “The Messenger of God likes it in a woman if, when he comes to her and reaches out his hand to her, she says, ‘I take refuge in God from you.’” So she did it; whereupon he put his hand on his face, shielding himself with it. She said,<sup>510</sup> “I have taken refuge.” So he took refuge three | times; then he went out and commanded [Abū] Usayd al-Sā’idī to compensate her with two linen cloths<sup>511</sup> and take her back to her family. People have alleged that she died of grief.

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Also, Laylā bt. al-Ḥaṭīm al-Awsī. She came to him while he was unaware and slapped his shoulder. “Who is this?” he said, “may lions eat him!” She said: “I

507 That is, she remained his slave, and thus did not have to wear the veil.

508 Literally, “the son of so-and-so (*fulān*).” This is strange, since his sister’s name includes that of their common grandfather. It might be derogatory, as some Shi’ite tradition was hostile to al-Ash’ath because of his role at Šiffin. See the articles by H. Reckendorf in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ash’ath, and by Khalid Yahya Blankenship in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Ash’ath b. Qays.

509 Arabic, “she had *bayāḍ*”—literally, “whiteness.” Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1775, uses the same expression, albeit in reference to Asmā’ bt. al-Nu‘mān. Although this could refer to leprosy, the dictionaries do not give this meaning explicitly, and the term frequently refers to eye diseases, such as cataracts, although a qualifying phrase “in the eye” is usually added in such cases.

510 Reading with M *wa-qālat*. Ed. Leiden: “He said, ‘I have taken refuge.’ So she took refuge [Houtsma’s correction of MSS ‘he took refuge’] three times; then he went out ...”

511 The word is written without any dots in the MSS. The reading *rāziqīyyatayn* is conjectural.

am the daughter of al-Ḥaṭīm. My father is called, 'He who feeds the birds.'<sup>512</sup> I have come to offer myself to you." "I accept you," he said. When she went back to her womenfolk, they said to her: "What a bad thing you have done! You are a jealous woman, and the Messenger of God has many co-wives. We fear that you will become jealous, and then he will call down a curse on you and you will perish. So ask him to annul the marriage." So she went to him and asked him for an annulment, and he gave it to her. She went into one of Medina's palm-tree gardens and lions ate her.

Also, Ṣafīyya bt. Bashshāma al-'Anbariyya. He offered her the choice of staying with him or being returned to her people.<sup>513</sup> She chose her people, and so he returned her.

Also, Ḍubā'a bt. 'Āmir al-Qaysiyya. She had been married to 'Abdallāh b. Jud'an. He divorced her, and then Hishām b. al-Mughīra married her and begat Salama of her. The Messenger of God asked her hand from Salama. He said, "I will consult her." She said: "Concerning the Messenger of God?—I agree." However, he found out that she was old, so he abstained from her.

### The Birth of Ibrāhīm, the Son of the Messenger of God

Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God—his mother was Māriya the Copt—was born in Dhū l-Ḥijja of year 8.<sup>514</sup> When he was born, Gabriel came down to the Messenger of God and said, "Peace be upon you, [Abū] Ibrāhīm." The women of the Anṣār competed with each other to nurse him. The Messenger of God gave him to Umm Burda bt. al-Mundhir b. Zayd of the Banū l-Najjār. |  
2:96 The Messenger of God slaughtered a sheep.<sup>515</sup> The midwife who delivered the child was Salmā, a freed bondmaid of the Messenger of God, the wife of Abū Rāfi'. It was Abū Rāfi' who came to the Messenger of God and told him the news, and so the Messenger of God gave him a slave. The wives of the Messenger of God became very jealous because he had been granted a son from her.

<sup>512</sup> Arabic *Muṭ'im al-Ṭayr*.

<sup>513</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1777, notes that she had been taken captive in a raid.

<sup>514</sup> That is, in March or April of 630. Parallels: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 86–93; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1686.

<sup>515</sup> An '*aqīqa*'; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 5:2097: "The sheep, or goat, [generally the latter,] that is slaughtered as a sacrifice for the recently-born infant on the occasion of the shaving of the infant's hair on the seventh day after his birth, and of which the limbs are divided, and cooked with water and salt, and given as food to the poor."

Al-Zuhrī related from ‘Urwa, who related that ‘Ā’isha said: “The Messenger of God came into my room carrying his son Ibrāhīm. ‘Look at how he resembles me!’ he said.—‘I see how he resembles *her*!’—‘Don’t you see how white he is and how plump?’—‘He for whose sole provision the milch-camels are appropriated turns white and fat.’”

Ibrāhīm died in the year 10 at the age of one year and ten months. The sun was eclipsed for two hours of the day. The people said that it had been eclipsed because of the Ibrāhīm’s death, but the Messenger of God said: “The sun and the moon are two of God’s signs. They are not eclipsed for anyone’s death. When you see that, betake yourselves to your mosques.” He also said: “The eye sheds tears and the heart sinks. Truly we are sad because of you, Ibrāhīm, but we will not say anything that would anger the Lord.”

### [The Slaves Whom the Messenger of God Freed]

He freed a number of male and female slaves.<sup>516</sup> Among them were Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. Sharāḥīl; Usāma b. Zayd; Abū Rāfi‘, a Copt who was given to him by al-Muḡawqis; Anasa, who was an Abyssinian; Abū Kabsha, who was a Persian; Abū Lubāba; Abū Laqīṭ; Abū Ayman; Abū Hind; Rāfi‘; Safīna; Thawbān; Ṣāliḥ, who is Shuqrān; Umm Ayman, an Abyssinian woman whom Abū Ṭālib left to him (her name was Baraka; some say it was Khuḍra), or, as some say, whom he inherited from his father.

### [Other Notices]<sup>517</sup>

He used to give a name to everything he owned. His banner was The Eagle; it was black, worked like a *ṭaylasān*.<sup>518</sup> He had a sword called al-Mikhdham, one called al-Rasūb, and his sword | that was always with him, Dhū l-Faqār.<sup>519</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> Parallels: Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 179–180; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1778–1782.

<sup>517</sup> Similar accounts of Muḡammad’s character and personal effects may be found in Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 87–186; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:507 ff.; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1782–1793.

<sup>518</sup> That is, The Eagle (*al-‘Uqāb*) was its name; cf. Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 151: “The banner of the Messenger of God was black; it was called *al-‘Uqāb* (The Eagle).” A *ṭaylasān* is a kind of scarf or shawl.

<sup>519</sup> The sword Dhū l-Faqār (having notches or grooves) passed into ‘Alī’s possession after Muḡammad’s death and then into the possession of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs. See the article

According to one account, Gabriel brought it down from heaven. It was seven spans long and one span wide, and in the middle of it was something like ...<sup>520</sup> It had a silver pommel and a silver shoe [to its scabbard]. It had two silver rings. His spear was al-Muthwī. His lance was al-ʿAnaza; at the feasts he would walk with it before him, saying, “Like this are the character traits of the prophets.”<sup>521</sup> His bow was al-Katūm, his quiver was al-Kāfūr, and his arrows were al-Muttaṣila. His shield was al-Zalūq, and his mail headcloth (*mighfar*) was al-Sabūʿ. His coat of mail was Dhāt al-Fuḍūl, which had two extra pieces of mail.<sup>522</sup> His horse was al-Sakb; another horse was al-Murtajiz, another was al-Sajl, and another was al-Baḥr—he raced the horses and his horse came in first; so he knelt on his knees and said, “It is really *al-Baḥr*, the Sea!” He used to say, “There is blessing in the forelocks of horses.”<sup>523</sup> He had a female camel called al-Qaṣwā, a female camel called al-ʿAḍbāʾ, and a female camel called al-Jadhʿā. He held a camel race and his camel al-ʿAḍbāʾ came in first, ridden by Usāma b. Zayd. The people said, “The Messenger of God has come in first,” but he said, “Usāma has come in first.” His mule al-Shahbāʾ used to be called al-Duldul—al-Muqawqis gave her to him. He had another mule, long and high, called al-Ubliyya.<sup>524</sup> His donkey was al-Yaʿfūr. He had a ewe called Ghaytha whose milk he used to drink. He had a cup called al-Rayyān and one called al-ʿAyr. He had a stick called al-Mamshūq, a tunic<sup>525</sup> called al-Kinn, and a black

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by E. Mittwoch in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhuʿl-Fakār. Other accounts of Muḥammad’s swords in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 171–172; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1786–1787.

520 M has a blank space about one word long.

521 Reading with M *al-nabīyyīn*; ed. Leiden reads *al-sunan* (the precedents, plural of *sunna*) or *al-sanān* (the way, road).

522 “Which had two extra pieces of mail” (Arabic *zardatāni zāʿidatāni*). The words almost certainly are corrupt due to misreading of a rare word (possibly a Persian loan word) for a kind of ring (*zurfin*, pl. *zarāfin*) that seems to be correctly given by Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 173: The mail of the Messenger of God was “Yemeni, fine in texture, having rings (*zarāfin*) such that when it was attached to its rings it did not touch the ground, but when it was allowed to hang loose it touched the ground.” Other accounts of Muḥammad’s armor in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 172–173; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1787–1788.

523 The *ḥadīth* is usually interpreted as encouraging the raising of horses for jihād. Additional material on Muḥammad’s horses, mules, camels, etc. in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 174–178; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1782–1786.

524 The vocalization of the name is unknown. Ublā is attested in Yāqūt as a mountain. It might also be al-Ubulliyya, from the town al-Ubulla, near al-Baṣra in Iraq, or al-Ibiliyya. In M the word is undotted.

525 Reading *jubba* with ed. Leiden; M reads *khibā* [ʾ], a kind of tent, which does not fit the context, or possibly *hibā* [ʾ], a kind of turban.

turban called al-Saḥāb. Abū l-Bakhtarī mentions that he had a leather belt with a buckle and three silver rings like the sphere of the sky. He used to wear cloaks of striped cloth, | white waist-wrappers or upper garments, a cap (*qalansuwa*) of striped cloth, and a tunic (*jubba*) of green silk brocade.<sup>526</sup> He is not someone who [turned aside]<sup>527</sup> from wearing these two things. He did not wear wool until God took him to Himself. He had a pallet of leather. He used to wear a wrap (*milḥafa*) dyed with saffron and wars.<sup>528</sup> He would wear a single wrap (*izār*) that he tied between his shoulders. He used to perfume himself until the perfume would stain his cloak from the place of his head, until the shine of musk could be seen from the part in his hair, and until his coming could be known from afar from the sweetness of his odor, before he could be seen. He used to say that the sweetest perfume was musk. Whenever a perfume was offered to him, he would perfume himself with it. Whenever he wanted to go out of his house, he would comb his hair, arrange it, and put it in order. He used to say, "God likes his servant to have a fine appearance." It is related that he used to wear the *burnus*<sup>529</sup> and the *shamla*.<sup>530</sup> He had two garments of the type called *thawb*.<sup>531</sup> He used to wear a signet-ring and turn the silver of its bezel toward the palm. He wore it on the right hand and on the left hand; he would put it on his middle finger at the joint and would turn it on the fingers of his hand.<sup>532</sup> 2:98

### The Messenger of God's Sermons, Exhortations, and Moral Instructions

He was in the habit of delivering sermons to his companions, exhorting them and teaching them good morals and noble deeds.

The Messenger of God delivered a sermon in which he said: People! Surely you have guideposts; so head toward your guideposts! Surely you have an end;

526 An introduction to the subject of clothing in early Islam can be found in the article by Y. K. Stillman in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Libās.

527 A word appears to have dropped out of the text. Houtsma conjectured that it was *ʿanna*, omitted by haplography because the following word is *ʿan* (from).

528 Wars was a yellow dye from a plant cultivated in Yemen. See the article by Penelope C. Johnstone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wars.

529 The *burnus*, which later came to mean a large hooded cape for men, at this time may simply have been a high cap or hood, although it may also have been a cloak with a hood.

530 The *shamla* was a kind of outer mantle.

531 *Thawb* is a generic word for a gown.

532 Other descriptions of Muḥammad's rings in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 160–166.

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so head toward your end! The believer stands between two dreaded things: a period of time that has passed without his knowing what God has done in it, and a period of time which remains without his knowing what God has ordained for it. Therefore let each person provide for himself from himself, and prepare for his life in the hereafter from his earthly life: in youth before old age, and in | life before death. For, by Him in whose hand is Muḥammad's soul, there is no favor to be requested after death, and no abode after the earthly life other than paradise or the fire.

One day he delivered a sermon in which he said: Between God and any person there is no tie that would cause Him to show favor to that person; neither is there any claim because of which He would divert evil from him, except for that person's obedience to Him and following His pleasure and avoiding His wrath. Surely God—may He be blessed and exalted—follows His own will, though the creatures be averse to it.<sup>533</sup> What God wills, is; and what He does not will, is not. Assist one another in reverence and piety, and do not cooperate in sin and enmity. Fear God, for truly God's retribution is mighty.

The Messenger of God delivered a sermon in which he said: Blessed is the man whose earnings are pure, whose disposition is good, and whose inmost thought is righteous; who expends his excess wealth, but desists from excess in his speech; who holds back his wickedness from people and treats them fairly of his own accord. Whoever knows God, fears God; and whoever fears God, his soul will be vehemently inclined away from this world.<sup>534</sup>

He delivered a sermon one day in which he said: Be mindful of death, for indeed it will seize you by the forelock. If you flee from it, it will overtake you, and if you stand fast, it will seize you ... [It is a \_\_\_\_]<sup>535</sup> following which there is no good, and a separation following which there is no intimacy. Truly, a person shall no sooner set his feet down on the Day of Resurrection than he shall be asked about his life and how he spent it, about his youth and how he wore it out, about his wealth—whence he acquired it and whereon he spent it—and about his *imām* and who he is. God—may He be glorified and exalted—has said, *A day on which We shall summon all people by their imām, and whoever are given their record in their right hand, they shall read their record, and they shall not be wronged (by the breadth of) one date-thread.*<sup>536</sup>

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533 Cf. Qur'ān 9:33 and *passim*.

534 Arabic *shahḥat nafsuḥu 'ani l-dunyā*: "His soul will be niggardly/miserly away from this world," that is, will so vehemently desire the things of the next world that it will turn away from the things of this world.

535 The Leiden editor assumed a lacuna, but M shows no gap or break.

536 Qur'ān 17:71.



He said: Whoever looks to the one who is superior to him in religion, so as to follow his example, and looks to the one who is below him in the earthly life, so as to praise God for that by which He made him superior—God has recorded him as grateful and long-suffering. But whoever looks in his religion to the one who is inferior to him, and looks in his earthly life | to the one who is superior to him, so as to feel sorry about the degree to which God favored the other—God will not record him as grateful or as long-suffering.

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He said: Whoever is given a grateful heart, a tongue that mentions (God), an abstinent body, and a virtuous wife has been given this world and the next.

He said: Desire for this world begets care and sadness, but renunciation of it soothes the heart and the body.

He said: Happiness is (found) in two things: obedience (to God) and piety.

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: “Sufficient in My eyes is the believer in whose heart is true faith and whose intention is sincere godliness: I make his very sleep to be a (good) work, and his silence to be a mentioning (of God).”<sup>537</sup>

He said: Whoever does to people what they like, but challenges God with what He dislikes, shall meet God while He is angry with him and sorrowful.

He said: God is pleased with three things from you, and finds three things hateful: He is pleased that you worship Him and do not associate anything with Him, that you all hold fast to His rope and do not become disunited, and that you remain loyal to those to whom He has entrusted your governance. He finds hateful in you gossiping, begging, and the squandering of wealth.

He said: A man says, “My property! My property!” But the only part of your property that is truly yours is that which you have eaten and consumed, or worn and worn out, or given away and spent.

He said: This world is sweet and verdant, and God has asked you to work in it, so pay attention to how you behave.

He said: The dearest of you to me, and those of you who will be seated nearest to me on the Day of Resurrection, are the best of you in morals, who are friendly, sociable, and sought out by others; and the most loathsome of you to me, and those of you who will be seated farthest from me on the Day of Resurrection, are the garrulous and long-winded.

A man said to him, “Counsel me, Messenger of God.” He replied: Remember death often and it will ease you from the world; be grateful and you will be

537 A *ḥadīth qudsī*, or saying attributed by Muḥammad to God but not part of Qurʾān. On this phenomenon see William A. Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam*.

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increased in grace; appeal to God often, for you do not know when (your prayers) will be granted to you; beware of injustice, for God—may He be glorified and exalted—has decreed that | He will help whoever is treated unjustly; and beware of double-dealing, for God has decreed that double-dealing will only bring evil on those who practice it.

He was asked, “Which works are the best?” He replied: Avoiding forbidden things, and keeping your tongue continually moist from mentioning God—may He be glorified and exalted. He was asked, “Which companions are the best?” He replied: The one who reminds you when you forget and who helps you when you call. He was asked, “Which people are the worst?” He replied: Scholars, when they are corrupt.

He said: When the sinful person of a tribe is their chief, and the leader of a people is the basest of them, and the man who is most honored is the one who is feared for his evil, expect misfortune.

He said: Whoever defends his brother’s flesh in his absence deserves to have God—may He be glorified and exalted—make his flesh immune to the fire.

He said: God—may He be blessed and exalted—said: “Son of Adam, through My will you used to will for yourself what you wanted, through My desire you used to desire for yourself what you desired, through My power you performed My ordinances, and through My grace you were capable of disobeying Me; so I am more worthy of your good deeds than you are, and you are more deserving of your misdeeds than I am for that reason. Surely I shall not be questioned about what I do; it is they who will be questioned.”<sup>538</sup>

He said: God has required the rich to give what suffices the poor; therefore, if the poor go hungry, God is entitled to call the rich to account and to throw them headlong into the fire of hell.

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: Verily I did not enrich the wealthy person because of any honor he has with Me, but rather it is something by which I have tested the rich; were it not for the poor, the rich would not be worthy of paradise.<sup>539</sup>

He said: There are four things that ensure paradise to whoever comes before God with any one of them: whoever gives a thirsty head something to drink, or feeds a hungry belly,<sup>540</sup> or clothes a naked piece of skin, or manumits a captive slave.<sup>541</sup>

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538 A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

539 A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

540 Literally, “liver.”

541 Literally, “neck.”

He said: Every eye shall be sleepless on the Day of Resurrection except three: the eye that was sleepless in God's way, the eye that was averted from the things God has forbidden, and the eye that overflowed with tears from fear of God.

He said: | God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: “My servant, when you pray what I have required of you, you are the most worshipful of people; and when you are satisfied with what I have provided for you, you are the richest of people.”<sup>542</sup> 2:102

He gathered the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and said: Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, spread peace and treat your kinsmen kindly, keep prayer vigils at night while people are asleep, nourish people with food, and be sweet in speech, and you will enter paradise in peace.

He said: Four things are among the treasures of piety: keeping one's needs secret, keeping one's alms secret, keeping one's pain secret, and keeping one's misfortune secret.

He said: Those of you who shall stand closest to me on the morrow<sup>543</sup> are those of you who are truest in speech, those of you who are best disposed to carry out what is entrusted to them, those of you who are most loyal in their commitments, those of you who are best in morals, and those of you who are closest to the people.

He said: Keeping a (good) deed secret is harder than the deed itself; a man may do a (good) deed in secret, but Satan keeps at him until he talks about it or makes it known, so that it becomes publicly praised; and then it is recorded (with God) as eye service.<sup>544</sup>

He said: The hallmarks of hypocrisy are lack of tears, hard-heartedness, persistence in sinful behavior, and covetous desire for the earthly life.

He said: The generous person is close to God, close to mankind, close to paradise, and far from the fire. The miser is far from God, far from mankind, far from paradise, and close to the fire.

He said: When the innermost thoughts of a servant (of God) and that which he does in public are on the same level, God says: “This is truly My servant.”

He said: The believer is he who mixes his forbearance<sup>545</sup> with his knowledge, who speaks in order to be understood, who sits down in order to learn, and

542 A *ḥadīth qudsī* not found in Graham, *Divine Word*, but cf. no. 22.

543 Arabic, *ghadan fī l-mawqif*, a reference to Judgment Day, when the souls of the dead will be reawakened and gathered before God at the “standing” (*mawqif*) in anticipation of judgment.

544 Arabic, *al-riyāʿ*, that is, something done for worldly fame rather than purely to please God; cf. Qurʾān 107:5.

545 Arabic, *ḥilm*, a term for a complex of virtues “ranging from serene justice and moderation

who keeps silent in order to remain blameless. He speaks of his faithfulness to friends, but conceals his bearing witness before enemies, and does no true duty out of a desire to be seen, nor leaves it undone out of embarrassment, to the point that when he acts righteously he fears what they will say and asks forgiveness for that which they do not know. The hypocrite is not troubled by the saying of the one who forbids, nor does he avoid (the forbidden), and he commands that which he does not do. | When he gets up to pray, [...];<sup>546</sup> when he kneels (in prayer), he lies down; when he prostrates himself, he makes a sound;<sup>547</sup> and when he sits (at the end of prayer) he is happy.<sup>548</sup> In the evening he is concerned about food, though he has not fasted; and in the morning he is concerned about sleep, even though he has not stayed up at night (praying). If he speaks to you, he lies to you; if he makes you a promise, he goes back on his word; if you trust him, he betrays you; and if he becomes your ally, he slanders you (behind your back).

He said: Whoever exerts himself for his earthly life harms his life in the hereafter; but God protects from anxiety whoever exerts himself for his life in the hereafter.

He said: Whoever considers how his words stand in relation to his deeds speaks little, except about matters that truly concern him.

He said: Beware of debating with someone seduced<sup>549</sup> (by the world), for the argument of such a person has a respite (only) until the completion of his term, and when that is completed, his seduction<sup>550</sup> will burn him in the fire.

He said: Cursing a Muslim is outrage, fighting against him is unbelief, defaming<sup>551</sup> him is disobedience to God—may He be glorified and exalted—and his property is as inviolable as his blood.

He said: Shyness is part of belief, and belief leads to paradise; but foul speech is part of coarseness, and coarseness leads to hellfire. God—may He be glorified

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to forbearance and leniency, with self-mastery and dignity of bearing standing between these extremes." (Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *ḥilm*).

546 The Leiden editor assumed a lacuna; M shows no gap, but appears to have a marginal note referring to this place in the text.

547 Reading with M, *naqara* (to make a sound by snapping the fingers, or by smacking the tongue across the palate). This was also the emendation to C's *nafaza* (he leaps up) suggested by the Leiden editor.

548 Reading *su'ida* as in ed. Leiden; M has *sha'ara* (perceives), which would yield *saj'* (assonance) with the reading *naqara*.

549 Reading *maftūn* with M, for ed. Leiden *muftīn* (those who deliver legal rulings).

550 Arabic, *fitna* (seduction) also means temptation, error, etc.; it also refers to burning in fire, or melting metals in fire in order to test their purity.

551 Arabic *akl lahmihi*: literally, "eating his flesh."

and exalted—loves the person who is shy, mild-tempered, modest, and decent; but God hates the person who is obscene, demanding, and pushy. The virtue that is most quickly rewarded is piety, and the evil that is most quickly punished is conceitedness.<sup>552</sup>

He said: Shall I not tell you who the worst of you are? They replied, “Yes indeed, Messenger of God.” He said: The ones who spread slander, who come between loved ones, who seek to disgrace the innocent. But whoever refrains from (harming) peoples’ honor, God Himself will pardon him; [and] whoever restrains his anger at people, God will restrain his punishment from him on the Day of Resurrection.

He said: How evil is the man with two faces and two tongues, who praises his brother to his face but tears into him when apart from him! If his brother is given something, he envies him; and if his brother is afflicted, he forsakes him.

He said: God has declared heaven forbidden to the envious, the calumniator, and | the one addicted to wine.

2:104

He said to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: Cling to truthfulness, and never let a lie come out of your mouth; to piety, and never dare to commit treachery; to the fear of God, as if you saw Him; and to weeping from dread of God, and He will build you a house in paradise for every tear; and to following my example.<sup>553</sup>

He said: The fortunate person is whoever was (already) fortunate in his mother’s womb, but the unfortunate one is whoever serves as a warning to others. The shrewdest of shrewd things is godliness, and the stupidest of all follies is debauchery. The most evil of sayings is the lie, and the most evil of matters are innovations.<sup>554</sup> The worst blindness is blindness of heart, and the worst regret is (regret on) the Day of Resurrection. The greatest sin in God’s eyes is a lying tongue, and the worst consumption is devouring the property of orphans unjustly. The comeliest decoration of a man is good conduct accompanied by belief, and the most secure thing in his hands is what he says and what he seals.<sup>555</sup> Whoever pursues a reputation (by his deeds), God will make him known by it.<sup>556</sup> Whoever is set on the earthly life, it shall be denied him; but whoever knows God will be brought to Him. Do not anger God in order to please anyone, and do not rush to any creature by means of what distances from God.

552 Arabic *baghy*, a word that has a wide semantic range, any aspect of which might be intended here: conceit, envy, insolence, pride, tyranny, oppression, and fornication.

553 Arabic *al-akhdh bi-sunnatī* (holding to my sunna).

554 Arabic *muhdathāt*.

555 This apparently means the thing over which he has fullest control.

556 Arabic *man yatba‘i l-sum‘ata yusammi‘ Allāhu bihi*.

He said: Do not make light of the least good deed, for that which is beneficial on the Day of Resurrection is not insignificant. Fear God in secret, so that you give the half of yourselves, and hasten to obey God. Speak truthfully and be trustworthy, for that is to your advantage. Do not act oppressively or interfere in matters that are not permitted to you, for that is to your detriment.

He said: When usury is frequent, sudden death will be frequent; and when people give short measure, God will shorten their years and punish them with want. When they withhold alms, the earth will withhold its alms.<sup>557</sup> When they pass judgment unfairly, engage in conspiracy, or betray their commitments, 2:105 their enemies will be put | in power over them. When they break with their relatives, (their) property will fall into the hands of evil people; and when they do not enjoin what is customary, forbid what is reprehensible, and follow the good people, God will place their evil people in authority over them, and will not respond when their good people appeal to Him.

He said: The essence of a man is his heart, his nobility is his character, and his magnanimity is his piety. All people in Adam are on the same level.

He said: God has distinguished His saints with noble morals; therefore examine yourselves, and if they are in you, praise God; and if not, petition Him for them. He was asked: "And what are they?" He replied: Certainty, contentment, patience, gratefulness, intelligence, manly virtue, forbearance, generosity, and courage.

He said: There are three things whose perpetrator will not die before seeing what he loathes: oppression, breaking with relatives, and a false oath by which he defies God. Truly, the obedience that is most quickly rewarded is kindness to one's relatives: a people may be evildoers, but they bond together, and their wealth grows and they become prosperous. Truly, false oaths and breaking with relatives leave homes as wastelands and interrupt communication. The actions of whoever has a truthful tongue will be righteous: God will increase the sustenance of whoever has good intentions, and God will lengthen the life of whoever reveres the members of his family.

He said: There are three things wherein God has granted concessions to no one: reverence for one's parents, whether they be pious or sinful; keeping one's oath, whether it be to a pious person or to a sinner; and carrying out what one is entrusted with, whether by the pious person or the sinner. Whoever believes in God and the Last Day, let him treat his neighbor well and honor his guest; let him speak good things and be grateful.

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<sup>557</sup> That is, they will not be granted life's bounties.

He said: The believer is the brother of the believer; he neither forsakes him, nor saddens him, nor slanders him, nor envies him, nor oppresses him. Verily Iblis says to his legions: "Sow among them oppression and envy, for it is the equal of polytheism<sup>558</sup> in God's eyes."

He said: Part of the excellence of one's Islam is leaving aside | what does not concern one. Beware of that for which you would have to apologize; for the believer does not do evil, yet he apologizes, whereas the hypocrite does evil every day, but does not apologize. Truly, slander is quicker in its effects on a Muslim's religion than a canker to his innards. Truly, the people of the earth will receive mercy as long as they love one another, show trustworthiness, and act in truthfulness. 2:106

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: "Son of Adam, I am the Living One, the Undying; obey Me and I will make you alive and undying—I am powerful over all things. Son of Adam, treat your kinfolk with kindness and I will relieve you of your troubles and pave the way for your prosperity."<sup>559</sup>

He said: Whoever wakes up in the morning grieving over earthly life wakes up angry with God, and whoever complains of an affliction that has befallen him complains only about his Lord. Whoever comes to a wealthy person and humbles himself before him to secure some of this world, two-thirds of his religion are gone; but whoever desires something that is pleasing to God will not leave this life until he has been granted it.

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: "Son of Adam, devote yourself to worshipping Me, and I will fill your heart with riches. I will not make you dependent on your own search for your livelihood; it will be my responsibility to meet your needs and to fill your heart with fear of Me. But if you do not devote yourself to worshipping Me, I will fill your heart with preoccupation with the earthly life, and then I will bar it from you and make you dependent on your search for it."<sup>560</sup>

He said: Favors should be bestowed only on those of high virtue or piety. Therefore, give to whoever asks you in God's name, and grant protection to whoever asks you for protection in God's name. Respond to whoever appeals to you, and repay whoever does you a kindness; or, if you cannot repay him, thank him.

He said: Among the duties that God's glory imposes on His worshippers are showing honor to the just *imām*, to the elders in Islam, and to the one who

558 Arabic *shirk*.

559 A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

560 A *ḥadīth qudsī*: Graham, *Divine Word*, 210, saying 86, is a simpler version.

2:107

knows the Qurʾān by heart, except the one who does so too strictly or does it crudely. Whoever does four things has left Islam: whoever raises | a banner of error; whoever aids a tyrant, marches with him, or walks with him while knowing that he is a tyrant; and whoever is unfaithful to a compact.<sup>561</sup> There are two men who will not be reached by my intercession on Judgment Day: an oppressive governor,<sup>562</sup> and a man who goes beyond due measure in religion<sup>563</sup> and strays from (the proper course in) it. But the prayers of the just governor are not turned away.

He said: Do not let the pursuit of your earthly life distract you from your pursuit of religion, for the seeker of worldly life may attain (what he seeks), but then perish by what he has attained; or it may elude him, and then he will perish by what has eluded him. Those who have most in the earthly life will have least in the hereafter, except those who say, “Here! here!” and give it away bit by bit with their own hands. Whenever someone is given anything of worldly life, it diminishes his share in the hereafter—even Solomon son of David, for he was the last of the prophets to enter paradise on account of<sup>564</sup> what he was given of worldly life. The beginning of every sin is love of this world.

He said: Death has brought that wherein there is rest and a blessed return to a sublime garden for people worthy of the abode of eternity, who strove for it and desired it. Death has brought that wherein there is misery, regret, and a losing return to a glowing fire for people worthy of the abode of delusion, who strove for it and desired it.

He said: The best means employed by those who seek (God’s) favor are belief in God, striving in the way of God, and faithful speech, for this is what is natural;<sup>565</sup> the perfect (performance) of prayer, for it is the creed;<sup>566</sup> giving alms, for it is an increase in wealth and a postponement of the appointed

561 Reading with M, *wa man khatara bi-dhimmatin*. Despite the opening of the sentence, only three things are listed.

562 Arabic *amīr*, possibly also meaning “commander.”

563 Arabic *raḡulun ḡhālīn fī l-dīn*; at issue is not the degree of the person’s zeal for Islam, but the making of excessive and heretical theological claims. The word *ḡhulāt* (exaggerators) from this root becomes the normal term of opprobrium for Muslims who assert semi-divine status for the Prophet, ‘Alī, or the Imams.

564 Ed. Leiden (apparently following C) has *li-mā*, “for that which, on account of”; M has blank space.

565 Arabic *al-fiṭra* (natural condition, or innate character). Islamic theology teaches that humans are born as believers in God’s oneness, that is, as Muslims, and become something else only because their parents or society lead them away from their “natural” faith.

566 Arabic *al-milla*.



time (of death); secret charity, for it atones for sin and quenches the anger of the Lord; and deeds of kindness, for they ward off an evil death<sup>567</sup> and give shelter from blows of humiliation. Above all be truthful, for he who is truthful is on the brink of salvation and honor, whereas the liar is on the brink of disgrace and annihilation. Say good things and you will become known for it; do them and you will be among their people. Deal in a trustworthy way | with whoever deposits something with you for safekeeping. Show kindness to kinfolk who break off friendship with you, and repay with kindness whoever behaves boorishly toward you. 2:108

He said: Whoever seeks the favor of an unjust ruler and suffers tribulation for his effort will receive no recompense for his tribulation and will not be granted the patience to endure it. It is sufficient consolation for the believer, when he sees an abominable thing, that God knows that he loathes it from his heart.

He said: God has servants among His creatures whom He favors with His bounties. He confirms them in those bounties as long as they give them freely (to others), but when they withhold them (from others), He removes them from them and transfers them to someone else.

He said: God's favor does not become great upon a person without [the burden of (other) people becoming great upon him also. Whoever does not take upon himself that]<sup>568</sup> burden has exposed that favor to the risk of vanishing.

He said to the Banū Salama: Who is your chief now, Banū Salama? They replied, "Al-Jadd b. Qays, Messenger of God." He asked: And what is his standing among you? They answered, "He a man whom we accuse of miserliness." He said: What disease is more sickly than miserliness? There is no chieftaincy to misers; rather, your chief is the curly white[-haired] 'Amr b. al-Jamūh.<sup>569</sup> Or he said: Qays b. al-Barā'.<sup>570</sup>

He said to someone who had just arrived to see him and from whom he had detected a lie: But for the looseness of your tongue while God was with you, it would have been sweetened with the milk (of welcome) of the new arrival.<sup>571</sup>

567 Following ed. Leiden (*mītat al-sū'*); M has *maniyyat al-sū'*, which is virtually synonymous.

568 Addition in ed. Leiden on the basis of the longer form of the ḥadīth cited in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *'arraḍa*.

569 'Amr b. al-Jamūh was a chief and notable of the Banū Salima, a tribe the Medinese Anṣār, who joined Muḥammad's movement relatively late. On him see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fi tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba* (ed. Beirut), 4:506–508 (no. 5814).

570 Qays b. al-Barā' is not listed in the biographical sources; possibly to be emended to Bishr b. al-Barā', a well-known early companion of the Prophet from the Medinese clan of Aws who died before the *hijra* when he ate poisoned meat intended for the Prophet.

571 As the Leiden editor notes, "The meaning is obscure." The translation follows M: *lawlā*

He said: Two characteristics do not come together in a believer: miserliness and a bad nature.

He said: Avoid the slips of the spendthrift, for verily God—may He be glorified and exalted—seizes his forelock whenever he stumbles.

He said: Paradise is the abode of the generous.

He said: A generous foolish<sup>572</sup> youth is more beloved to God than a stingy pious old man.

He said: Verily, God is generous; He loves generosity and noble traits of character, and He hates mean traits of character.

2:109 He said: Verily God has worshippers | whom He created for the needs of the people; the people take refuge with them, and they are among<sup>573</sup> those who shall be secure on the Day of Resurrection.

He said: Be expert in clinging to God's bounties. Do not weary of them or shun them, for rarely do they return to a people after having passed away from them.

He said: God satisfies needs, but the means to satisfy them is through people. So ask for their satisfaction from God through those people; whoever gives you the things you need, accept them from God with thanks, and whoever deprives you of them, endure it from God with patience.

He said: You cannot encompass all people with your property; so let a joyful face and good morals from you encompass them.

He said: The pinnacle of insight, after faith,<sup>574</sup> is to be good-natured with people. If a misfortune occurs, proffer your wealth before your life or your faith; if the misfortune exceeds all bounds, proffer your wealth and your life before your faith. Know that the one who is truly destitute is the person who is despoiled of his faith.

He said: Every thing has its nobility. The most noble of stations is the one directed toward the *qibla*;<sup>575</sup> whoever wishes to be the mightiest of people, let him trust in God; whoever wishes to be the richest of people, let him trust what is in God's hand more than what is in his own hand; and whoever wishes to be the strongest of people, let him rely on God. Then he said: Shall I not make known to you the worst of people? He who eats alone, who withholds

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*sakhā fika la-shurriba bi-laban wāfid.* For this meaning of *shurriba* (render sweet), see Lane, *Lexicon*, 4:526.

572 Reading with M, *al-rāhiq*.

573 Reading with M, *min al-āminīn*.

574 Arabic *īmān*; but later in the translation of this saying, "faith" is used to render *dīn*.

575 The *qibla* is the direction toward Mecca, which Muslims face in prayer.

his assistance, and who beats his servant. Shall I not make known to you something worse than that? He whose charity is not hoped for and from whose evil no one is safe. Shall I not tell you something worse than that? Someone who hates people and they hate him.

Someone asked him, "What is the best thing that can be given to a person?" He replied: An intelligent nature that is born with him. They asked, "And failing that?" He replied: Then let him learn intelligence. They asked: "And failing that?" He replied: Then let him take a companion in God, one who is not envious. They asked, "And failing that?" | He replied: Let him be silent. They asked, "And failing that?" He replied: A decisive death. 2:110

He asked a man of Thaqīf: What is manliness<sup>576</sup> among you? The man replied, "Righteousness in religion, improving one's means of living, generosity of spirit, and good morals." And he replied: So it is among us.

He said: The tongue<sup>577</sup> of one who fears his Lord becomes tired, yet he does not vent his anger. Truly, God is by the tongue of every speaker; so let a speaker be mindful of what he says.

He said: Gabriel never came to me without cautioning me. The last thing he said was, "Beware of treating people with suspicion, for it exposes (your) deficiencies and diminishes (your) dignity."

A man begged from him, but he said, "I have nothing." So the man said, "Promise me something." Whereupon he said: I do not<sup>578</sup> employ a man when another is more watchful<sup>579</sup> of eye, stronger at going on foot, and more cunning. But I do give<sup>580</sup> to a man when another is dearer to me<sup>581</sup> than he—I give in order to win him over.

He said: Whoever does not praise justice and condemn injustice has stood forth to do open battle with God.

He said: The most noble works are three: being mindful of God—may He be glorified and exalted—in every circumstance, treating others impartially in spite of your own interest, and giving charity to your brethren.

He said: The death of daughters is a gift of grace.<sup>582</sup>

576 Arabic *al-muruwwa*; on the semantics of this term see the article by B. Farès in EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Murūʾa.

577 Arabic *lisān*; M has the interlinear alternative *kaffuhu* (his palm, that is, the palm of his hand).

578 Reading *lā astaʿmilu* ... with M, C; ed. Leiden emends to *la-astaʿmilu* (I do employ).

579 Reading *ayqaz* with M, instead of ed. Leiden *anfaḍ*.

580 Reading *la-uʿī* with M, instead of ed. Leiden *lā uʿī* (I do not give).

581 Reading *aḥabbu ilayya* with ed. Leiden, instead of M's *ʿ-j-b ilayya*.

582 Arabic *min al-makrumāt*; perhaps to be read *min al-takrimāt*.

He said: Patience before God is the antidote to jealousy, but no one masters it completely. With great trials come great rewards; when God loves a person, He tests him.

He said: The believer who is most complete in faith is the one who has the best morals.

He said: Every act of kindness is an alms, and that whereby the tongue is warded off is an alms. Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir<sup>583</sup> was asked, “And what is that?” He replied, “Giving to the poet and to the powerful person.”<sup>584</sup>

And he said: [There is no sin but that for it in God’s eyes there is]<sup>585</sup> repentance, [except] bad character; for whenever it emerges from something it falls into something worse.

2:111 He said: Beware of your ease, [for the person of ease] has slain his brother, | himself, and his ruler.<sup>586</sup>

A man came to him, and he said: Have you any money? The man replied, “Yes, quite a lot.” So he said: Then God has bestowed his grace on you, so let it show!<sup>587</sup>

He said: No one who has so much as a mote’s weight of pride in his heart shall enter paradise. Whereupon a man said, “Messenger of God, I do like my mount to be lively and my clothes to be fine”—and he even mentioned the laces of his shoes and the strap of his whip. He therefore said: God is beautiful and loves beauty; pride is only withholding the rightful claim<sup>588</sup> and closing one’s eyes to falsehood.

Someone came begging from the Messenger of God. So he said:<sup>589</sup> There is only a *ṣāʿ*<sup>590</sup> of food left in the house of the family of Muḥammad, but they are people of nine houses: how then can they spare it? He never used to turn away a petitioner.

583 A traditionist of the generation following the Prophet. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:186, and VII/2, 206.

584 Reading *dhī l-shaʿn* with M, rather than ed. Leiden *dhī lisān*.

585 Lacuna in M; in ed. Leiden the bracketed text is an addition credited to ʿAzīzī, III, 248.

586 Arabic, *sultānahu*.

587 Reading with M, *fa-l-tabin ʿalayka*, making this a reprimand for the man’s slovenly dress. L (apparently following C) *fa-l-yuthanni ʿalayka* (let Him do it again for you) or perhaps to be read *fa-l-yuthni ʿalayka* (let Him praise you, sc. for your good use of it).

588 Arabic *al-ḥaqq*; possibly “the truth.”

589 Something may have dropped from the text here. M has “So he—peace be upon him—said,” indicating that it is Muḥammad who is the speaker; presumably this was followed by the Prophet’s responding to the petitioner’s request, after which the petitioner may have made the observation about a measure of food, etc.

590 The *ṣāʿ* was a small measure of capacity; it consisted of 4 *mudds*, each of about 1 liter.

Once when he was dealing with some sticks made of stripped palm branches, a man passed by and said, "I will take care of it for you, Messenger of God." So he said, As you wish. When the man had finished, the Prophet asked him: Do you need anything? The man replied, "Yes; guarantee me paradise with God!" The Prophet bowed his head for a long time; then he raised his head to him and said: You shall have it! But when the man turned to go, the Prophet called to him: Servant of God! I mean through long prostration in prayer!

He gave a sermon from his she-camel, saying: People, it seems to us that death has been decreed for others, rather than for us; that the truth is incumbent on others, rather than on us; and that the dead who have been escorted to their graves are travelers who will soon return to us—we lodge them in their graves and consume their legacies as if we were immortal after them, forgetting every warning and feeling safe from every catastrophe. Blessed is he who is distracted from others' failings by his own failings, who has spent wealth that he has earned without sin, who has shown mercy to the lowly and miserable and kept company with them, and who has associated with people of discernment and wisdom. Blessed is he who has humbled himself, whose disposition is good, whose inmost thoughts | are righteous, who keeps his wickedness away from people, and for whom the customary practice (*sunna*) is sufficient and who does not distort it into innovation (*bid'a*). 2:112

He said: Gabriel warned me, saying to me, "Love whomever you wish, and yet you will die; and do whatever you wish, and yet you will meet Him."<sup>591</sup>

He said: Whoever seeks his daily bread from sources lawful to him, let him distribute it lavishly for God.

He said: Consult the intelligent man and you will not go astray; do not disobey him, lest you regret it.

He said: There shall be no divorce except after marriage, no manumission except after bondage, no silence from morning until night,<sup>592</sup> no intercourse during fasting, no suckling after weaning, no orphanhood after puberty, no oath for a woman with her husband, no oath for a child with his father, no oath for a

591 That is, God. However, the text is corrupt. As the Leiden editor notes, there is a correction in the margin of C (also present in M): "The statement is as follows: Love whomever you like, and yet you will separate from him; do whatever you wish, and yet you will be recompensed for it; and live as long as you will, and yet you will die."

592 Ed. Leiden has *wa-lā šamta illā min ghudwatin ilā l-layli* (no silence except from morning to night) but cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 4:1725, s.v. *šamata*, where the tradition is cited as *lā šamta yawman ilā l-layli* (no silence during daytime until night), so that the *illā* (except) in ed. Leiden and M seems to be superfluous. According to Lane, the commentators explain this as a prohibition on imitating a Christian form of asceticism.

slave with his master, no reversion to nomadism<sup>593</sup> after *hijra*, no oath that cuts ties of kinship, and no vow in disobedience.<sup>594</sup> Even if a Bedouin has performed the pilgrimage ten times and then has made *hijra*, the duty of Islam<sup>595</sup> is still incumbent upon him, if he is capable of it; and even if a slave has performed the pilgrimage ten times and then has been manumitted, the duty of Islam is incumbent upon him, if he is capable of it.<sup>596</sup>

He said: The greatest of sins in God's eyes are the least of them in the eyes of God's servants, and the least of sins in God's eyes are the greatest of them in the eyes of God's servants.

2:113 He said: The believer is not stung from the same hole twice. People are alike, like the teeth of a comb. A man is many through his brother. There is no good for you in the companionship of one who does not recognize the same rights for you as you do for him. The upper hand is better than the lower hand. The blood of (all) Muslims is equal, and they are united against | whoever is not one of them. The counselor is to be trusted.<sup>597</sup> The man who knows his own measure will not perish. God has mercy on a servant who says good things and benefits, or who remains silent and remains safe.

He mentioned horses, saying: Good is tied to their forelocks; their bellies are a treasure, and their backs are a refuge. Once he raced some horses, and when a black horse of his came in first, he fell to his knees and said: This one runs like the wind!<sup>598</sup>

He said: This knowledge is borne in every confederation by its trustworthy members, who purge it of the corruptions of those who exaggerate,<sup>599</sup> the falsifications of prattlers, and the forced interpretations of the ignorant.

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: “Woe to those who exploit religion to pursue earthly life; woe to those who kill the people who

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593 Arabic *ta'arrub*. The contrast between the two terms suggests that *hijra* here means “sedentarization.” See Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, 79–81, 263–267; C. E. Bosworth, “A Note on *Ta'arrub* in Early Islam.”

594 That is, to God.

595 That is, to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.

596 That is, the duty to perform pilgrimage must be accomplished as a free, settled Muslim, not as a slave or as a nomad; a pilgrimage performed by someone while still a slave or by a nomad before he adopts sedentary life does not count.

597 Arabic *mu'taman*; perhaps an error for *musta'man*, “given security,” i.e., to be inviolable even if one disagrees with his advice?

598 Literally: “It is nothing but the sea,” that is, it flows like the sea or a great river with wave after wave; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *baḥr*.

599 Arabic *al-ghālīn*; or “of the ignorant,” following interlinear *al-jāhīlīn* in M. C has interlinear *al-'āmilīn* (tax-collectors).

command fairness; and woe to those among whom the believers must go about in dissimulation, whether they mean to deceive Me or boldly defy Me; for I have sworn to appoint for them such a trial (*fitna*) as shall leave the mild-tempered among them dismayed.”<sup>600</sup>

It was related from him that he said: Under the wall that God—may He be glorified and exalted—has mentioned in His book, there was a treasure belonging to the two of them.<sup>601</sup> The treasure was a tablet of gold on which was written: “In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful: How amazing it is that whoever knows of death as a certainty can rejoice! How amazing it is that whoever knows of (God’s) decree as a certainty can be sad! How amazing it is that whoever knows of the Fire as a certainty can laugh! How amazing it is that anyone who considers the world and its fickleness to its people can trust in it! There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.”

He said: The person who eats heartily and gives thanks has the same reward as the person who goes hungry and is patient. That one of you should be restored to health and be thankful is better for him than that he spend the night keeping vigil and reach the morning fasting and proud (of what he has done).

He said: It is not permissible for a believer to humiliate his soul. He was asked, “Messenger of God, how is it humiliated?” He said: By exposing it to a trial that it cannot bear.

He said: Beware the perceptiveness of the believer, | for he sees with the light of God. 2:114

In a book belonging to Asmā’ bt. ‘Umayy<sup>602</sup> there was found among the words of the Messenger of God: Things that in the short term are unprofitable but in their wake bring an enduring right course are better than things that in the short term are beneficial but in their wake bring enduring error.<sup>603</sup> The Muslim abstains from oppression and from that which is forbidden. How evil the man whose passions lead him astray! How evil the man who is petitioned obsequiously! How evil the man who is tyrannical, commits iniquities, and prefers the earthly life.

600 A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

601 Qur’ān 18:81, relates the story of the treasure of two orphans that was buried under a wall.

602 A female Companion of the Prophet, married to Ja’far b. Abī Ṭālib, with whom she emigrated to Abyssinia; after his death she was married to Abū Bakr, and after his death to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; see Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:305–309.

603 Reading with M: *al-‘ajilātu l-khā’ibātu l-mu’qibātu rushdan bāqīyan khayrun min al-‘ajilāti al-fā’idāti l-mu’qibāti ghayyan bāqīyan*.

He said: Four things are catastrophic:<sup>604</sup> an *imām* whom you obey and who misleads you; a wife whom you trust and who betrays you; a bad neighbor who, if he comes to know something bad broadcasts it, but if he comes to know something good, keeps it secret; and poverty whose victim, when it is alleviated (by a gift), is not generous.<sup>605</sup>

He said: There is no person whose knowledge or discernment are not deficient. Do you not see that his sustenance comes in abundance, and so he remains happy and delighted; but each day and night comes to diminish his lifespan, yet this does not sadden him, neither does he [care]<sup>606</sup> about it? He is surely astray! What good to him is sustenance that is increasing along with a lifespan that is decreasing?

He said: The Children of Israel banished the fear of God from their hearts: their bodies were present, but their hearts were absent. Truly, God does not accept (the prayers of) a person whose heart is not present as much as his body.

He said: Whoever increases in knowledge but does not increase in abstinence (*zuhd*) only increases in distance from God. Whoever helps a tyrannical imam and does not point out his error, his own foot will not part from the imam's foot before God, until he orders him ...<sup>607</sup>

2:115 A man from the Banū Qushayr named Qurra b. Hubayra came to him | and said, "Messenger of God, we used to have gods and goddesses, but God has guided us through you."

He said: Most of the people of paradise are the simple-minded; but the people of the highest heavens are the possessors of intellect.

He said: The imams are from Quraysh. You have a claim on them, and they have a claim on you as long as they rule justly, are forgiving when asked for forgiveness, and fulfill what they promise.

He stopped at a house where there were a group of Quraysh and said: You will be entrusted with this affair.<sup>608</sup> Whoever of you takes charge of it and is asked for mercy but does not show it, or who rules unjustly, or who makes promises but does not keep them, God's curse be upon him.

He said: Religion is consultation, religion is consultation. Someone asked, "With whom, Messenger of God?" He replied: With God, and His book, and His prophet, and the true imams.

604 Arabic *qawāṣim al-ẓahr*, literally, "breakers of the (camel's) back."

605 Reading (based on M) *wa-faqrūn idhā nuḥila lam yaḥjud ṣāhibuhu*.

606 The Leiden editor has supplied the word *yaḥtafilu*; there is a visible lacuna in both MSS.

607 Lacuna in both MSS. The Leiden editor conjectured that the words *ilā l-nār* (into the fire) were to be supplied.

608 Arabic *hādihā l-amr*, that is, the governance of the Islamic community.



He said at al-Khayf of Minā: May God brighten the face of a man who has heard my address and remembered it in order to convey it to whoever did not hear it. Many a person has borne knowledge to someone more knowledgeable than he. There are three things such that if the heart of the believer adheres to them it will not be invaded by rancor:<sup>609</sup> sincerity in one's works, being truly God-fearing, and sound advice to those who rule.

He said: The Muslim owes six courtesies to his Muslim brother: to greet him when he meets him, to act in good faith toward him when he is absent from him, to visit him when he falls ill, to accompany his funeral procession when he dies, to answer him when he calls for him, and to give him to drink when he thirsts.<sup>610</sup>

He said: Help your brother<sup>611</sup> when he is acting wrongly or when he is being wronged. They asked, "Messenger of God, how should we help him when he is acting wrongly?" He replied: By restraining him from wrongdoing.

He said: When a person dies, his works are cut off from him, except three: alms (he has given) that are in circulation, knowledge from which benefit is being derived, or a righteous child who is praying for him.

He said: There are three persons whose call is not to be refused: the oppressed, a just imam, and someone fasting until he breaks fast.

He said: There are three things that follow a person after his death: a worthy practice (*sunna*) that he established among Muslims and in accordance with which he acted—he shall have a reward for it and a reward for those who act in accordance with it, though their rewards shall in no way be diminished; alms which he gave, of wealth or in kind—as long as those alms circulate, | they shall be to his benefit; and offspring a man has left who pray for him. 2:116

He said in his sermon: The worst things are the most recent; every innovation is an error. Everything has its bane; the bane of this (kind of) opinion is caprice.<sup>612</sup>

609 Following the more common vocalization of the verb (*yaghillu*) as given in the discussion of the ḥadīth in Lane, *Lexicon*, 6:2227. Ed. Leiden prints the less common vocalization, *yughillu*—the MSS lack vowels—meaning, "... it will not act unfaithfully."

610 Following M *wa-yasqīhi idhā 'aṭisha*; L, apparently following C, reads, *wa-yushammituhu idhā 'aṭasa* (and utter a prayer for him when he sneezes).

611 That is, your fellow Muslim.

612 Text is obscure; *wa-li-kulli shay'in āfatun*, *wa-āfatu hādihā al-ra'yi l-hawā*. Perhaps intended is that the weak point of newly-coined jurisprudential opinions (*ra'y*) is their potentially capricious character.

He said: Guarantee me six things, and I will guarantee you paradise: When you converse,<sup>613</sup> do not lie; when you are given a trust, do not betray it; when you make a promise, do not break it; restrain your tongues; lower your glances;<sup>614</sup> and safeguard your private parts.<sup>615</sup>

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says, “My servant continues to tell the truth until he is recorded as veracious; and my servant continues to tell lies until he is recorded as a liar.”<sup>616</sup>

He said: Woe to him who tells lies to make people laugh. Woe to him, woe to him!

It is related that he said: Practice truthfulness, even if you think that in it lies destruction, for indeed its result is salvation; and beware of lying, even if you think that in it lies salvation, for indeed its result is destruction.

He said: Whoever wrongfully succeeds to his brother's property, let him take his seat in the fire. A man asked, “Even if it be a trifling amount, Messenger of God?” To which he replied: Even if it be only a twig of *arāk*;<sup>617</sup> whoever appropriates to himself the rightful share of a Muslim man with his right hand,<sup>618</sup> God has imposed the fire on him and forbidden paradise to him.

He was the most generous of people in giving charity, and especially generous in the month of Ramaḍān. He said: By the One in whose hand is my soul, if I had as many cattle as there are trees in Tihāma, I would divide them among you; and you would not find me to be a liar, a coward, or a miser.

A man said to him, “Messenger of God, give me your cloak,” so he threw it to him. Then the man said, “I don't want it.” Whereupon he said: May God fight you! You wanted to impute miserliness to me, but God did not make me a miser.

He said: The best of you are those whose charity is hoped for and whose evil people do not need to ward off. The worst of you are those whose evil people need to ward off and whose charity is not hoped for. God has honored you with Islam; do you therefore adorn it with generosity and good morals.

He said: Blessing is faster to (reach) a household that offers dinner, than a blade is to (slice) the hump of a camel.

2:117 He said: Beware of stinginess. Only stinginess brought perdition to those who were before you. It commanded them to break relations, and they did; it commanded them to be unjust, and they were; it commanded them to

613 Arabic *ḥaddathtum*; possibly “report [things],” or “say [things].”

614 That is, out of modesty.

615 That is, be chaste.

616 A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

617 The *arāk* is small tree (*Salvadora persica*) whose twigs are used as a kind of toothbrush.

618 Arabic, *bi-yamīnihi*; perhaps, “with his oath.”

live licentiously, and they did. Miserliness<sup>619</sup> is unbelief, and unbelief leads to hellfire. God—may He be glorified and exalted—has said, “Whoever is safeguarded against his own stinginess, those are the fortunate ones.”<sup>620</sup>

He said: The pinnacle of intellect, after faith, is behaving pleasantly towards people. The people of kindly behavior in this world will be the people of kindly behavior in the next world; and the people of reprehensible behavior in this world will be the people of reprehensible behavior in the next. Truly, the first people to enter paradise will be the people of kindly behavior.

He said: Do not disdain any kindly behavior, even if it is only to give away the end of a rope or the toe-thong of a sandal; even if it is only to pour from your bucket into the vessel of someone asking for a drink; even if it is only to push something out of the way of people who might be annoyed by it; even if it is only to meet your brother with a greeting; even if it is only to meet him with a cheerful face. Do not revile a man who reviles you because of something he knows about you, even when you know something similar about him; the reward for it shall be yours, and the burden of it on him.<sup>621</sup>

He said: God has created among his creatures persons outstanding in kindly behavior, whom He made to love kindly behavior and to love performing it; and He directed seekers of kindly behavior to them and made demonstrating it easy for them, just as He makes it easy for rain to reach the parched earth, to revive it and its inhabitants. God also has created among his creatures enemies of kindly behavior, whom He made to consider kindly behavior hateful and its performance hateful. And He forbade seekers of kindly behavior from seeking it (with them), and barred them from displaying it, just as he forbids rain from the parched earth, to destroy it and to destroy its inhabitants with it—unless<sup>622</sup> God forgives most of them.

He said: All creatures are God's dependents. Therefore, the most beloved to | 2:118  
God of creatures is the person who is best to his dependents.

A man questioned him, saying, “What kind of person is dearest to God?” He replied: The person who does the most to benefit other people. The man asked, “And what kind of works are dearest to God?” He answered: Bringing joy to a Muslim, feeding him when hungry, clothing him when naked, and paying his debts.

619 Reading *lu'm*; see *WKAS*, s.v.

620 Qur'ān 59:9 (= 64:16).

621 The translation follows ed. Leiden, with its emendation on the basis of Azîzî, I, 115.

622 Arabic *aw ya'fiowa Allāhu aktharahu*, which could also mean, “until God forgives most of them.”

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—will set up a banner on the Day of Resurrection for the person who has been treacherous. And people will say, “Truly, this is the banner of so-and-so.”

Someone said [to him],<sup>623</sup> “Tell us the characteristics by which the hypocrite can be recognized.” He replied: Whoever swears an oath and denies it, or makes a promise and goes back on it, or enters into a dispute and lies,<sup>624</sup> or is entrusted with something and betrays his trust, or makes an agreement and acts treacherously.

He said: God will question a man on the Day of Resurrection, until finally He asks him, “What prevented you when you saw something abominable from censuring it?” Then, when God has inspired<sup>625</sup> in his servant His proof, he will say, “Lord, I trusted in You, but I was afraid of the people.”

He said: Whoever has been given a gift and finds (something to give in return), let him repay (the giver); and if he does not repay him, let him praise him openly. For whoever gives praise for it has thanked him, but whoever conceals it has been ungrateful to him.

A group of Emigrants said to him, “Messenger of God, our brothers among the Helpers have been extraordinarily generous to us, and we fear that they will take away all the reward (in paradise).” So he said: Except (the reward for) your having praised them for it and having prayed to God for them!

He said: By Him in whose hand my soul is, no one will take something that is not his, without meeting God with the burden of it on the Day of Resurrection.

He said: Gifts remove resentment, renew brotherly feelings, and strengthen affection.

He said: Even if a sheep's trotter were given to me, I would accept it; and if I were invited to partake of it, I would accept.

He said: When a person excels in giving alms, he excels in the succession to his inheritance.<sup>626</sup> The alms of the believer are his protection, and his protection comes from his alms.

2:119 It is related from him that he said: Among deeds there are none dearer to me than three: sating the hunger of a Muslim, | paying his debts, and banishing his cares. Whoever banishes the cares of a Muslim, God will banish for him the

623 Adding *lahu* (to him) with ed. Leiden.

624 Reading *wa-khāṣama fa-fajara* with ed. Leiden, from Azîzî, I, 165; C evidently has *wa-ḥāfa fa-ʿajaza*.

625 M here has a marginal note suggesting that something may have dropped out of the text.

626 The translation omits the added “God” found in ed. Leiden, which reads: ... *aḥsana* [*Allāhu*] *al-khilāfa ʿalā tarikatihi* (God makes good the succession to his estate).

cares of the Day of Resurrection. God aids his servant so long as the servant aids his brother.

He said: Begging is only permissible to three people: the person in grinding poverty, the person in horrible distress, and the person seeking vengeance for an agonizing murder.

He said: Whoever begs while he has an ounce—the ounce is (the weight of) 40 dirhams—has begged from people importunately.

Two men begged from him while he was dividing the booty of Khaybar, so he said: No share to a wealthy person or to an able-bodied person capable of earning!

He said: It is not permissible to give alms to the wealthy person or to the strong, unimpaired person.

He said: Whoever begs while having enough to make it unnecessary is only asking for more red-hot coals in hell. He was asked, “Messenger of God, how much is enough to make begging unnecessary?” He replied: Enough for one’s dinner or one’s supper.

He was asked, “Messenger of God, what is wealth?” He replied: A dinner and a supper.

He said: Whoever begs despite having what is sufficient, will appear on the Day of Resurrection with scratches on his face by which he shall be known. They asked, “Messenger of God, what is sufficient?” He replied: Nourishment for a night or nourishment for a day.

Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām<sup>627</sup> begged from him, and he gave him something, but he said: This property is pleasing and sweet; it will be a blessing for whoever takes it with moderate pleasure,<sup>628</sup> but whoever takes it with immoderate greediness will not be blessed by it and will be like someone who eats without being sated.

The Helpers petitioned him; whenever they begged anything from him, he gave to them, until they had used up what he had. Then he said: Now then, company of Helpers: whatever good we have I will not hold back from you. But whoever makes do with what he has, God will enrich him; whoever abstains, God will make him abstinent; and whoever is patient, God will make him patient. A person can be given nothing better or more abundant than patience.

627 A notable of Quraysh, friend and companion of the Prophet from before his mission, and nephew of the Prophet’s first wife Khadija. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba* (ed. Beirut), 2:97, no. 1805, s.n.

628 Reading with M, *bi-ṭibi nafsin yasirin*; ed. Leiden, *bi-ṭibi nafsin bashirin* (with goodly pleasure).

He said: Whoever will guarantee me one habit, I will guarantee him paradise. He was asked, "What is it, Messenger of God?" He replied: That you beg nothing from anybody.

2:120 He said to Abū Dharr:<sup>629</sup> Abū Dharr, what if a great hunger afflicted the people, so that you could not rise from your bed to your place of prayer—what would you do? I<sup>630</sup> said, "God and His Messenger know best!" The Prophet said: You would be abstinent.

He said: Whenever a man opens for himself the gate of begging, God opens for him the gate of poverty.

He said: There are three kinds of hand: the hand of God, which is the highest; the hand of the donor, which comes next to it; and the hand of the beggar, which is the lowest until the Day of Resurrection. Therefore abstain from begging as much as you can.

He said to someone: Whatever you have received of this wealth while you were not begging and not over-eager for it, take it and lay it aside, or give it as charity.

He said: No charity (is required) except from that of which you have no need. Begin with those whom you support, and you will not be blamed for having enough to live on.

He said: Begging will be a blemish<sup>631</sup> on the face of a man on the Day of Resurrection, unless he begs from his ruler or from someone who has no need of it.

He was asked, "What is the best charity?" He replied: That you give charity while you are healthy, fearing poverty, and hoping for wealth. Do not delay so long that you say on your deathbed, "This goes to so-and-so, and that to so-and-so, and that has already gone to so-and-so."

He said: Whoever spends on his wife, his children, and the members of his household—that will count as charity for him. Whoever would be gladdened by a delay in his appointed time<sup>632</sup> and by an increase of his sustenance—let him be kind to his relatives.

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629 Abū Dharr was an early Companion of the Prophet known for his piety. See the article by Asma Afsaruddin in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī.

630 That is, Abū Dharr.

631 Reading with ed. Leiden *khurūj*; C has *hurūj*, which is meaningless; in M the word has extra dots making it possible to read either *khurūj* or *jurūh* (wounds). The usual word for blemish or pimple is *khurāj*, which may have been the original reading here.

632 That is, by long life.

He said: No sin more deserves that God hasten its punishment in this world, along with that which He has stored up for it in the next world, than injustice<sup>633</sup> and mistreatment of kinfolk.

A man came to him saying, "To whom should I show respect?" He replied: Your mother, and your father, your brother and your sister—the nearest to you, then the next.

He said: God—may He be blessed and exalted—says, "Whoever honors his father, I will lengthen his days; and whoever honors his mother, shall see his sons' sons."

He said: Shall I not inform you of the greatest of great sins? It is associating something with God, disobeying your parents, and speaking falsehood.

He said: Whoever hides the nakedness of his Muslim brother, God will cover his nakedness on the Day of Resurrection.

He said: Four things | are among the practices<sup>634</sup> of those who have been sent as messengers (by God): shyness, marriage, forbearance, and cleaning the teeth with the tooth-stick (*siwāk*). 2:121

He said: [God]—may he be praised and exalted—has said, "You shall command the good and forbid the reprehensible, or I will put the worst of you in charge over you; I will put your property in the hands of your misers, and withhold the rain of heaven from you. The best among you will appeal to Me, but I will not respond to them; they will ask Me for mercy, but I will show them no mercy; and they will beg Me for rain, but I will not give them anything to drink."<sup>635</sup>

He said: The Islam of whoever has four things in him is perfect, even if he is sinful from head to foot: commanding the good, shyness, gratitude, and good morals. God will build a house in paradise for anyone who has four things in him: sheltering the orphan, mercy ...,<sup>636</sup> kindness to his slave, and solicitude towards his parents.

He said: Showing affection to people is half of the faith, and kindness is half of life. No man has ever become poor whose moderation is as it should be.<sup>637</sup>

633 Arabic *baghy*. The word has a wide semantic range, including injustice, tyranny, corruption, excess, pride, insolence, conceit, fornication, and prostitution.

634 Arabic *sunan* (plural of *sunna*).

635 A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

636 Lacuna in ed. Leiden (apparently following C, but not explicitly noted in the apparatus) and M.

637 Thus ed. Leiden, *wa-mā 'āla mru'un wafā qtiṣādūhu*. In M the reading seems to be, *wa-mā 'āla mru'un fī qtiṣādihi*, "no man has ever become poor in his moderation," that is, while living within his means. A similar *ḥadīth* is cited by Lane, *Lexicon*, 5:2200, s.v. *'āla*

### The Farewell Pilgrimage<sup>638</sup>

The Messenger of God made the farewell pilgrimage in the year 10; it was the pilgrimage of Islam.<sup>639</sup> The Messenger of God left Medina, and when he reached Dhū l-Ḥulayfa,<sup>640</sup> he put on two Ṣuḥārī garments: a loincloth (*izār*) and a cloak (*ridāʾ*).<sup>641</sup> Others have said that he left Medina having already donned the two garments. He entered the mosque in Dhū l-Ḥulayfa and prayed two prostrations, and all his womenfolk were with him. Then he left the mosque and marked his animals to be sacrificed on the right side<sup>642</sup> and then mounted his ear-marked she-camel; when she reached the desert, he uttered the formula “There is no god but God” of the pilgrimage.

Al-Wāqidi said, on the authority of al-Zuhrī, on the authority of Sālim, on the authority of his father; and from al-Zuhrī, in another of his chains of transmission, from Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ—both of whom said: The Messenger of God uttered the formula “There is no god but God,” conjoining the lesser pilgrimage to the greater pilgrimage. Some authorities say that he did it for the greater pilgrimage by itself; whereas others say that he did it for a greater and a lesser pilgrimage. He entered | Mecca by day from Kadāʾ,<sup>643</sup> which is the mountain pass of the Medinese, on his riding camel, until he reached the House.<sup>644</sup> When he saw the House, he raised his hands above the reins of his she-camel, and he began the circumambulation before the prayer.

2:122

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in the wording, *lā yaʿūlu ʿalā l-qaṣḍi aḥadun* (No one will become poor, or in want, while following the right course).

638 Main parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 966–970 (trans. Guillaume, 649–652); al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1751–1756 (trans. Poonawala, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, IX, 109–115); al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 3:1088–1115; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/i, 124–136; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:368–371. See also the article by Devin J. Stewart in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, s.v. Farewell Pilgrimage.

639 So called because during the pilgrimage he established many precedents to be followed by later Muslims and because the pilgrimage now had been purified of any pagan elements.

640 A place six or seven stages from Mecca (Yāqūt, s.v.). According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1751, Muḥammad set out from Medina on 25 Dhū l-Qaʿda 10 (February 22, 632).

641 Ṣuḥārī refers to a kind of garment made in Ṣuḥār, a town in Yemen. According to al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 3:1089–1090, he donned these two garments when he entered the pilgrim's state of consecration (*iḥrām*).

642 Camels intended for sacrifice during the greater pilgrimage are marked by making a cut on the right side of their humps sufficient to make blood flow.

643 A place in upper Mecca (Yāqūt, s.v.).

644 Arabic, *al-bayt*, that is, the Kaʿba.



He delivered a sermon a day before the Day of Watering<sup>645</sup> in the afternoon and on the day of ‘Arafa<sup>646</sup> when the sun began to decline, mounted upon his riding-camel, before the prayer on the morrow, the day of Minā.<sup>647</sup> He said in his sermon:

“May God brighten the countenance of the servant who hears what I say, who heeds it and keeps it in mind, and who conveys it to whoever has not heard it; for many an unlearned person has carried knowledge (to others), and many a person has carried knowledge to those more learned than he. There are three things such that if the heart of any Muslim adheres to them it will not be invaded by rancor: sincere devotion to God in one’s works, giving sound advice to the imams of truth, and cleaving to the community (*jamā’a*) of believers, for their prayer is a bulwark to those behind them.”<sup>648</sup>

He called for the animals to be sacrificed, and they were lined up before him—there were one hundred of them. He slaughtered sixty of them of them with a javelin<sup>649</sup>—some say sixty-four—and he gave the rest of them to ‘Alī, who slaughtered them. He took a piece of meat from each she-camel; these were put together into one pot and cooked with water and salt. Then he and ‘Alī ate and sipped some of the broth. He stoned the Jamrat al-‘Aqaba<sup>650</sup> while on his she-camel. He stopped at Zamzam and ordered Rabī’a b. Umayya b. Khalaf<sup>651</sup> to stand beneath the chest of his mount—he was just a boy—and said: “Rabī’a, say: ‘People! The Messenger of God says: “You may never meet me again as I am now and while you are dressed as you are now.”<sup>652</sup> Do you realize what city this is? Do you realize what month this is? Do you realize what day

645 That is, on 7 Dhū l-Ḥijja, as 8 Dhū l-Ḥijja is called “the day of watering” (*yawm al-tarwiya*). See the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥadīdj.

646 That is, 9 Dhū l-Ḥijja.

647 That is, 10 Dhū l-Ḥijja.

648 Either to those who lined up behind them in prayer, or to succeeding generations. Cf. the shorter version of this ḥadīth given earlier, ed. Leiden, 2:115. On the term *jamā’a*, see the article by L. Gardet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djamā’a.

649 Reading with M *bi-l-ḥirba* (as in al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 3:1108); L has *bi-yadihi*, “with his hand.”

650 The stone pillars symbolizing the devil, which are stoned by pilgrims during the greater pilgrimage. For a description, see the article by F. Buhl and J. Jomier in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djamra.

651 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1755 and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 2:166, for other renditions of this episode. Rabī’a b. Umayya b. Khalaf is reported to have been expelled to Khaybar by ‘Umar because he drank alcohol; he later apostatized and joined the Byzantines; cf. Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/i, 202.

652 That is, dressed in pilgrim garb (*iḥrām*).

this is?" The people said, "Yes! This is the holy city, the holy month, and the holy day." He said, "God has declared your blood and your property as inviolable as the holiness of this city of yours, this month of yours, and this day of yours. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

"Fear God. *Do not diminish unto people their things, and do not act wickedly in the land, working corruption.*<sup>653</sup> Whoever has something entrusted to him, let him carry it out." Then he said, "People are equal in Islam. People are of the same measure as Adam and Eve; the Arab has no superiority over the non-Arab,<sup>654</sup> or the non-Arab over the Arab, except in fear of God. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "Do not bring me your lineages; bring me your deeds, that I may say, 'The people have done such and such, and you have done such and such.' Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "Every (claim of vengeance for) blood that was (shed) in the days before Islam (*jāhiliyya*) I set aside;<sup>655</sup> and the first (claim of vengeance for) blood that I set aside is (the claim of vengeance for) the blood of Ādam b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."—A wet-nurse had been sought for Ādam b. Rabī'a among the Hudhayl, and the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr<sup>656</sup> killed him. Others have said that he was among the Banū Layth, and the Hudhayl killed him.—"Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

He said: "And every (case of) usury that took place in the days before Islam (*jāhiliyya*) I set aside; and the first usury I set aside is the usury of al-Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

He said: "People, *Verily the month postponed*<sup>657</sup> *is an increase of unbelief, whereby the unbelievers go astray; they make it profane one year and hallow it*

653 Qur'an 11:85 (= 26:183). The context makes it clear that "diminishing" refers to defrauding in commercial transactions: "O my people, fill up the measure and the balance justly, and do not diminish the goods of the people, and do not mischief in the land, working corruption." (Arberry translation).

654 Reading with M ... *lā faḍla li-'arabiyyin 'alā 'ajamiyyin wa lā li-'ajamiyyin 'alā 'arabiyyin*.

655 Arabic *mawḍū'un taḥta qadamayya* (literally, "is put under my feet").

656 A small tribe of Hawāzin who lived northeast of Mecca. See W. Caskel, *Ġamharat annasab*, 2:493.

657 Arabic *al-nasī'*, referring originally to an intercalated month added periodically to the lunar calendar in pre-Islamic Mecca in order to keep the months aligned with the seasons

another, in order to agree with the number of that which God has hallowed.<sup>658</sup> Time has come round to a configuration like the one it had on the day God created the heavens and the earth. [*Indeed, the number of months with God is*]<sup>659</sup> *twelve months in the book of God*,<sup>660</sup> among which four are sacred: Rajab, which is between Jumādā and Shaʿbān, which they call (the month of) Muḍar;<sup>661</sup> and three consecutive months: Dhū l-Qaʿda, Dhū l-Hijja, and al-Muḥarram. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

He said: "I enjoin you to care well for (your) women; for they are subservient to you and control nothing for themselves. You have taken them only in accordance with a trust from God and have deemed | their sexual organs permissible to you only in accordance with God's book. You have a claim on them, and they have a claim on you for their clothing and their sustenance according to custom. Your due from them is that they not let anyone tread your bed and not allow anyone into your house, except with your knowledge and permission. If they do any such thing, *renounce them in their beds and beat them*<sup>662</sup> with a beating that is not severe. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

2:124

"I enjoin you concerning your slaves, that you feed them from what you eat, and clothe them from what you wear; but if they transgress, entrust their punishment to the worst among you. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

He said: "The Muslim is brother to the Muslim; he does not deceive him, or betray him, or slander him, neither is his blood or any of his property lawful to him, except with his consent. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "Satan has despaired of being worshipped after today, but he is obeyed in such other works of yours as you deem trivial, and he is pleased

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of the year. However, the Qurʾānic verse apparently refers to a different practice, that of declaring one of the Arabian calendar's four sacred months profane during a given year and transferring its sanctity to another month (the commentators give a variety of reasons for doing this), so as to maintain the number of four sacred months in a given year. For a discussion of the various interpretations of the verse, see the article by A. Moberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Naṣīʾ.

658 Qurʾān 9:37.

659 Insertion in ed. Leiden, from Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 998.

660 Qurʾān 9:36.

661 Apparently because the Muḍar tribes held it in special esteem. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:1034, s.v. Rajab.

662 Qurʾān 4:34.

with them. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "God's worst enemies are he who kills someone who has not killed him,<sup>663</sup> he who strikes someone who has not struck him, he who is ungrateful for the bounty of his masters, for he has disbelieved in what God sent down upon Muḥammad, and he who claims descent from someone other than his (true) father—upon him be the curse of God and the angels and of all people. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "I have been commanded to fight against people only until they say, 'There is no god but God,' and that I am the Messenger of God. When they say that, they have safeguarded their lives and their property from me, except by right, and their reckoning is up to God. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

2:125 "Do not revert after my death to being unbelievers led astray, with some of you owning others of you as slaves. I have left among you something which, if you hold fast to it, you will not go astray: God's book and my family, the people of my house. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. | "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "You will be held responsible; therefore let those of you who are present inform those who are absent."

He did not stay in Mecca (during the farewell pilgrimage). People asked him about it: "Why don't you stay in one of your houses (in Mecca), Messenger of God?" He replied, "I will not stay in a town from which I was expelled."

When it was the day of returning from Minā,<sup>664</sup> he entered the House and said farewell. It was revealed to him: *Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam for your religion.*<sup>665</sup>

He left by night, heading back to Medina. On 18 Dhū l-Ḥijja,<sup>666</sup> he came to a place in the lowland<sup>667</sup> of al-Juhfa called Ghadīr Khumm.<sup>668</sup> He stood to

663 That is, either a person who kills someone who has not killed one of his kin or someone who has not assaulted him with intent to kill.

664 Arabic *yawm al-nafr*.

665 Qur'an 5:3, traditionally seen as the last verse of the Qur'an revealed to Muḥammad.

666 March 16, 632.

667 Reading with M, *bi-l-ghawthi*; ed. Leiden, *bi-l-qurbi* (in the vicinity of).

668 Shi'ites see this episode as a formal bestowal of the imamate on 'Alī; see the articles by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghadīr Khumm, and by M. A. Amir-Moezzi in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ghadīr Khumm.

deliver an address, took the hand of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and said, “Am I not closer to the believers than they to themselves?” They said, “Yes, that is so, Messenger of God!” He said, “To whomever I am protector,<sup>669</sup> ‘Alī is protector. O God, be the friend of whoever helps him, and be the enemy of whoever treats him as an enemy.” Then he said, “People, I shall arrive at the water before you; you will come to me at the pool,<sup>670</sup> and I shall ask you, when you come to me, about the two weighty things; be mindful therefore of how you succeed me regarding the two of them.” They said, “What are the two weighty things, Messenger of God?” He replied, “The weightier of the two is the Book of God, a rope one end of which is in God’s hand and one end of which is in your hands. Hold fast to it and do not stray from it or alter it. (The other) is my family, the people of my house.”

### The Death (of the Prophet)<sup>671</sup>

When he arrived in Medina, he remained several days. He put Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha in charge of the chiefs of the Emigrants and Helpers and ordered him to head to where his father had been killed in the land of Syria.<sup>672</sup> Usāma is related to have said: “The Messenger of God ordered me to raid Yubnā<sup>673</sup> in the land of Palestine. That was in the morning; then he came down with a fever.” Others have related that | the Messenger of God ordered him to make the horses tread the land of al-Balqā’.<sup>674</sup> Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were also in the army. People began to talk, saying, “Someone so young in years—only seventeen years old!” Whereupon (the Prophet) said, “If you find fault with him, before him you found fault with his father, though both of them were born for command.” 2:126

The Messenger of God became ill before the army set out for its destination—Usāma was still at al-Jurf.<sup>675</sup> When his illness grew more severe, he said, “Dispatch the army of Usāma!” and he said this repeatedly. He was sick for

669 Arabic *mawlā*, also in the sense of “patron.”

670 Arabic *al-ḥawḍ*; a reference to the pool of paradise.

671 Main parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, 999–1013 (trans. Guillaume, 679–683); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1794–1820 (trans. Poonawala, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ix, 162–189); Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/ii, 1–100; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:543–579.

672 Usāma’s father, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, had been killed at the battle of Mu’ta in 8/629; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:66–67.

673 Sic. ed. Leiden; probably to be read as Ubnā, a town near Mu’ta, not the coastal town of Yubnā (Yavneh, ancient Iamnia); see Yāqūt, s.v. Ubnā.

674 Al-Balqā’ (the Piebald) is the hill district around Amman in modern Jordan.

675 A place three miles from Medina on the Syria road. See Yāqūt, s.v.

fourteen days and died on Monday, 2 Rabīʿ 1, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ādhār (March).<sup>676</sup> It was at the conjunction (of Jupiter and Saturn) in Scorpio.<sup>677</sup>

The astrologer Māshāʿallāh said: “The ascendant of the year in which the Messenger of God died, which was the fourth conjunction since his birth, was Capricorn, 18°. Venus was in [Pisces],<sup>678</sup> 17°; the Sun in Aries, 1°; the Moon in Aries, 2° 30′; Mercury [in Aries], 11° 13′; Jupiter in Libra, 23° 4′, retrograde; Mars in Capricorn, 5°; [Saturn in Virgo, 4° 30′; and the Ascending Node in Pisces, 1°].”

Al-Khwārazmī said: “On the day the Messenger of God died, the Sun was in Gemini, 6°; the Moon in Gemini, 23[°]; Saturn in Sagittarius, 29°; Mars in Pisces, 11°; Venus in Cancer, 18°; Mercury in Gemini, 28°; and the Ascending Node in Capricorn, 25°.”

His age was 63 years. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib washed his body, while al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Usāma b. Zayd provided the water. They heard a voice from the house,<sup>679</sup> hearing the voice but not seeing the person; it said: “Peace and *the mercy of God and His blessings* | *be upon you, people of*

2:127

676 The date 2 Rabīʿ 1 of A.H. 9 corresponds to May 28, 632; other authorities give a date of 13 Rabīʿ 1 of that year (June 8, 632). Al-Yaʿqūbī's comment that this corresponds to the non-Arab month of Ādhār (March) is strange. In unpointed Arabic script, the spelling of the name of the Julian month of May (Ayyār) is very similar to Ādhār, and so a miscopying may have taken place.

677 Al-Yaʿqūbī is referring to the framework into which Māshāʿallāh (mentioned in the next paragraph) attempted to fit world history, based on linking events to a series of conjunctions of the two planets farthest from the Earth in ancient astronomy—Saturn and Jupiter. Such conjunctions (*qirān*) take place at intervals of approximately 20 years. See E. S. Kennedy and David Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshāʿallāh*, 69 ff. and index s.v. *qirān*. On the Jewish astrologer Māshāʿallāh of Basra (d. c. 194/810), see Kennedy and Pingree, *Astrological History*, and the article by J. Samsó in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Māshāʿ Allāh b. Atharī.

678 Here and later in the sentence, there are visible lacunae in M and C (the basis of ed. Leiden). The reconstructed text is based on Kennedy and Pingree, *Astrological History*, 102–103.

679 The Arabic, *ṣawtan min al-bayt*, is ambiguous and could mean “from the house/room (in which Muḥammad had died)” or “from (the direction of) the Kaʿba” (that is, from the *qibla*). The parallel in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 1019 (*thumma kallamahum ṣawtun min nāhiyati l-bayti lā yadrūna man huwa*, “Then a voice spoke to them from the direction of the house, they not knowing who it was”) suggests the latter interpretation, although it, too, is ambiguous. The following Qurʾānic verse, with its reference to “people of the House,” originally addressed by God's messengers to Abraham's wife Sara, announcing birth of a son in her old age, supports the latter interpretation, given the traditional association of Abraham with the Kaʿba.

*the House! Surely He is praiseworthy and glorious.*<sup>680</sup> *God only desires to keep disgrace away from you, people of the House, and to purify you completely.*<sup>681</sup> *Every soul shall taste death. You shall receive your wages in full on the Day of Resurrection. Whoever is removed from the fire and made to enter the garden shall have succeeded. The life of this world is nothing but the joy of deception. You will surely be tested in your possessions and your souls. You will surely hear much insult from those to whom the Book was sent before you and from those who have associated [other beings with God]. But if you persevere and are God-fearing, surely that will decide the matter.*<sup>682</sup> In God there is a replacement for everything that perishes, and a consolation for every injury. God has magnified your rewards. Peace and the mercy of God!" (Later) Ja'far b. Muḥammad was asked, "Who did you think it was?" He replied, "Gabriel."

He was shrouded in two Ṣuḥārī garments and a striped cloak. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went down into his grave—some have said that al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās and Shuqrān, the client of the Messenger of God, (went down, too).<sup>683</sup> The Helpers called out, "Let us have a share in the Messenger of God in his death, as we had in his life!" Whereupon 'Alī said, "Let one of your men come down (into the grave)." They therefore sent Aws b. Khawālī down, one of the Banū l-Ḥublā. Abū Ṭalḥa b. Sahl al-Anṣārī had dug his grave; there was no one in Medina who used to dig (graves) but he and Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ would break ground and dig halfway, and Abū Ṭalḥa would dig out the niche.<sup>684</sup> Some have said that the two competed to dig and that Abū Ṭalḥa was the first to dig. Prayers were said over the body for several days, with the people coming and praying in groups. He was buried on the eve of Wednesday, partway through the night, and a piece of his camel saddle was spread under him; it was of red cloth (*urjuwān*). His grave was made square, but it was not mounded up.

When he died, the people said, "We | thought that the Messenger of God would not die until he had conquered the world!" 'Umar came out and said, "By God, the Messenger of God has not died and will not die; he has only gone away, just as Moses b. 'Imrān went away for forty nights. Then he will return; and, by God, he will cut off the hands and feet of certain people!" But Abū Bakr said, "Nay, God has announced his death to us, saying, *Indeed you are mortal*,

2:128

680 Qur'ān 11:73. The words "Peace and" are not in the canonical text.

681 Qur'ān 33:33.

682 Qur'ān 3:185–186.

683 The practice of going into the grave before burial to bid the deceased farewell was an Arabian custom in pre-Islamic times.

684 Arabic *lahd*, the lateral opening in the side of the grave to receive the corpse.

*and they are mortal.*"<sup>685</sup> Whereupon 'Umar said, "By God, it is as though I never recited it." Then he said:

By my life, I was certain indeed that you were mortal;  
it was only my distress that made me utter what I said.<sup>686</sup>

He left no children except Fāṭima, and she died forty nights after him—some have said seventy nights, others thirty nights, and others six months. She charged 'Alī, her husband, with responsibility for washing her body, and he did so. Asmā' bt. 'Umayy assisted him; she had served her and had cared for her. Fāṭima had said, "Do you not see what I have come to? Shall I be borne away on an open bed, exposed?" (Asmā') replied, "No, by my life, daughter of the Messenger of God! I shall fashion for you something like what I saw made in Ethiopia." [Fāṭima] said, "Show it to me!" Asmā' therefore sent for some tender palm-boughs and cut them; then she fashioned them on the bed into a bier; and this was the first time there were biers (in Islam). At this Fāṭima smiled—she was never seen smiling except on that day. She was buried by night and no one attended her burial except Salmān (al-Fārisī) and Abū Dharr (al-Ghifārī)—others have said 'Ammār [b. Yāsir].

Some of the wives of the Messenger of God came to Fāṭima during her illness and said, "Daughter of the Messenger of God! Allow us to participate in being present at the washing of your body!" She replied, "Do you wish to say about me what you said about my mother?"<sup>687</sup> I have no need for your presence."

During her illness the wives of the Messenger of God and other women of Quraysh came to her and said, "How are you?" She said, "By God, I find myself disliking this world of yours, and happy to be leaving you. I shall meet God and His Messenger with griefs caused by you: my right was not maintained, the obligation to me was not respected, | the testament was not accepted, and my inviolability was not recognized."<sup>688</sup> Her age was 23 years.

685 Qur'ān 39:30.

686 The words form a line of verse (meter *ṭawīl*), although they are not written as such in M or printed as such in ed. Leiden.

687 Fāṭima's mother was the Prophet's first wife, Khadija, who died when the Prophet was still in Mecca, but it is not clear what gossip is referred to here.

688 Presumably these phrases refer, among other things, to Fāṭima's claim that the Prophet had bequeathed to her the oasis of Fadak.



### Description of the Messenger of God<sup>689</sup>

The Messenger of God was imposing and dignified, of obvious cleanliness and shining face, well-proportioned, over average height, but not excessively tall, not marred by potbelliedness nor disparaged for being small-headed and thin-necked, good-looking, handsome of face; he outpaced anyone who walked with him, even if the one going with him had longer legs;<sup>690</sup> large-crowned and curly-haired—if his newborn's hair separated, it formed a clear part—and his hair did not go beyond his earlobes; radiant of color, with a complexion tinged with redness; having intense blackness in his eyes and bushiness in his eyelashes; hoarse in his voice; thick-bearded, with most of the grey hairs of his beard around his chin and those of his head on the temples; flat-cheeked and broad-mouthed; pleasant in speech, neither taciturn nor garrulous; having little chest hair; of medium build, with a broad chest and broad shoulder-blades, with a large distance between the shoulders; wide of back, stocky<sup>691</sup> below the sockets of the hip and thigh; bright on the unclad parts of his body; with the area between his upper chest and his navel connected by hair running like a line, but bare of hair other than that; hairy of arms, shoulders, and the upper parts of the chest; with long forearms, ample hands, thick palms and soles of the feet; with extended fingers and well-arched feet; lively of step when he walked, as though he were descending a slope [or] falling off | a boulder; 2:130 when he turned round, he turned altogether; having a lowered glance, so that he looked toward the ground more than he looked toward the sky; having a usually watchful gaze, so that when he met someone, he greeted them first off. Most of his sitting was squatting on his heels, and he used to eat (seated) on the ground. If a man addressed him saying, "Messenger of God!" he would say, "Here I am!"<sup>692</sup> If the man said, "Abū l-Qāsim!" he would reply, "Abū l-Qāsim!" If the man said, "Muḥammad," he would reply, "Muḥammad!" Whenever a man took his hand, he would not withdraw it until the man himself withdrew it. Whenever someone tugged him by his robe, he would not try to pull it away from him until he let him go. Whenever someone begged something from him, he would not turn him away without giving him what he wanted or with kind words.

689 Main parallels: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/ii, 120–131; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:1789–1793 (trans. Poona-wala, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ix, 157–161); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:386–396.

690 Arabic *lam yumāshihi aḥadun min al-nāsi illā ṭālahu, wa-in kāna al-mumāshiʾu lahu ṭawīlan*.

691 Reading with M, ʿabl, rather than ed. Leiden *ghayr* (except).

692 Arabic, *labbayka*.

### Those Who Resembled the Messenger of God<sup>693</sup>

Those who resembled the Messenger of God were: Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib—the Messenger of God said, “You resemble my physical build and my character”—al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī—Fāṭima used to say, “By my father, (he is) like my father, not like 'Alī,” and it is said that Abū Bakr said to al-Ḥasan, when he met him on one of the streets of Medina, “By my father, (you are) like the Prophet, not like 'Alī”—Qutham b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whose name was al-Mughīra,<sup>694</sup> Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib<sup>695</sup> b. 'Abd Manāf, and Muslim b. Mu'attib<sup>696</sup> b. Abī Lahab.

### The Lineage of the Messenger of God, His Female Ancestors Back to Abraham, and the 'Ātikas and Fāṭimas Who were His Ancestors

2:131 He is Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihri b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān b. Udd b. Udad b. Hamaysa' b. Yashjub b. Amīn b. Nabt b. Qaydhār b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham) b. Tāriḫ (Terah)<sup>697</sup> b. Sārūgh (Serug) b. Arghū (Reu) b. Fāligh (Peleg) b. 'Ābir (Eber) b. Shālikh (Salah) [b. Arfakhshad (Arpachshad) b. Sām (Shem) b. Nūḥ (Noah) b. Lamik (Lamech) b. Matūshalakh (Methuse-lah)]<sup>698</sup> b. Akhnūkh (Enoch)—who was Idrīs the prophet—b. Yarid (Jared) b. Mahlā'īl (Mahalalel) b. Qaynān (Kenan) b. Anūsh (Enosh) b. Shīth (Seth) b. Adam.

The mother of the Messenger of God was Āmina bt. Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb; and her mother was Barra bt. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. The mother of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was Fāṭima bt. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm. The mother of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib—who

693 Main parallel: al-Balādhurī *Ansāb*, 1:539.

694 Reading, with al-Balādhurī *Ansāb*, 1:539 bottom, *wa-smuhu al-mughīra* (for M, ed. Leiden: *wa-'s.h.d b.n al-' :r.h*); on al-Mughīra, see Ibn al-Kalbī (ed. Caskel) *Ġamharat an-nasab*, 2:419, and 1:Table 7.

695 Reading with M marginal note and al-Balādhurī *Ansāb*, 1:539, instead of M (main text) and ed. Leiden: Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

696 M reads Abī Mu'attib.

697 The MSS omit Terah's father Nahor.

698 The material in brackets was added by the Leiden editor.

was Shaybat al-Ḥamd b. Hāshim—was Salmā bt. [ʿAmr b. Zayd]<sup>699</sup> b. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanam b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, whose name was Zayd Manāt—others, however, say that his name was Taym al-Lāt—b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. al-Khazraj. The mother of Hāshim was ʿĀtika bt. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Thaʿlaba b. Buhtha b. Sulaym. [The mother of ʿAbd Manāf]<sup>700</sup>—whose name was al-Mughīra b. Quṣayy—was [Ḥubbā]<sup>701</sup> bt. Ḥulayl b. Ḥabashiyya b. | Salūl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir, of Khuzāʿa.<sup>702</sup> The mother of Quṣayy—whose name was Zayd b. Kilāb—was Fāṭima bt. Saʿd b. Sayal b. ʿĀmir al-Jādir, from ...<sup>703</sup> of the Azd, the Azd-Shanūʿa, who were allies of the Banū Nufātha b. ʿAdī b. al-Dīʿil b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna. The mother of Kilāb b. Murra was Hind bt. Surayr b. Thaʿlaba b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Kināna b. Khuzayma. The mother of Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʿayy was Māwiyya bt. al-Qayn b. Jasr b. Shayʿ al-Lāt b. Asad<sup>704</sup> b. Wabara b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍāʿa. The mother of Kaʿb b. Luʿayy was [Waḥshiyya bt. Shaybān. The mother of Luʿayy]<sup>705</sup> b. Ghālib was Salmā bt. ʿAmr b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. Khuzāʿa. The mother of Ghālib b. Fihir was Laylā bt. Saʿd b. Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. The mother of Fihir b. Mālik was Jandala bt. al-Ḥārith b. Jandal b. ʿĀmir b. Saʿd b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍaḍ b. ʿĀmir b. Dubb b. Jurhum. The mother of Mālik b. al-Naḍr was ʿĀtika—who was ʿIkrisha, (also known as) al-Ḥaṣān—bt. ʿAdwān—who was al-Ḥārith—b. ʿAmr b. Qays b. ʿAylān b. Muḍar. The mother of al-Naḍr b. Kināna was Barra bt. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. The mother of Kināna b. Khuzayma was Hind bt. Qays b. ʿAylān. The mother of Khuzayma b. Mudrika was Salmā bt. Asad b. Rabīʿa b. Nizār. The mother of Mudrika b. Ilyās was Khindif—who was Laylā—bt. Ḥulwān b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍāʿa. The mother of Ilyās b. Muḍar was al-Ḥanfāʾ bt. Iyād b. Nizār | b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān. The mother of Muḍar b. Nizār was Shaqīqa bt. Akk b. ʿAdnān b. Udad. The mother of Nizār b. Maʿadd was Nāʿima bt. Jawsham<sup>706</sup> b. ʿAdī b.

699 ʿAmr b. Zayd was added by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiḳāq*, 220. M, however, has Salmā bt. Khidāsh b. Umayya b. Labīd b. ʿĀmir ...

700 Added by the Leiden editor.

701 Added by the Leiden editor.

702 Following L. M has "...ʿĀmir b. Khuzāʿa," but Khuzāʿa was the by-name of ʿAmr b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr Muzayqiyyā, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī (ed. Caskel), *Ġamharat an-nasab*, 1:Tafel 196.

703 Lacuna in M, ed. Leiden; ed. Leiden omits "from."

704 Following Ibn al-Kalbī (ed. Caskel), *Ġamharat an-nasab*, 1:Tafel 297. M, ed. Leiden: Jasr b. Sh.y.ʿ Allāh b. al-Asad. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:534: Māwiya bt. al-Qayn b. Jasr b. Shuyayʿ Allāh b. Asad ...

705 Added by the Leiden editor.

706 M, ed. Leiden: Jusham; corrected by the Leiden editor.

Dubb b. Jurhum. The mother of Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān was Tayma bt. Yashjub b. Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān. [...] <sup>707</sup> The mother of Udd b. Udad was al-Baʿjā <sup>708</sup> bt. ʿAmr b. Tubbaʿ b. Saʿd Dhī Fāʿish b. Ḥimyar. The mother of Udad b. al-Hamaysaʿ was Ḥayya bt. Qaḥṭān. The mother of al-Hamaysaʿ b. Yashjub was Ḥāritha <sup>709</sup> bt. Murād b. Zurʿa b. Dhī Raʿīn b. Ḥimyar. The mother of Yashjub b. Amīn was Quṭāma bt. ʿAlī b. Jurhum. [...] <sup>710</sup> The mother of Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm was Ḥājar (Hagar), who was slave girl to Sāra, the mother of Ishāq (Isaac); she was a Copt, but others allege that she was Byzantine. The mother of Ibrāhīm—he was Ibrāhīm b. Tārīkh—was Adnayyā <sup>711</sup> bt. B.r <sup>712</sup> b. Arghū b. Fāligh b. ʿĀbir b. Shālīkh. <sup>713</sup>

It is reported that the Messenger of God often said, “I am the offspring of the ʿĀtikas,” or sometimes he said, “I am the offspring of the ʿĀtikas of Sulaym.” <sup>714</sup> Those ʿĀtikas who bore him were twelve women named ʿĀtika, ten of them from Muḍar, one from Qaḥṭān, and one from Quḍāʿa. Those from Muḍar were three from Quraysh, three from Sulaym, two from ʿAdwān, and one each from Hudhayl and Asad. As for the women from Quraysh, the following were his ancestors through Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā: [the mother of Asad b.] <sup>715</sup> ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā was al-Ḥuḏayyā, <sup>716</sup> (whose real name) was Rayṭa bt. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym

<sup>707</sup> Although there is no visible lacuna in the MSS, the Leiden editor assumed that the genealogy of the mother of ʿAdnān has dropped out of the text.

<sup>708</sup> Conjectural reading of an otherwise unattested name written undotted in M, C; another possible reading is al-Naʿjāʿ.

<sup>709</sup> As corrected by the Leiden editor. M: Jāriya (or, Ḥāritha, the letters are undotted) bt. Murād b. Zurʿa; C similarly, except that the copyist apparently has dotted the first name as Ḥāritha.

<sup>710</sup> Although there is no visible lacuna in the MSS, the Leiden editor assumed that the genealogy of the mothers of Amīn, Nabt, and Qaydhar has dropped out of the text.

<sup>711</sup> Vocalization conjectural: ʿ.d.n.y.ā.

<sup>712</sup> Conjectural; unpointed in M, C.

<sup>713</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:346, which gives two versions of Ibrāhīm's (Abraham's) maternal ancestry, both largely different from that provided here. Jewish sources give the name of Abraham's mother as Emtelai, the daughter of Karnabo (see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 1:186; Ginzberg's note, 5:208–209, lists the variants, none of which can be easily matched with the Arabic).

<sup>714</sup> For similar lists of the Prophet's female ancestors who bore the name ʿĀtika or Fāṭima, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:532–535; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/i, 32–36.

<sup>715</sup> As restored by the Leiden editor; C, M have a visible lacuna.

<sup>716</sup> M, ed. Leiden: al-Ḥuṭayyā; corrected on the basis of Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, R. 19; cf. Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, 18, 19, 23, 47, which also has al-Ḥuṭayyā.

b. Murra; her mother was Qabla<sup>717</sup> bt. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumah; her mother was Umayma bt. | ‘Āmir b. al-Ḥān<sup>718</sup> b. al-Ḥārith, who was Ghassān b. Khuzā’a; and her mother was (1) [‘Ātika bt. Hilāl]<sup>719</sup> b. Wuhayb [b. Ḍabba b. al-Ḥārith]<sup>720</sup> b. Fihr; Hilāl b. Wuhayb’s mother was (2) ‘Ātika bt. ‘Utwāra b. al-Ṭarib b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr; and her mother was (3) ‘Ātika bt. Yakhlud b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma. 2:134

As for the women from Sulaym, the following were his ancestors through Hāshim: the mother of Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf, [who was (1) ‘Ātika bt. Murra b. Hilāl]<sup>721</sup> b. Sulaym b. Manṣūr; the mother of Murra b. Hilāl, who was (2) ‘Ātika bt. Murra b. ‘Adī b. Sulaymān b. Quṣayy b. Khuzā’a; and it is said that she was (3) ‘Ātika bt. Jābir b. Qunfudh b. Mālik b. ‘Awf b. Imru’ al-Qays b. Buhtha b. Sulaym.

As for the two women of ‘Adwān, they were his ancestors through the maternal ancestors of his father ‘Abdallāh and through Mālik b. al-Naḍr. As for the one who was his ancestor through ‘Abdallāh, she was his ancestor seven generations back<sup>722</sup>—some say five—‘Ātika bt. ‘Āmir b. Ḍarib b. ‘Amr b. Yashkur b. al-Ḥārith, who was ‘Adwān b. ‘Amr b. Qays b. ‘Aylān. Those who say she was five generations back say that she was ‘Ātika bt. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Wā’ila b. Ḍarib b. ‘Amr. As for the [second] woman of ‘Adwān, she was the mother of Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna, and (her name) was ‘Ātika bt. ‘Adwān b. ‘Amr b. Qays b. ‘Aylān.

As for the woman of Hudhayl, his ancestry through Hāshim was: the mother of Hāshim, ‘Ātika bt. Murra b. Hilāl, whose mother was Māwiyya bt. Ḥawra b. ‘Amr b. Salūl b. Ṣa’ṣa’a b. Mu’āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin, and the mother of Mu’āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin was ‘Ātika bt. Sa’d b. Hudhayl.

As for the woman of Asad, | his ancestor three generations back from Kilāb b. Murra was ‘Ātika bt. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma. 2:135

As for the woman of Qaḥṭān, she was his ancestor through Ghālīb b. Fihr [b. Mālik]<sup>723</sup> b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna: the mother of Ghālīb b. Fihr was Laylā bt.

717 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, 19, 47, reads Qayla; a note on p. 18 points out that the name of Rayṭa’s mother is also given as Māwiya.

718 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, 47 has ‘Āmir al-Jān b. al-Ḥārith.

719 Restored by the Leiden editor; there is a visible lacuna in M.

720 Restored by the Leiden editor; there is a visible lacuna in M.

721 Restored by the Leiden editor; no lacuna is visible in M.

722 Arabic *al-sābi’atu min ummahātihi* (the seventh of his mothers), that is, his great-great-great-great-grandmother, seven generations before him.

723 Added by the Leiden editor.

[Sa'd b.]<sup>724</sup> Hudhayl b. Mudrika, whose mother was Salmā bt. Ṭābikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar, and her mother was 'Ātika bt. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt [b.] Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān—and she was the female ancestor (of the Prophet) three generations back from al-Naḍr b. Kināna.<sup>725</sup>

As for the woman of Quḍā'a, she was his ancestor through Ka'b b. Lu'ayy—she was the latter's ancestor three generations back: 'Ātika bt. Rashdān b. Qays b. Juhayna b. Zayd b. Sūd b. Aslam b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍā'a.

### Names of the Fāṭimas Who Bore Him

He<sup>726</sup> said: More than one scholar informed me that at the battle of Ḥunayn he would say “God is most great!”<sup>727</sup> and would say, “I am the son of the Fāṭimas.” The genealogists have informed me that four women named Fāṭima were female ancestors of his: one woman from Quraysh, two from Qays, and one from Azd.

As for the woman from Quraysh, through his father, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he was descended from Fāṭima bt. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makh-zūm.<sup>728</sup> The two women of Qays were the mother of 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān—she was Fāṭima bt. [Rabī'a b.]<sup>729</sup> 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Rizām b. Bakr b. Hawāzin—and her mother, Fāṭima bt. [al-Ḥārith b.]<sup>730</sup> Buhtha b. Sulaym b. [Manṣūr].<sup>731</sup> The woman of Azd was the mother of Quṣayy b. Kilāb—she was Fāṭima bt. Sa'd b. Sayal.

724 Added by the Leiden editor.

725 Sic. One would expect “three generations back from Ghālib b. Fihr.”

726 The referent of the pronoun is unclear. It apparently refers to an unnamed informant of al-Ya'qūbī.

727 Ed. Leiden reads *kāna yakthuru* (he would do frequently), with note that text is unpointed, as it is in M; one could read *kāna yukabbiru*, which makes better sense of the passage. The translation follows this reading.

728 She was the wife of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and thus the Prophet's grandmother.

729 Added by the Leiden editor.

730 Added by the Leiden editor.

731 Added by the Leiden editor.

## The Governors of the Messenger of God

2:136

The governors of the Messenger of God at the time of his death were: over Mecca, 'Attāb b. Asīd b. al-Āṣ. Over al-Baḥrayn,<sup>732</sup> al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī and al-Mundhir b. Sāwā al-Tamīmī—some say, instead of al-'Alā', Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ. Over Oman, 'Abbād and Jayfar, sons of al-Julandā—some say 'Amr b. al-Āṣ. Over al-Ṭā'if, 'Uthmān b. Abī l-'Āṣ. Over Yemen, Mu'ādh b. Jabal and Abū Mūsā 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Ash'arī, who instructed the people.<sup>733</sup> Over the districts<sup>734</sup> of al-Janad and Ṣan'a', al-Muhājir b. [Abī]<sup>735</sup> Umayya al-Makhzūmī. Over Ḥaḍramawt, Ziyād b. Labīd al-Anṣārī. Over the districts<sup>736</sup> of Yemen, Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ. Over one of its districts,<sup>737</sup> Ya'lā b. Munya al-Tamīmī. Over Najrān, Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādī—some have said it was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. In charge of the alms payments (*ṣadaqāt*)<sup>738</sup> of the (tribes of) Asad and Ṭayyi'<sup>739</sup> was 'Adī b. Ḥātim. In charge of the alms payments of the (tribe of) Ḥanzāla<sup>740</sup> was Mālīk b. Nuwayra al-Ḥanzālī. Some say that in charge of the alms payments of the Banū Yarbū' and those of the tribes of 'Amr and Tamīm<sup>741</sup> was Samura b. 'Amr b. Janāb al-'Anbarī. In charge of the alms payments of the Banū Sa'd was al-Zibriqān b. Badr. In charge of the alms payments of Muqā'is and al-Buṭūn<sup>742</sup> was Qays b. Āṣim.

732 Al-Baḥrayn in early usage refers to all of eastern Arabia, not merely to the island that now bears that name.

733 That is, in the rudiments of Islam; on his subsequent career, see the article by Michael Lecker in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā.

734 Arabic *makhālīf* (pl. of *mikhālīf*), a term restricted to the geographic regions of Yemen.

735 Added by the Leiden editor.

736 Perhaps to be interpreted as "some of the districts (*makhālīf*)."

737 Arabic *nāḥiya min nawāḥihā*, apparently still referring to Yemen.

738 In texts relating to the time of Muḥammad, *ṣadaqa*, later interpreted as a kind of voluntary alms, seems to refer especially to a tax levied on the cattle owned by nomadic groups. See the article by T. H. Weir in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣadaqa.

739 The tribes of Asad and Ṭayyi' lived in Najd at the time.

740 Ḥanzāla was a sub-tribe of Tamīm (see next note).

741 Tamīm was a large tribal group consisting mostly of pastoral nomads that dominated much of northeastern Arabia in Muḥammad's day; many of its subordinate lineages, including Ḥanzāla, Yarbū', 'Amr b. Zayd Manāt, Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt, Muqā'is, and al-Buṭūn, functioned as virtually independent tribes. See the article by M. Lecker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tamīm b. Murr.

742 See the preceding note.

**Report of the (Events at) the Portico of the Tribe of Sā'ida and the  
Oath of Allegiance to Abū Bakr<sup>743</sup>**

2:137 The Helpers (*Anṣār*) gathered at the portico of the Banū Sā'ida<sup>744</sup> on the day the Messenger of God died [and] was to be washed.<sup>745</sup> They seated Sa'd b. 'Ubāda al-Khazrajī, bound his head (with a turban), and folded a cushion for him.<sup>746</sup> Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and the Emigrants found out, and they came | hurriedly and turned people's attention away from Sa'd. Abū Bakr, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ came forward and said, "Assemblies of the Helpers! The Messenger of God was one of us,<sup>747</sup> and therefore we are more entitled to his place." The Helpers replied, "A commander from among us and a commander from among you!"<sup>748</sup> At this, Abū Bakr said, "The commanders from among us, and you the advisers!"<sup>749</sup> Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās then stood up—he was the orator (*khaṭīb*) of the Helpers—and spoke, pointing out their merit. Abū Bakr replied, "We do not deny their merit—indeed you are entitled to the merit you have mentioned—but Quraysh are closer<sup>750</sup> to Muḥammad than you are. Here is 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, of whom the Messenger of God said, 'O God, strengthen the religion through him!' And here is Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, of whom the Messenger of God said, 'The trusted one<sup>751</sup> of this community.' Pledge allegiance to whichever of the two you wish!" But the two

743 Al-Ya'qūbī provides a very abbreviated account of this episode, based in part on fuller accounts in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 1013–1018 (trans. Guillaume, 683–687); and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1820–1829 (trans. Poonawala, 189–202) and 1837–1847 (trans. Donner, 1–13). For an overview of the literature on the subject, see the article by G. Lecomte in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Saḳīfa. An extensive discussion can be found in Wilfred Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, especially 28–56.

744 The Banū Sā'ida were one of the five main clans of the Khazraj tribe of Medina. Their chief was Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, mentioned in the next line. The portico (*saqīfa*) was some sort of covered area suitable for communal meetings.

745 Ed. Leiden assumes a lacuna here; M indicates none, but the disjointed syntax of the Arabic (the word "and" is not in the text) suggests that something has dropped out.

746 The other accounts mention that Sa'd was ill; hence these actions.

747 That is, he was of our tribe, Quraysh.

748 That is, a kind of duumvirate in which two men would jointly hold authority.

749 Arabic *wuzarā'* (plural of *wazīr*).

750 Arabic *awlā bi-muḥammadin*: possibly "more worthy of Muḥammad" (that is, of his legacy).

751 Following M: *amīn* (cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1817–1818); ed. Leiden (apparently following C) reads *amīr* (commander).



of them refused<sup>752</sup> him and said, “By God, we are not such as to take precedence over you; you are the companion of the Messenger of God and ‘the second of two.’”<sup>753</sup> Abū ‘Ubayda then grasped the hand of Abū Bakr;<sup>754</sup> ‘Umar followed suit, and those of Quraysh who were with him pledged their allegiance to him. Then Abū ‘Ubayda called out, “Companies of Helpers! You were the first of those who offered assistance; do not be the first to alter and change.” ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf<sup>755</sup> stood up and said, “Companies of Helpers! Even if you possess merit, there is no one among you like Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Alī.” Al-Mundhir b. Arqam<sup>756</sup> stood up and said, “We do not deny the merit of those you have mentioned; indeed, there is a man among them such that if he had sought this matter, no one would have disputed him for it: ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib.” Bashīr b. Sa’d<sup>757</sup> of the Khazraj then jumped up and became the first of the Helpers to swear allegiance to him,<sup>758</sup> along with Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr al-Khazrajī.<sup>759</sup> Then the people swore allegiance to him—men even began jumping over the pillow of Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda and even stepped on Sa’d. ‘Umar said, “Kill Sa’d—may God kill Sa’d!”

Al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib<sup>760</sup> came, knocked at the door<sup>761</sup> of the Banū Hāshim, and said, “People of Hāshim! The oath of allegiance has been sworn to Abū Bakr!” At this some of them said, “The Muslims have never done anything new from 2:138

752 So emended by the Leiden editor (*fa-abayā ‘alayhi*); C, M: *fa-atayā ‘alayhi* (the two of them came to him), which is less idiomatic.

753 That is, “the second of two in the cave,” a reference to the fact that Abū Bakr alone made the *hijra* with Muḥammad, during which they hid in a cave from a Meccan search party.

754 The traditional handclasp signifying that one is swearing allegiance to another.

755 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf was an early companion of Prophet from the Banū Zuhra (Quraysh), renowned for piety and loyalty. See the article by Wilferd Madelung in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf.

756 This spokesman for the Anṣār (Helpers) does not appear in the parallel accounts and apparently is unknown to other early sources.

757 On Bashīr b. Sa’d, a Medinese Companion of Prophet from a branch of the Khazraj, see the article by Michael Lecker in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bashīr b. Sa’d.

758 That is, to Abū Bakr.

759 Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr from the ‘Abd al-Ashhal clan of al-Aws was one of Muḥammad’s earliest followers from Medina; see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, 1:234–235 (no. 185).

760 On al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib, a Medinese Companion of the Prophet from the Banū al-Ḥāritha clan of al-Aws, see the article by Andreas Görke in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib b. al-Ḥārith.

761 Arabic *ḍaraba l-bāba ‘alā Banī Hāshim* can also be interpreted as meaning, “shut the door on the Banū Hāshim.” In any case, the Banū Hāshim are portrayed as assembled in a *dār* (house) from which they emerge as a group, apparently intending to offer their allegiance to ‘Alī (“our companion”).

which we were absent, for we are closest to Muḥammad.” Whereupon al-‘Abbās said, “They have done so (now), by the Lord of the Ka’ba!” Now the Emigrants and Helpers never had had any doubt about ‘Alī,<sup>762</sup> and so when they<sup>763</sup> came out of the house, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās, who was the spokesman of Quraysh, stood up to say, “People of Quraysh, it is not right that the succession (*khilāfa*) should become yours<sup>764</sup> through deceit; we are entitled to it before you, and our companion is more entitled to it than you are.” ‘Utba b. Abī Lahab<sup>765</sup> stood up and said:

I never thought that the matter would be diverted  
 from Hāshim and then from Abū l-Ḥasan among them;<sup>766</sup>  
 From the first of the people in belief and priority,  
 the person most knowledgeable about the Qur’ān and the *sunna*;  
 The last person to be in the Prophet’s presence, whom  
 Gabriel assisted in washing and shrouding (his body);  
 The one in whom is all (the good) that they have, whom they do not  
 doubt;  
 And the good that he has none of the people has.

‘Alī, however, sent to him and forbade him.<sup>767</sup> A group of Emigrants and Helpers held back from pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr and favored ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; among them were al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās, al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām b. al-‘Āṣ, Khālīd b. Sa‘īd, al-Miqdād b. ‘Amr, Salmān al-Fārisī, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib, and Ubayy b. Ka’b.<sup>768</sup> | Abū Bakr therefore sent a message to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh,

<sup>762</sup> That is, about his qualification for leadership.

<sup>763</sup> That is, the Hāshimites.

<sup>764</sup> Here al-Faḍl represents the claims of the clan of Hāshim (among them ‘Alī, whom he subsequently terms “our companion”) against those of the rest of Quraysh, including Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, etc.

<sup>765</sup> ‘Utba b. Abī Lahab was a cousin of the Prophet, son of his determined enemy, his uncle Abū Lahab; he was a late follower of Muḥammad. On the varying attributions of the poem, see Madelung, *Succession*, 36–37.

<sup>766</sup> That is, from ‘Alī, known by his *kunya* as Abū l-Ḥasan (Father of al-Ḥasan), after his oldest son.

<sup>767</sup> The sentence appears to mean that ‘Alī sent a message to ‘Utba (or to al-Faḍl), forbidding him from stirring up opposition to Abū Bakr (so Madelung, *Succession*, 37, note 28, citing *Nahj al-Balāgha*, a commentary ‘Alī’s collected sermons).

<sup>768</sup> All of them were early and distinguished companions of the Prophet.

and al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba saying, “What do you think should be done?” They replied, “We think that you should meet with al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and give him a share in this affair, to be for him and for his descendants after him—thereby cutting off the claim of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—as an argument for you against ‘Alī, if (al-‘Abbās) leans to your cause.”

Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, and al-Mughīra therefore set out and visited al-‘Abbās by night. Having praised and lauded God, Abū Bakr said: “Truly, God sent Muḥammad as a prophet and as a guardian<sup>769</sup> to the believers. He granted them the favor of his presence among them, until He chose for him that which is with Him,<sup>770</sup> and left to the people their affairs,<sup>771</sup> that they might choose for themselves with care for their own welfare.<sup>772</sup> They therefore have chosen me to be a guardian<sup>773</sup> over them and a shepherd for their affairs. I have been entrusted with that, and, with God’s aid and strengthening, I fear neither weakness, nor confusion, nor cowardice. *My success is only through God; I have put my trust in Him, and I turn in repentance to Him.*<sup>774</sup> But I continue to hear of a detractor who speaks in opposition to the majority of the Muslims, and takes you<sup>775</sup> as a refuge, that you<sup>776</sup> might be his invincible fortress and his eloquent argument.<sup>777</sup> Either you<sup>778</sup> join the people in what they have agreed upon, or you turn them aside from that to which they have inclined. We have come to you<sup>779</sup> desiring that you<sup>780</sup> should have a share in this affair, to be for you and for your descendants after you, since you were the paternal uncle of the Messenger of God. If the people considered your position and the position of your companion, [they would accept that]<sup>781</sup> on your<sup>782</sup> behalf. Go gently now, Banū Hāshim, for the Messenger of God was one of us and one of you.”

769 Arabic *walī*.

770 That is, until God summoned Muḥammad to Him in death.

771 Reading with M, *umūrahūm*, for ed. Leiden *umūran* (affairs).

772 Arabic *mushfiqīn*; or perhaps “in fear (of the coming Hour)”, cf. Qur’ān 21:49.

773 Arabic, *walī*.

774 Qur’ān 11:88.

775 The Arabic pronoun is plural, referring to al-‘Abbās and others of the Banū Hāshim.

776 Reading with M, *takūnūna* (2nd person plural); ed. Leiden, *takūnu* (2nd person singular).

777 Reading with M, *khuṭṭatahu al-badī*. The first word is unpointed in M; ed. Leiden reconstructs it as *khaṭṭabahu* (his affair).

778 Plural.

779 Singular.

780 Singular.

781 Lacuna in ed. Leiden and M; the Leiden editor proposed this emendation.

782 Plural.

2:140

Then ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, “Yes, by God! More exactly:<sup>783</sup> we have not come to you to ask you for something, but out of dismay that the attack on what the Muslims have agreed upon should come from you and lest matters | should get out of hand both for you and for them. So look out for yourselves!”

Then al-‘Abbās praised and lauded God and said, “Truly, God sent Muḥammad, as you<sup>784</sup> have described, as a prophet and as a guardian to the believers, granting favor to his community through him, until God took him to Himself and chose for him that which is with Him, leaving to the Muslims responsibility for their affairs, that they might choose for themselves those who would reach the truth, unswayed by whim. So if you have been (chosen) by the Messenger of God, you have received your due; and if you have been (chosen) by the believers, we are of them. We did not put ourselves forward in your affair as an obligation, nor did we take a neutral position, nor did we withdraw out of anger. If you<sup>785</sup> have a right to this affair only by (the choice of) the believers, you have no right, since we are unwilling. How far your statement that they have spoken against you is from your claim that they chose you and inclined to you! How far your being named the successor (*khalīfa*) of God’s Messenger is from your statement that He<sup>786</sup> left matters to the people to choose, and so they choose you! As for what you say you will grant me: if it is the right of the believers (to grant), it is not for you to decide about it; and if it is our right, we will not be satisfied with some of it to the exclusion of the rest. Go gently now! For indeed the Messenger of God was of a tree of which we are the branches, while you are its neighbors!”

Then they left his presence. Among those who held back from swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. He said, “Banū ‘Abd Manāf,<sup>787</sup> are you content that someone other than (one of) you should govern this affair for you?” And he said to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, “Stretch out your hand and I will swear allegiance to you.” With ‘Alī was Quṣayy,<sup>788</sup> who said:

783 Reading *wa-aḥrā* for ed. Leiden and M *wa-ukhrā* (and another thing); L notes that the word is unpointed in C.

784 The 2nd person pronoun, here and in the following sentences, is in the singular; al-‘Abbās is addressing Abū Bakr specifically.

785 That is, Abū Bakr.

786 The pronoun could refer either to God (as in Abū Bakr’s speech) or to Muḥammad.

787 The ‘Abd Manāf clan of Quraysh included both the clans of Umayya (to which Abū Sufyān belonged) and the clan of Hāshim (to which the Prophet, ‘Alī, and al-‘Abbās belonged). Abū Bakr was of the Quraysh clan of Taym, and hence not of ‘Abd Manāf.

788 Otherwise unidentified.

Banū Hāshim, do not let the people take advantage of you,  
 especially Taym b. Murra or ‘Adī.<sup>789</sup>  
 The affair is yours only, and yours by right;  
 and the only one for it is Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī. |  
 Seize it, Abū l-Ḥasan, with the hand of a resolute man,  
 for you are the one who is hoped for, fully up to the affair.  
 Indeed, a man behind whom Quṣayy shoots<sup>790</sup>  
 is strong of protection, (even) when the people are far from a  
 conqueror.

2:141

Khālīd b. Sa‘īd was away, and when he returned he came to ‘Alī and said, “Come and I will swear allegiance to you; for, by God, no one among the people is worthier to take Muḥammad’s place than you.” A group gathered round ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, calling on him to accept the oath of allegiance to him, but he said to them, “Go to this man with shaved heads.”<sup>791</sup> However, only three people went to him. When Abū Bakr and ‘Umar learned that a group of Emigrants and Helpers had gathered with ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the house of Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God, they came with a group to attack the courtyard. ‘Alī came out with a sword, and ‘Umar met him. ‘Umar wrestled with him, threw him to the ground, and broke his sword, and they entered the courtyard. Then Fāṭima came out saying, “By God, you will get out or I will uncover my hair and cry out to God for help!” So they left, and those who were in the house came out. The people waited a few days; then they began one by one [to swear allegiance].<sup>792</sup> ‘Alī, however, swore allegiance only after six months—some say forty days.

789 That is, either the clan of Abū Bakr (Taym b. Murra), or that of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (‘Adī b. Ka‘b).

790 That is, in whose defense Quṣayy shoots arrows.

791 That is, to Abū Bakr, whom ‘Alī contemptuously refuses to name; the shaved heads presumably were to be a show of distress.

792 That is, to Abū Bakr. The text is badly disturbed. In M, the passage straddles the page break between folios 91b and 92a, and the sentence as originally written makes no sense; there is clearly a lacuna: “Then they began one by one [page break] ‘Alī swear allegiance.” To make sense of this, another hand has added the word *yubāyī‘ūna* (swear allegiance) in the margin at the bottom of folio 91b, and *‘Alīyyan wa-lam* (“‘Alī [accusative case], and did not ...”) in the margin at the top of folio 92a. Thus, the text in M, with the copyist’s clumsy attempt to make grammatical sense, says: “Then they began one by one to swear allegiance to ‘Alī, and ‘Alī did not swear allegiance except after six months ...” This is clearly wrong, as the gist of the story in every source is that Abū Bakr received the oath of allegiance, even though in some sources (as in al-Ya‘qūbī) sentiment for ‘Alī’s claim is expressed.

[The Days of Abū Bakr]<sup>793</sup>

2:142 The swearing of allegiance to Abū Bakr took place on Tuesday, 2 Rabiʿ 1 11, on the day on which the Messenger of God died.<sup>794</sup> Abū Bakr's name was 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Āmir, and he was called "Atīq" ("comely") because of his handsomeness. His mother | was Salmā bt. Ṣakhr of the Banū Taym b. Murra. His home was in al-Sunḥ outside Medina, where his wife Ḥabība bint Khārija was. He also had a home in Medina, where Asmā' bint 'Umayy was.<sup>795</sup> When he took charge, his place of residence was Medina. Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God, came to him to seek her inheritance from her father, but he said to her, "The Messenger of God said, 'We, the company of prophets, do not bequeath; what we leave behind is charity.'" She replied: "Is it God's wish that you inherit from your father, but that I do not inherit from my father? Didn't the Messenger of God say, 'A man should care for his children?'" Whereupon Abū Bakr wept profusely.

He ordered Usāma b. Zayd to go forth his army, but asked him to leave 'Umar with him so that he might assist him in his affairs.<sup>796</sup> Usāma said, "And what do you say about yourself?" Abū Bakr replied, "Nephew, the people have done as you see; therefore leave me 'Umar, and go your way." So Usāma went out with the army. Abū Bakr saw him off, saying to him: "I am not commending anything to you or ordering you to it; I am carrying out<sup>797</sup> what the Messenger of God ordered you to do. Proceed to where the Messenger of God appointed you." Usāma therefore set out. He remained away for sixty days—or forty—from his departure until his return to Medina. Then he entered Medina with his standard (still) tied. He entered the mosque and prayed, and then went to his house, taking with him the standard that the Messenger of God had tied for him.

Upon taking charge of matters, Abū Bakr ascended the pulpit and sat one step lower than where the Messenger of God had sat. Having praised and lauded God, he said: "I have been given charge over you, but I am not the best of

793 Section title supplied by the Leiden editor; not in M.

794 May 28, 632.

795 Abū Bakr's third wife; see the article by W. M. Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Bakr; according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (ed. Hyderabad), 12:398, she was the widow of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib and, after Abū Bakr's death, was married to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. On Abū Bakr's name, see the article by Khalil Athamina in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Bakr.

796 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1851.

797 Reading with M, *wa-anā munfidh* instead of the Leiden editor's emendation to make sense of a miscopied word in C, *wa-innamā āmiru-ka* (and I order you only ...).

you; therefore, if I do what is right,<sup>798</sup> follow me, but if I go astray, set me right. I do not say that I am the best of you in merit, but I am the best of you to bear the burden.” He praised the Helpers and said, “With regard to you, company of Helpers, I am as a certain poet said:<sup>799</sup>

May God reward Ja‘far on our account, (for what he did) when our  
sandals  
caused us to slip among the tramlers and to flee.  
They<sup>800</sup> refused to turn away from us, though even our mother,  
had she experienced from us what they did, would have turned from  
us.”

2:143

The Helpers remained aloof from Abū Bakr. The Quraysh were angered by this, and their orators took to talking about it. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ came to them, and they said to him, “Go and say something to disparage the Helpers.” He did so, whereupon al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās stood up and responded to them. Then he went to ‘Alī to tell him, and recited to him a poem that he had composed. ‘Alī went out angrily and entered the mosque. He spoke favorably about the Helpers and replied to what ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ had said. When the Helpers learned of it, they were delighted and said, “We don’t care what anyone says, given how well ‘Alī has spoken.” They met with Ḥassān b. Thābit<sup>801</sup> saying, “Answer al-Faḍl!”<sup>802</sup> So he said, “If I respond to him in a rhyme different from his, it would disgrace me.” So they said, “Then mention only ‘Alī.” So he recited,<sup>803</sup>

May God give a good reward—and reward is in His hand—  
to Abū l-Ḥasan for us—and who is like Abū l-Ḥasan?

798 Arabic in *istaqamtu*, literally, “If I go straight,” recalling “the straight path” (*al-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm*) of Qur’ān 1:6.

799 The poem is evidently a lament for the death of ‘Alī’s older brother Ja‘far, who was killed at the battle of Mu’ta in southern Syria.

800 That is, Ja‘far and his men. The sense is, “We failed to stand firm in battle, but Ja‘far and his men refused to turn away from helping us, though even our mother would have turned away in disgust from our cowardice.”

801 The poet who had been the Prophet’s panegyrist; he was a member of the Khazraj of Medina and one of the Helpers (*Anṣār*).

802 Meaning, perhaps, that he should recite something supporting what al-Faḍl had said—unless al-Faḍl in the text here is a slip for ‘Amr.

803 This poem is not found in *The Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, and indeed no poem in that collection mentions ‘Alī (Abū l-Ḥasan).

2:144

You have taken precedence over Quraysh with that which you merit;  
 your breast is opened and your heart well-tested.  
 Certain mighty men of Quraysh have desired  
 your place. How far removed is thinness from fatness!  
 You possess every dignity in Islam,  
 [...] <sup>804</sup> of the halter.  
 You have ever been the hope of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib <sup>805</sup>  
 both for what has been and what has not yet come to be.  
 You cared for the Messenger of God (when he was) among us; his charge  
 was to you—and who, who was more suited to it than you?  
 Were you not his (foster) brother in the “brothering,” <sup>806</sup> and his heir? <sup>807</sup>  
 the most knowledgeable of Fihri <sup>808</sup> of the Book and the Sunnas?

Some of the Arabs <sup>809</sup> claimed to be prophets; some of them apostatized and placed crowns on their heads, and some refused to pay the *zakāt* to Abū Bakr. Among those who claimed to be prophets was Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid al-Asadī <sup>810</sup> in his districts; his backers were the Ghaṭafān, whose chief was 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī. Also among them were al-Aswad al-'Ansī <sup>811</sup> in Yemen, Musaylima b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥanafī <sup>812</sup> in al-Yamāma, and Sajāḥ bt. al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmiyya <sup>813</sup>—she

804 Although the MSS show no break, the metrical incompleteness of the line indicates that one or two words have fallen out.

805 One of the main subdivisions of Quraysh, including most of its major clans.

806 An episode when, shortly after the *hijra* to Medina, the Prophet paired Meccan Emigrants, most of whom had no means of making a living, with Medinese Helpers, so that the latter could help sustain the former until they became established.

807 Arabic, *waṣī*: in Shī'ī usage, the term refers to the transmission of the God-given right to rule from one Imam to the next.

808 That is, Quraysh.

809 Arabic *al-'arab*, a collective term for all the major Arab tribes outside of those settled in Mecca and Medina. For a general account of the falling away from Islam, conventionally termed “Apostasy” (Arabic, *Ridda*) of some of the Arab tribes and the appearance of self-proclaimed prophets among them, see the article by M. Lecker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ridda.

810 On Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid b. Nawfāl, a soothsayer (*kāhīn*) and chief of the Banū Faq'as, a clan of the Asad, see the article by Ella Landau-Tasseron in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭulayḥa.

811 On al-Aswad b. Ka'b al-'Ansī, of the tribe of Madhḥij, whose death took place during the lifetime of Muḥammad, see the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Aswad b. Ka'b.

812 Cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:87, where Musaylima is reported to have led a delegation of the Banū Ḥanīfa to Medina in the last year of Muḥammad's life; cf. the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Musaylima.

813 On the career of Sajāḥ, see the article by V. Vacca in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sadjāḥ.



then married Musaylima, and al-Ash'ath b. Qays was her muezzin. Abū Bakr marched out with his army to Dhū l-Qaṣṣa and summoned 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, saying: "Amr, you are the member of Quraysh with the best judgment. Ṭulayḥa has claimed prophecy; what do you think about (sending) 'Alī (against him)?" 'Amr replied, "He will not obey you." Abū Bakr said, "What about al-Zubayr?" 'Amr replied, "Brave and good." Abū Bakr said, "What about Ṭalḥa?" 'Amr replied, "For the easy life and harsh criticism." Abū Bakr said, "What about Sa'd?" 'Amr replied, "A scythe of war." Abū Bakr said, "What about 'Uthmān?" 'Amr replied, "Sit him down and make use of his judgment." Abū Bakr said, "What about Khālīd b. al-Walīd?" 'Amr replied, "A Basūs<sup>814</sup> of war and defender to the death, with the patience of a sand-grouse and the pounce of a lion." When the war-banner was assigned to Khālīd, Thābit | b. Qays b. Shammās<sup>815</sup> stood up and said: "Company of Quraysh, was there no man among us<sup>816</sup> suited for what you are suited? We are not blind to what we see, or deaf to what we hear, but the Messenger of God commanded us to be patient, and so we are being patient." 2:145

Then Hassān stood up and said,<sup>817</sup>

O men, help us to deal with these distressing vicissitudes,  
 and with what these men<sup>818</sup> have intended against the Helpers!  
 They have brought in not a single leader from us,  
 my friend, for any important task.<sup>819</sup>

This speech was so distressing to Abū Bakr that he put Thābit b. Qays in charge of the Helpers,<sup>820</sup> and sent out Khālīd in charge of the Emigrants. (The latter) set out to confront Ṭulayḥa, scattering his forces and killing a large number of his followers. He captured 'Uyayna b. al-Ḥiṣn and sent him, shackled in irons, to Abū Bakr, along with thirty captives. When 'Uyayna entered Medina, the boys

814 Al-Basūs was the name of a legendary woman of pre-Islamic Arabia, who is said to have sparked a war between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib. See the article by J. Fück in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Basūs bint Munḳīdh.

815 Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Khazrajī was the orator (*khaṭīb*) of the Anṣār (Helpers); see above, ed. Leiden, 2:137.

816 That is, among the Helpers (*Anṣār*).

817 This poem is also not found in *The Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*.

818 Arabic, *al-qawm* (the men, people), often used to designate the enemy.

819 Literally, "for raveling or unraveling (a rope)."

820 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, 1:1887.

took to calling out to him, “Apostate!”<sup>821</sup> But he would reply, “I never believed even for the blinking of an eye.”<sup>822</sup> (Abū Bakr) called on him to repent and let him go his way. (‘Uyayna) joined Ṭulayḥa in Syria and made a pact of protection with the Banū Ḥanifa. He sent a poem to Abū Bakr, making excuses to him and returning to Islam, saying in it:

Does al-Ṣiddīq<sup>823</sup> accept that I am returning  
and renouncing the evils I caused?  
Verily I bear witness, after having strayed,  
with true testimony that I will not deny.

When Abū Bakr learned what he had said, he relented towards him and sent a message to him. He came back, but he arrived only after Abū Bakr had died and ‘Umar was standing at his grave. ‘Umar sent him to Iraq with Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, but he ordered Sa’d not to appoint him (to any position of command).

2:146 As for al-Aswad b. ‘Anaza al-‘Ansī, he had already claimed prophethood in the lifetime of the Messenger | of God. When the oath of allegiance was sworn to Abū Bakr, his affair became public, and a group of people followed him in it. Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī and Fayrūz al-Daylamī killed him; they entered his house while he was drunk and killed him.<sup>824</sup>

Abū Bakr had appointed Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana and had ordered him to head for Musaylima the Liar; if not, he was to bring him his opinion.<sup>825</sup> Afterward, he assigned the command to Khālīd and sent him to be over Shuraḥbīl. Khālīd wrote to Shuraḥbīl: “Don’t move too fast, so that I can catch up with you.” Khālīd b. al-Walīd made his way quickly to al-Yamāma, to Musaylima al-Ḥanafī the Liar. Musaylima had embraced Islam, but in the year 10 he claimed to be a prophet and alleged that he was a partner to the Messenger of God in prophecy. He had written to the Messenger of God: “I have been made a partner with you—half the earth is yours, half of it mine—but the Quraysh are a people who do not act justly.” The Messenger of God wrote back to him: “From Muḥammad the Messenger of God, to Musaylima the Liar. Thereafter: *Verily the earth is God’s*,

821 Ibid.

822 In other words, he could not be called an apostate because he had not previously embraced the faith.

823 “The Veracious,” a byname of Abū Bakr.

824 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1864–1868, gives a long, colorful account of the episode.

825 The Arabic is obscure (*wa-illā ya’tiyahu ra’yahu*); a word seems to have fallen out. Perhaps one can reconstruct: “... to head for Musaylima the Liar *and bring him*; if not (i.e., if he could not bring him), he was to bring Abū Bakr his opinion (about how to proceed).”

*He bequeaths it to whomever He wills of His servants, and the yield of it is for the God-fearing.*"<sup>826</sup>

Then Khālid encountered Muġġā'a,<sup>827</sup> who was with a group of men; he took them prisoner and cut off their heads, but he spared Muġġā'a and marched against Musaylima. Musaylima came out and fought him fiercely with those of Rabī'a and other tribes that were with him. A large number of the Muslims were killed. Then Musaylima was killed in a struggle: Abū Dujāna al-Anṣārī impaled him, but Musaylima strode towards him with the lance (in him) and killed him; Waḥshī cast his spear at him, killing him—he was 150 years old at the time. Muġġā'a al-Ḥanafī<sup>828</sup> came to Khālid and made him believe that there were still armed men in the fortress, saying, "Only the first part of the people came out against you," and advising a truce. Khālid therefore offered them terms: (that they give up) the gold, the silver, and half of the captives. Then (Muġġā'a) looked and there was | no one<sup>829</sup> in the fortress except women and children; so he dressed them with weapons and made them stand on the fortifications. Then he signaled to Khālid, saying: "They have given me a refusal. Will you agree to one-quarter of the captives?" Khālid did so and accepted their offer. However, when the fortifications were opened, he found only women and children. He said, "Is this a trick, Muġġā'a?" Muġġā'a replied, "They are my people," and Khālid let them go. Al-Yamāma was conquered; Sajāḥ fled and died in Basra. The defeat of Musaylima took place in the year 11, and he was killed in Rabī' 1 12.<sup>830</sup> Khālid asked Muġġā'a for his daughter in marriage, and Muġġā'a married him to her. Abū Bakr therefore wrote to him, "You are pouncing on women while the blood of the Muslims is still (wet) by your tent-ropes."<sup>831</sup>

2:147

Abū Bakr ordered Khālid to march to Iraq; he went, accompanied by al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, and, having come to the city of Bāniqiyā, he conquered it and took captive those who were in it. Then he came to the city of Kaskar, conquered it, and took captive those who were in it. Then he marched until he encountered one of the kings of the Persians named Jābān;<sup>832</sup> he defeated him

826 Qur'ān 7:128.

827 On Muġġā'a b. Murāra, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1937–1938 (trans. Donner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, X, 112–114).

828 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1952–1953.

829 Emending M's *thumma naẓarū laysa* to *thumma naẓara wa-laysa* ...; ed. L emends to *thumma naẓarū wa-laysa* (then they looked and there was no one).

830 Rabī' 1 12 began on May 16, 633.

831 This tidbit seems to belong to the story of Khālid b. al-Walid's marriage with the widow of Mālik b. Nuwayra, related below, ed. Leiden, 2:148; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1928.

832 Literally, "one of the *mulūk* (pl. of *malik*) of the non-Arabs"; not necessarily a king, but

and killed his companions. Then he marched until he reached Furāt Bādaq̣lā, aiming for [al-Ḥīra]<sup>833</sup> and its king, al-Nu‘mān. They fought a fierce battle; al-Nu‘mān was defeated and betook himself to al-Madā’in, and Khālīd encamped in al-Khawarnaq.<sup>834</sup> He marched until he had put al-Ḥīra behind him; they were about to fight him, but then called for terms, and so he made a treaty with them against payment of 70,000 (dirhams) in exchange for their lives—some say 100,000 dirhams.

Abū Bakr devoted himself to fighting those who had apostatized. Among those of the Arabs who had apostatized and placed the crown on their heads was al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir b. Sāwī al-Tamīmī in al-Baḥrayn; Abū Bakr sent al-‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, and he killed him.<sup>835</sup> Another was Laqīṭ b. Mālik, the Wearer | of the Crown, in Oman; Abū Bakr sent Ḥudhayfa b. Miḥṣan against him, and he killed him in Ṣuhār in the land of Oman.<sup>836</sup> The Wearer of the Crown was ... [...] <sup>837</sup> of the B. Nājiya and many people from ‘Abd al-Qays. God killed the Wearer of the Crown, and the Muslims took their children captive and sent them to Abū Bakr, who sold them for 400 dirhams. Then he sent forces to fight those who had withheld *zakāt*, saying, “If they withheld from me even a camel-hobble, I would fight them.” He wrote to Khālīd b. al-Walīd that he should turn back toward Mālik b. Nuwayra al-Yarbū‘ī;<sup>838</sup> so he marched toward them. It is said that he had invited them,<sup>839</sup> and so Mālik b. Nuwayra came to him to negotiate with him. Mālik’s wife walked behind him, and when Khālīd saw her she pleased him, and so he said [to himself], “By God, I cannot get hold of anything like what you have unless I kill you!” So he kept an eye on Mālik,<sup>840</sup> had

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rather a high noble or local ruler. In al-Balādhurī, *Futuḥ*, 242, he is called “Jābān, the great one (*‘aẓīm*) of the Persians.” The manuscripts of al-Ya‘qūbī write the name as “Khābān,” which the Leiden editor emended to agree with al-Balādhurī, who specifies Ullays as the place of the battle.

833 Added by the Leiden editor.

834 A place near Najaf in Iraq, site of a castle built by the Lakhmids; see the article by L. Massignon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khawarnaq.

835 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1957–1958.

836 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1977–1980.

837 Although the MSS show no break, the Leiden editor inferred the presence of a considerable lacuna, based on comparison with Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:285, l. 17.

838 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1922–1929.

839 That is, to embrace Islam; however, the word that the Leiden editor reads as *nadāhum* (he summoned them) is not clear in M, which has *b.d.ā.?.h.m* (? representing an unpointed tooth), perhaps to be read as *bada’a bihim* (had begun with them).

840 Arabic *fa-naẓara Mālikan*; perhaps “waited for his chance with Mālik” or “passed judgment on Mālik.”

him executed, and married his wife. Abū Qatāda came to Abū Bakr, reported it to him, and swore that he would not march under Khālīd's banner because he had killed Mālīk when the latter was a Muslim. Then 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to Abū Bakr, "Caliph of the Messenger of God, Khālīd murdered a Muslim man and married his wife on the same day!" So Abū Bakr wrote to Khālīd and summoned him to come. At this Khālīd said, "Caliph of the Messenger of God, I have delivered and have been both right and wrong." Mutammim b. Nuwayra was a poet, and he lamented his brother Mālīk in many elegies. He came to Medina to Abū Bakr and prayed the morning prayer behind Abū Bakr, and when Abū Bakr finished his prayer Mutammim stood up and leaned on his bow, and said:

How excellent the man you killed while the winds howled  
 behind the tents, O son of the squint-eyed one!  
 Did you invite him in God's name and then betray him?  
 If he had invited you with a promise of safety, he would not have  
 betrayed.

Abū Bakr said, "I neither invited him nor betrayed him."

Abū Bakr wrote to Ziyād b. Labīd | al-Bayāḍī about fighting those who had 2:149  
 apostatized in Yemen and who had withheld the *zakāt*, and so he fought them.<sup>841</sup> Kinda had a number of kings who styled themselves king, each of whom had a preserve in which no one else could graze flocks. Ziyād made raids by night while they were in their reserved pastures, striking down the kings Jamad, Mikhwaṣ, Mishraḥ, and Abḍa'a and seizing flocks and many captives. Then al-Ash'ath b. Qays came out against (the Muslims) and extricated the captives from their hands. When Abū Bakr learned of al-Ash'ath's apostasy and what he had done, he sent 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl with an army to fight them. He arrived when Ziyād b. Labīd and al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya had already put them under siege; they had killed a large number of them and had taken much plunder. Al-Muhājir and Ziyād said to those who were with them, "Your brethren from the Ḥijāz have come; share with them and give them (part of the booty)." Al-Ash'ath requested a truce and obtained a pledge of safety for his tribe, but he forgot to include himself; and so when 'Ikrima read the document, with al-Ash'ath's name not in it, he exclaimed, "God is great!" and seized him and sent him in fetters to Abū Bakr; but Abū Bakr showed him favor, set him free, and married him to his sister Umm Farwa.<sup>842</sup>

841 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2000–2006.

842 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2009–2012.

Abū Bakr wanted to raid the Byzantines. He consulted a number of the Companions of the Messenger of God, but they kept temporizing, and so he asked ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’s advice. ‘Alī advised him to do it, saying, “If you do it, you will be victorious.” Abū Bakr replied, “You have foretold something auspicious.” Then Abū Bakr stood up among the people for a sermon and ordered them to make ready for war with the Byzantines. The people fell silent. Then ‘Umar stood up and said, “[*Were it*] *a gain near at hand and an easy journey*,<sup>843</sup> you would be more eager than he.”<sup>844</sup> At this ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd<sup>845</sup> stood up, saying, “Son of al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>846</sup> are you comparing us to the Hypocrites? What is holding *you* back from that in which you find fault with us?” Khālīd b. Sa‘īd then spoke up and quieted his brother, | saying, “We will show nothing but obedience.” Abū Bakr requited him well, and then summoned the people to march out with Khālīd b. Sa‘īd as their commander. Khālīd had been one of the Messenger of God’s tax-agents in Yemen and had returned after the Messenger of God had died. He had withheld swearing allegiance<sup>847</sup> and had inclined toward the Banū Hāshim. Therefore, when Abū Bakr assigned the command to Khālīd, ‘Umar said to him: “Will you appoint Khālīd even though he withheld his allegiance from you and said to the Banū Hāshim such things as have reached your ears? By God, I do not think you should send him.” Abū Bakr therefore relieved him of the command<sup>848</sup> and summoned Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana, and ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and appointed them to commands, saying, “When you are together, let the commander of the men be Abū ‘Ubayda.” The tribes came to him from Yemen, and he dispatched them one army after another.

843 Cf. Qur’ān 9:42, which refers to the so-called Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*), who hung back from aiding Muḥammad: “If it were a gain near at hand, and the journey easy, they (that is, the hypocrites) would surely have followed you.” M omits the opening words, *law kāna*, found in the Qur’ān and ed. Leiden.

844 Reading with M *la-btadartumūhu*; ed. Leiden (based on C) reads *la-ntadabtumūhu* (you would have authorized him).

845 ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya was an early Companion of the Prophet. One of the emigrants to Abyssinia, he later was the Prophet’s agent for lands of Khaybar (Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* 4:526–528 [no. 5862]) and still later served the Umayyads. See the article by K. V. Zetterstéen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd. On his brother Khālīd, mentioned below, also an early Companion of Muḥammad, see the article by H. Loucel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khālīd b. Sa‘īd.

846 That is, ‘Umar, addressed here only by the name of his father. The omission of his name is abrupt and rude.

847 That is, to Abū Bakr.

848 Literally, “untied his standard.”

When the armies reached Syria, Abū 'Ubayda wrote to Abū Bakr informing him of the approach of the king of the Byzantines with a great host; Abū Bakr therefore began dispatching army after army to him, one after another, from whatever Arab tribes came to him. There followed a succession of letters from Abū 'Ubayda, each with reports about the Byzantine host. Abū Bakr therefore sent 'Amr b. al-Āṣ with an army of Quraysh and others. Then Abū Bakr wrote to Khālīd b. al-Walīd to march to Syria, leaving al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha in charge in Iraq.<sup>849</sup> Khālīd set out with his best troops, leaving al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī in Iraq with the rest of the army, and marched toward Syria. When he reached 'Ayn al-Tamr,<sup>850</sup> he encountered an outpost of Kisrā<sup>851</sup> under the command of 'Uqba b. Abī Hilāl al-Namirī; they fortified themselves against him, but then they yielded to his control, and he beheaded al-Namirī. Then he marched until he came upon a group of the Banū Taghlib, led by al-Hudhayl b. 'Imrān; he had him brought forward | and beheaded, and from them he took many captives whom he sent to Medina. He sent to the Jewish synagogue and took twenty boys from them. He made his way to al-Anbār and took a guide to show him the way across the desert. He passed by Tadmur;<sup>852</sup> its people fortified themselves, so he surrounded them until they opened the town to him and he made a treaty with them. Then he reached Ḥuwwārīn<sup>853</sup> and engaged in fierce fighting with them. Khālīd is said to have marched in the steppe and desert for eight days before he reached them. Then they conquered Buṣrā and Fiḥl and Ajnādayn in Palestine. Between them and the Byzantines there were hard battles at Ajnādayn, in each of which God defeated the Byzantines, and the outcome favored the Muslims.

2:151

One of (our authorities) related that Khālīd b. al-Walīd marched to the agricultural area (*ghūṭa*) of Damascus,<sup>854</sup> then went about in it as far as Thaniyya. With him was a white standard called the Eagle, and so the place came to be called Thaniyya of the Eagle (*Thaniyyat al-'Uqāb*) after it. He made his way to

849 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2108–2109.

850 A town in Iraq in a fertile depression on the borders of the desert between al-Anbār and Kufa, 80 miles west of Karbalā'; see the article by Saleh A. El-Ali in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ayn al-Tamr.

851 That is, of the Persian monarch, who at this time was Yazdagird III, the last of the Sasanian rulers.

852 Tadmur (often known by its Greco-Roman name of Palmyra) lies in the Syrian desert some 145 km/90 miles east of Ḥimṣ and 240 km/150 miles west of the middle Euphrates. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tadmur.

853 M, C, Hawrān; emended by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 112.

854 For a description of this area of gardens and orchards fed by an irrigation network, see the article by N. Elisséeff in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ghūṭa*.

Ḥawrān, headed for the city of Buṣrā, and waged war on its inhabitants, so that they asked him for a truce, which he concluded with them. Then he came to Ajnādayn, where there was a Byzantine host. He fought them fiercely, and the host of the unbelievers scattered. The battle of Ajnādayn took place on Saturday, two nights remaining in Jumādā 1 13.<sup>855</sup>

Abū Bakr dispatched ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ, with whom he assigned the ‘Abd al-Qays. He marched at the head of an army to Tawwaj,<sup>856</sup> conquering it and taking its people captive. He conquered Makrān<sup>857</sup> and what adjoins it. Abū Bakr dispatched al-‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥaḍramī with an army, and he conquered al-Zāra and its environs in the land of al-Baḥrayn.<sup>858</sup> Al-‘Alā’ sent booty back to Abū Bakr; it was the first booty that Abū Bakr divided among the people, dividing it among the white and the black,<sup>859</sup> the free and the slave, a dinar to every person.

2:152 Iyās b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Fujā’a al-Sulamī<sup>860</sup> came to Abū Bakr saying, “Caliph of the Messenger of God, I have become a Muslim.”<sup>861</sup> Abū Bakr therefore gave him weapons, and the man departed. Then Abū Bakr learned that the man was committing highway robbery, and so he wrote to Ṭurayfa b. Ḥājiza: “God’s enemy Ibn al-Fujā’a left from my presence. I have learned that he has committed highway robbery and I fear for the safety of the road. March against him and seize him.” Ṭurayfa advanced and marched against al-Fujā’a and killed some of his companions; then he encountered al-Fujā’a himself, who said, “I am a Muslim, and he has been told lies about me.” Ṭurayfa said, “If you are telling the truth, let yourself be taken into custody so that you can come to Abū Bakr and tell him about it.” He therefore let himself be taken into custody. When

855 28 Jumādā 1 13, corresponding to 30 July 634; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2127 gives the same date.

856 Tawwaj was an Iranian town in the western part of Fārs; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tawwadj.

857 If the report of so early a conquest of this area is to be trusted, this would be Makrān, the coastal area of southern Baluchistan that straddles the present border between Iran and Pakistan. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Makrān.

858 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1973.

859 That is, among all and sundry, regardless of their complexion. Arabic *al-aḥmar wa-l-aswad*, lit. “the red and the black,” originally designating the swarthy Arabs and the ruddy Persians and Greeks, came to mean “all and sundry”; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:642, s.v. *aḥmar*.

860 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1903–1904. M and C read *Anas b. ‘Ubaydallāh*; the Leiden editor has emended to agree with al-Ṭabarī, where he is mentioned as “a man from the Banū Sulaym called al-Fujā’a, who was Iyās b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd Yālīl.”

861 The parallel in al-Ṭabarī adds, “and want to engage in jihād against the unbelievers who have apostatized.”



Ṭurayfa brought him to Abū Bakr, the latter sent him out to al-Baqī<sup>862</sup> and had him burned alive. He also burned a man of the Banū Asad named Shujā‘ b. Warqā’ who used to practice passive sodomy.<sup>863</sup>

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to Abū Bakr, “Caliph of the Messenger of God, most of those who had memorized the Qur’ān were killed at the battle of al-Yamāma. If only you had collected the Qur’ān; for I fear for it, lest those who have memorized it should disappear!” Abū Bakr replied, “Shall I do what the Messenger of God did not do?” But ‘Umar kept after him until he collected it and wrote it down in sheets—it had been scattered about on palm-leaves and other things. He assembled a council of twenty-five men from Quraysh and fifty men from the Helpers and said, “Write down the Qur’ān and submit it to Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ, for he is a man skilled in proper language.”

One of our informants related that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had gathered it together when the Messenger of God died. He brought it loaded on a camel and said, “This is the Qur’ān, which I have gathered.” He had divided it into seven parts.<sup>864</sup>

The first part consisted of The Cow (al-Baqara), The Sura of Joseph (Yūsuf), The Spider (al-‘Ankabūt), The Greeks (al-Rūm), Luqmān, Ḥā-Mīm: The Prostration (al-Sajda),<sup>865</sup> | The Scatterers (al-Dhāriyāt), Has There Come to Mankind (al-Insān), Alif-Lām-Mīm: The Sending Down (al-Sajda),<sup>866</sup> The Pluckers (al-Nāzi‘āt), When the Sun Shall Be Wrapped Up,<sup>867</sup> When the Heaven Is Split Open,<sup>868</sup> When the Heaven Is Rent Asunder,<sup>869</sup> Praise the Name of Your Lord the Most High,<sup>870</sup> and They Would Never (Lam Yakun).<sup>871</sup> That was the part of The Cow (al-Baqara): 886 verses and 16 suras. 2:153

862 That is, Baqī‘ al-Gharqad, a cemetery in Medina.

863 A lacuna is indicated in ed. Leiden, but if one reads *kāna yunkaḥu* (in the passive), no lacuna is needed; M shows no break.

864 The listing that follows presents many problems. Part 1 is said to consist of 16 suras, but only 15 are listed; part 2 is said to consist of 15 suras, but 16 are listed; and part 7 is said to consist of 16 suras, but only 15 are listed. In addition, 4 suras are not listed at all (besides al-Fātiḥa [1], which was often not included in early listings); they are al-Ra‘d (13), Saba’ (34), al-Taḥrīm (66), and al-‘Alaḳ (96). For a general discussion of the collection of the Qur’ān, see the article by A. T. Welch et al. in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḳur’ān (especially the section 3a, “The ‘Collection’ of the Ḳur’ān”); and John Burton, *The Collection of the Qur’ān*.

865 Sura 41, usually called Fuṣṣilat (Distinguished).

866 Sura 32, usually called simply al-Sajda (Prostration).

867 Sura 81, al-Takwīr (The Darkening).

868 Sura 82, al-Infiṭār (The Splitting).

869 Sura 84, al-Inshiqāq (The Rending Asunder).

870 Sura 87, al-A‘lā (The Most High).

871 Sura 98, al-Bayyina (The Clear Sign), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

The second part consisted of The House of 'Imrān (Āl 'Imrān), Hūd, The Pilgrimage (al-Ḥajj), al-Ḥijr, The Confederates (al-Aḥzāb), Smoke (al-Dukhān), The All-Merciful (al-Raḥmān), The Indubitable (al-Ḥāqqa), A Questioner Asked,<sup>872</sup> He Frowned ('Abasa), By the Sun and Its Morning Brightness,<sup>873</sup> Behold We Sent It Down,<sup>874</sup> When It Is Shaken,<sup>875</sup> Woe to Every Backbiter,<sup>876</sup> Have You Not Seen,<sup>877</sup> and For the Composing of Quraysh.<sup>878</sup> That was the part of The House of 'Imrān (Āl 'Imrān): 886 verses and 15 suras.

The third part consisted of Women (al-Nisā'), The Bee (al-Naḥl), The Believers (al-Mu'minūn), Yā Sīn, Ḥā'-Mīm-'Ayn-Sīn-Qāf,<sup>879</sup> The Terror (al-Wāqī'a), Blessed [Be He in Whose Hand Is] the Kingdom,<sup>880</sup> O Thou Shrouded,<sup>881</sup> Hast Thou Seen,<sup>882</sup> Perish,<sup>883</sup> Say: He Is God, One,<sup>884</sup> Afternoon (al-'Aṣr), The Clatterer (al-Qārī'a), By Heaven of the Constellations,<sup>885</sup> By the Fig and the Olive,<sup>886</sup> and Ṭā'-Sīn: The Ant (al-Naml). That was the part of Women (al-Nisā'): 886 verses and 16 suras.

The fourth part consisted of The Table (al-Mā'ida), Jonah (Yūnus), Mary (Maryam), Ṭā'-Sīn-Mīm: ... and the Poets (al-Shu'arā'), Ornaments (al-Zukhruf), Apartments (al-Ḥujurāt), Qāf: By the Glorious Qur'ān (Qāf), The Hour Has Drawn Nigh,<sup>887</sup> The Woman Tested (al-Mumtaḥana), By Heaven and the Night-Star,<sup>888</sup> No! I Swear by This Land,<sup>889</sup> Did We Not Expand [Thy Breast] for Thee,<sup>890</sup> The Chargers (al-'Ādiyāt), Surely We Have Given Thee Abundance,<sup>891</sup>

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872 Sura 70, al-Ma'ārij (The Stairways), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

873 Sura 91, al-Shams (The Sun).

874 Sura 97, al-Qadr (Power), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

875 Sura 99, al-Zalzala (The Earthquake), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

876 Sura 104, al-Humaza (The Backbiter), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

877 Sura 105, al-Fil (The Elephant), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

878 Sura 106, Quraysh, referred to by its Arabic incipit.

879 Sura 46, al-Shūrā (Counsel), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

880 Sura 67, al-Mulk (The Kingdom), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

881 Sura 74, al-Muddaththir (Shrouded), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

882 Sura 107, al-Mā'ūn (Charity), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

883 Sura 111, al-Masad (Palm-Fiber), usually called "Perish," referred to by its Arabic incipit.

884 Sura 112, al-Ikhlās (Sincere Religion), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

885 Sura 85, al-Burūj (The Constellations).

886 Sura 95, al-Tīn (The Fig), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

887 Sura 54, al-Qamar (The Moon), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

888 Sura 86, al-Ṭāriq (The Night-Star), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

889 Sura 90, al-Balad (The Land), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

890 Sura 94, al-Sharḥ (The Expanding), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

891 Sura 108, al-Kawthar (Abundance), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

and Say: O Unbelievers.<sup>892</sup> That was the part of The Table (al-Mā'idā): 886 verses and 15 suras.

The fifth part consisted of Cattle (al-An'ām), Glory Be,<sup>893</sup> Nigh [Unto Men] Has Drawn,<sup>894</sup> Salvation (al-Furqān), Moses and Pharaoh,<sup>895</sup> Ḥā'-Mīm: al-Mu'min,<sup>896</sup> The Disputer (al-Mujādala), The Mustering (al-Ḥashr), Congregation (al-Jumu'a), The Hypocrites (al-Munāfiqūn), | Nūn: By the Pen,<sup>897</sup> We Sent Noah,<sup>898</sup> Say: It Has Been Revealed to Me,<sup>899</sup> The Loosed Ones (al-Mursalāt), The Forenoon (al-Ḍuḥā), and [Gross Rivalry] Diverts You.<sup>900</sup> That was the part of Cattle (al-An'ām): 886 verses and 16 suras. 2:154

The sixth part consisted of The Battlements (al-A'rāf), Abraham (Ibrāhīm), The Cave (al-Kahf), Light (al-Nūr), Ṣād, The Companies (al-Zumar), An Open Way (al-Sharī'a),<sup>901</sup> Those Who Disbelieve,<sup>902</sup> Iron (al-Ḥadīd), Enwrapped (al-Muzzammil), No! I Swear by the Day of Resurrection,<sup>903</sup> Of What Do They Question One Another,<sup>904</sup> The Enveloper (al-Ghāshiya), The Dawn (al-Fajr), By the Night Enshrouding,<sup>905</sup> and When Comes the Help of God.<sup>906</sup> That was the part of The Battlements (al-A'rāf): 886 verses and 16 suras.

The seventh part consisted of The Spoils (al-Anfāl), An Acquittal (Barā'a),<sup>907</sup> Ṭā' Ḥā', The Angels (al-Malā'ika),<sup>908</sup> The Rangers (al-Ṣaffāt), The Sand-dunes

892 Sura 109, al-Kāfirūn (The Unbelievers), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

893 Sura 17, al-Isrā' (The Night Journey), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

894 Sura 21, al-Anbiyā' (The Prophets), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

895 Sura 28, al-Qaṣaṣ (The Story), referred to by words from its third verse announcing its subject.

896 Sura 40, usually known as Ghāfir (The Forgiver), but also known as al-Mu'min (The Believer) from a reference in 40:28 to "a certain man, a believer (*mu'min*) of Pharaoh's folk that kept hidden his belief."

897 Sura 68, al-Qalam (The Pen), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

898 Sura 71, Nūḥ (Noah), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

899 Sura 72, al-Jinn (The Jinn), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

900 Sura 102, al-Takāthur (Rivalry), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

901 Ed. Leiden notes that in C (apparently also in M) al-Jāthiya (Hobbling, the usual title of Sura 45) is written above without points. The word *al-sharī'a* occurs in verse 18 of this Sura, the only time it occurs in the Qur'ān.

902 Sura 47, Muḥammad, referred to by its Arabic incipit.

903 Sura 75, al-Qiyāma (The Resurrection), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

904 Sura 78, al-Naba' (The Tidings), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

905 Sura 92, al-Layl (The Night), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

906 Sura 110, al-Naṣr (Help), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

907 Sura 9, more commonly known as al-Tawba (Repentance), here referred to by its first word.

908 An alternative name for Sura 35, also known as Fāṭir (The Originator).

(al-Aḥqāf), Victory (al-Fath), The Mount (al-Ṭūr), The Star (al-Najm), The Ranks (al-Ṣaff), Mutual Fraud (al-Taghābun), Divorce (al-Ṭalāq), The Stinters (al-Muṭaffifin), and the two suras of Taking Refuge.<sup>909</sup> That was the part of The Spoils (al-Anfāl): 886 verses and 16 suras.

Someone has said that 'Alī said, "The Qur'ān came down in four quarters: a quarter about us, a quarter about our enemies, a quarter consisting of parables, and a quarter consisting of (matters) clear or obscure."

Abū Bakr made distribution among the people equitably, without favoring one person over another. He used to take three dirhams from the treasury every day as wage. He was called Successor (*khalīfa*) of the Messenger of God. Abū Bakr fell ill in Jumādā 11 13;<sup>910</sup> when his illness became grave, he designated 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb his successor and ordered 'Uthmān to write down his designation. He wrote: "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate: This is what Abū Bakr, successor of the Messenger of God, pledges to the Believers and Muslims. Peace be upon you. I praise God to you. Thereafter: I have appointed over you | 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Hear and obey! I have not ceased to advise you. Peace." He said to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: "Umar, there are those who have loved you and those who have hated you. If the truth is hated, it has been so from of old; and if error is persisted in, it has often been so."

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf<sup>911</sup> visited Abū Bakr during the illness from which he died. "How are you this morning, Successor of the Messenger of God?" he asked. Abū Bakr replied, "I have appointed a successor this morning; and now you have increased my malady over what it was by the fact that when you saw that I had appointed a man from among you, each of you woke up with his nose swollen,<sup>912</sup> each seeking it for himself." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "By God, I do not know your companion to be other than a good man who does good works; so do not worry about (what) the world (thinks)." [Abū Bakr] replied:<sup>913</sup> "I worry only about [three] things I did that I wish I hadn't done, three I did not do that I wish I had done, and three about which I wish I had asked the Messenger of God. As for the three that I did: I wish that I had not taken this office, but had advanced 'Umar before me, for I should have been better as an adviser (*wazīr*) than as a commander (*amīr*). I wish that I had not searched the house

909 Arabic, *al-Mu'awwidhatān*: the last two suras of the Qur'ān as presently ordered, 113 (al-Falaq, Daybreak) and 114 (al-Nās, Men), each of which begins with the phrase "I take refuge (*a'ūdhu*) with the Lord of ..."

910 Jumādā 11 13 began on August 2, 634.

911 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2137–2140.

912 A sign of pride.

913 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2140–2141.

of Fāṭima the daughter of the Messenger of God and that I had not sent men to enter it, even if it had been harboring an enemy. I wish that I had not burned al-Fujā'a al-Sulamī alive: I should have either killed him quickly or set him free unharmed. As for the three things that I wish I had done: I wish I had brought al-Ash'ath b. Qays forward for you to cut off his head, for it seems to me that he comes to the aid of every evil he sees. I wish that I had sent Abū 'Ubayda to the west and 'Umar to the lands of the east, | so that I might have taken part in person in fighting in God's way. I wish that I had not sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd [alone] to Buzākha, [but]<sup>914</sup> had gone out to reinforce him in God's way. As for the three things about which I wish I had asked the Messenger of God, they are: Whose is this affair?<sup>915</sup>—and so no one would have disputed him about it. Do the Helpers have any share in it? Are the paternal aunt and the maternal aunt deemed heirs, or do they not inherit?<sup>916</sup> I have taken nothing of your worldly possessions; with regard to the property of God and the booty (*fay'*) of the Muslims, I have behaved like the legal guardian of an orphan's property: if he can do without, he abstains; and if he is in want, he consumes only what is customary. The person in charge of affairs after me is 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. I borrowed some money from the treasury; when I die, let him sell<sup>917</sup> my walled garden in such-and-such a place, and return the money to the treasury."

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Abū Bakr appointed his wife, Asmā' bt. 'Umayy, to wash his body, and she did so. He was buried at night. Abū Quḥāfa inherited the sixth (of his estate) from him.<sup>918</sup>

The person with greatest influence over Abū Bakr was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Abū Bakr's death took place on Tuesday, 8 nights remaining in Jumādā 11 13,<sup>919</sup> corresponding to the non-Arab month of Āb (August). Others have said two days remaining. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb prayed over him, and he was buried in the house in which is the grave of the Messenger of God. He was 63 years old

914 Added by the Leiden editor. The reference is to Khālīd's campaign against the Banū Asad and their false prophet Ṭulayḥa, defeated by Khālīd at Buzākha (a well in Nejd) in 11/632. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Buzākha.

915 That is, leadership of the community of Believers.

916 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2141 (trans. Blankinship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XI, 150 and note).

917 The text is uncertain. Ed. Leiden (apparently following C) reads, *fa-l-yabi'* (let him then sell), but the form is ungrammatical (it should have a short vowel, *fa-l-yabi'*). M reads *fa-l-yablugh* (let him arrive at). Also, the word translated here as "walled garden" (*ḥā'it*) can also refer to the wall surrounding such a garden.

918 Abū Quḥāfa was Abū Bakr's father. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2137, he survived his son only for about six months.

919 21 Jumādā 11 13 = August 22, 634.

at the time of his death. He had three male children; one of them, ‘Abdallāh, died during his lifetime, leaving two: Muḥammad and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. His chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was his client Shadīd.<sup>920</sup> His rule lasted two years and four months. He led the people on pilgrimage in the year 12.

Abū Bakr’s governors at the time of his death were:<sup>921</sup> ‘Attāb b. Asīd over Mecca, ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ over al-Ṭā’if, one of the Helpers over al-Yamāma, 2:157 Ḥudhayfa b. Miḥṣan over Oman, al-‘Alā’ b. | al-Ḥaḍramī over al-Baḥrayn, Khālīd b. al-Walīd over the army of Syria, al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī over Kufa, and Suwayd b. Quṭba over Basra.<sup>922</sup>

### Description of Abū Bakr<sup>923</sup>

Abū Bakr was white-complexioned, slender, having a sparse beard, stooped over; his loincloth did not cling to his loins; gaunt-faced, with sunken eyes and bony knuckles. He colored his beard with henna and *katam*.<sup>924</sup>

Among those from whom religious learning was taken in the days of Abū Bakr were ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, Ubayy b. Ka‘b, Zayd b. Thābit, and ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd.

### The Days of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

Then ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Riyāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. ‘Adī b. Ka‘b became caliph. His mother was Ḥantama bt. Hāshim b. al-Mughīra b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. Makhzūm. He became caliph on Tuesday, 2 nights remaining (some say 7) in Jumādā 11 13, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Āb (August).<sup>925</sup> On that day the Sun was in Leo, 16°; the Moon in

920 Following al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2138, and the dictionary *Tāj al-‘arūs*, s.v. *sh-d-d*. The Leiden editor read the name, which is unpointed in C and M, as Sadīd.

921 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2135–2136.

922 A second hand in the margin of M notes the anachronism: “How can this be? It is generally agreed that Kufa and Basra were founded and built by ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and so I do not know how they come to be mentioned here.”

923 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2132–2133.

924 *Katam* (*Buxus dioica*) is a plant that grows in Yemen. Like henna, it was and still is used as a dye. By itself, it dyes hair a dark gray; mixed with henna, it dyes the hair various shades of reddish brown.

925 Either on 27 Jumādā 11 13 (August 28, 634) or on 22 Jumādā 11 13 (August 23, 634).

Scorpio, 24° 10'; Saturn in Sagittarius, 30°, retrograde; Jupiter in Pisces, 9° 30', retrograde; Mars in Taurus, 21° 50'; Venus in Pisces, 9°; Mercury in Virgo, 10° 30'; and the Ascending Node in Sagittarius, 12°, 35'.

He ascended the pulpit, sat one step below the seat of Abū Bakr, and addressed the people. Having praised and extolled God | and invoked God's blessing upon the Prophet, he spoke of Abū Bakr and his excellence and asked for God's mercy upon him. Then he said, "I am only a man like any of you;<sup>926</sup> and but for the fact that I was loathe to refuse the command of the successor of the Messenger of God, I would not have assumed authority over you." Then the people spoke well of him.

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The first thing that ʿUmar did was to return the captives of the people of the *ridda*<sup>927</sup> to their clans. He said, "I am loathe to see the taking of captives become an established practice (*sunna*) (to be used) against the Arabs."<sup>928</sup>

ʿUmar sent a letter with his client (*mawlā*) Yarfā' to Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, informing him of the death of Abū Bakr, and sent a letter with Shaddād b. Aws appointing Abū ʿUbayda governor of Syria in place of Khālīd b. al-Walīd and putting Khālīd in the position of Abū ʿUbayda. ʿUmar had a bad opinion of Khālīd, despite the fact that he was the son of his mother's brother, because of something that Khālīd had said about ʿUmar. Khālīd b. al-Walīd and the Muslims who were with him had already conquered Marj al-Ṣuffar, part of the territory of Damascus, and had laid siege to the city of Damascus four days before Abū Bakr's death. Abū ʿUbayda concealed the news from Khālīd until a second letter came from ʿUmar to Abū ʿUbayda, ordering him to head toward Ḥimṣ and the (other) districts of Syria, whereupon Abū ʿUbayda informed Khālīd of it. Khālīd said, "May God have mercy on Abū Bakr! If he were alive he would not have dismissed me." ʿUmar wrote to Abū ʿUbayda, saying: "If Khālīd declares himself to have lied in what he said, appoint him governor; if he doesn't, strip him of his turban and confiscate half his wealth." Khālīd asked his sister for advice. She said, "By God, Ḥantama's son<sup>929</sup> wants nothing less than for you to declare that you are a liar, and then he will dismiss you from your governorship (anyway). Don't do it!" So he did not declare that he had lied.

926 Arabic *mā anā illā rajulun minkum*, literally, "I am only a man from among you."

927 That is, the people who had been taken captive in the wars conducted by Abū Bakr to put down the apostasy (*ridda*) that had broken out after the death of Muḥammad. For an overview, see the article by M. Lecker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-Ridda*.

928 Arabic *karihtu an yaṣīra l-sabyu sunnatan ʿalā l-Arab*. The implication is that Arabs, as opposed to non-Arabs, captured in war were not to be treated as captives who could be enslaved.

929 That is, ʿUmar, referring to him by his mother's name.

Then Bilāl went and stripped him of his turban, and Abū ‘Ubayda confiscated half his wealth, even his sandals, separating one from the other.

2:159 They continued to besiege Damascus for a full year and a number of days: Abū ‘Ubayda was | at al-Jābiya Gate, Khālīd at the Eastern Gate, ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ at Bāb Tūmā, and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān at the Little Gate. Then, when matters had gone on too long for the (Byzantine) commander of Damascus, he sent to Abū ‘Ubayda, came to terms with him, and opened al-Jābiya Gate to him. However, when Khālīd learned that Abū ‘Ubayda had decided to grant the enemy terms and that the enemy had committed itself to a peace agreement (*ṣulḥ*) with him, he redoubled his efforts at the Eastern Gate and breached it by force. Khālīd then said to Abū ‘Ubayda, “Take them captive, for I have conquered it by force (*‘anwatan*).” But Abū ‘Ubayda replied, “No, I have promised them security.” The Muslims entered the city and the peace agreement was concluded—this was in Rajab of the year 14.<sup>930</sup>

According to al-Wāqidi, Khālīd b. al-Walīd granted them a peace agreement; he wrote out a treaty document for the bishop and gave them a promise of security, and Abū ‘Ubayda allowed that.

In this year, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb made night-vigils during the month of Ramaḍān *sunna*, and wrote to the provinces concerning this.<sup>931</sup> He ordered Ubayy b. Ka‘b and Tamīm al-Dārī to lead the people in prayer, and when he was told in regard to this that the Messenger of God had not done it and that Abū Bakr had not done it, he said, “If it is an innovation, what a good innovation it is!”

Abū ‘Ubayda dispatched ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ to Jordan and Palestine. At this the enemy mustered their forces to repel ‘Amr and his companions. Abū ‘Ubayda then sent Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana to ‘Amr, and Abū ‘Ubayda (himself) went towards the Byzantine host. Thus Jordan was conquered by force, except for Tiberias, whose people came to a peace agreement with him against (surrender of) half their homes and churches. It was Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana who arranged that. When the Byzantines learned of Abū ‘Ubayda’s approach, they moved to Fiḥl.<sup>932</sup> Abū ‘Ubayda put the Muslims in battle order, placing Mu‘adh b. Jabal over his right

930 Rajab 14 began on August 21, 635.

931 The Arabic (*sanna ... qiyām shahr Ramaḍān*) is vague. *Qiyām* (standing/staying up) seems to refer to the night prayers called *tarāwīḥ*. These traditionally date back to Muḥammad himself, but he is said to have held that they were not obligatory. ‘Umar is said to have been the first to formalize them by having them said behind a single reader in the mosque, rather than as purely individual devotions. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Tarāwīḥ*.

932 Fiḥl (the vowelizing preferred by Yāqūt) or Faḥl is in Jordan, east of the Jordan River, about



wing, Hāshim b. ʿUtba over his left wing, Saʿd b. Zayd over the foot-soldiers, and Khālīd b. al-Walīd over the cavalry. | As the Byzantines approached, the first 2:160 to encounter them was Khālīd. God defeated the Byzantines, and they sought a settlement (*ṣulḥ*) against payment of the *jizya*; Abū ʿUbayda granted it to them and withdrew. He left ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ over the remainder of Jordan and sent Khālīd over his advance guard to Baʿlabakk and the land of al-Biqāʿ; he conquered it and then marched to Ḥimṣ. Abū ʿUbayda joined with him, and they put the people of Ḥimṣ under tight siege. The latter sought a settlement, so he made a settlement with them covering all their villages on condition that they pay a tax (*kharāj*) of 170,000 dīnārs. The Muslims entered the city, and Abū ʿUbayda sent his tax-agents into the districts around Ḥimṣ.

Then Abū ʿUbayda received a report about the forces that the Byzantine emperor had gathered in all his lands and how he had sent against them someone whom they would not have strength to defeat. He therefore returned to Damascus and wrote to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about it. ʿUmar wrote to them that he disapproved of their returning from the territory of Ḥimṣ to Damascus. Abū ʿUbayda gathered the Muslims to himself and encamped by the Yarmūk.<sup>933</sup> Jabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī commanded the vanguard of the Byzantines among an army (*jaysh*) of his tribesmen. Abū ʿUbayda put Khālīd b. al-Walīd in command of his vanguard; he attacked the polytheists and engaged the Byzantine commander Bāhān,<sup>934</sup> and the two sides fought violently. Abū ʿUbayda and the Muslims joined him, and a momentous battle took place. A great number of Byzantines were killed, and God showed His grace to the Muslims. This took place in the year 15.<sup>935</sup>

Abū ʿUbayda sent a delegation to ʿUmar in which was Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān. ʿUmar had been sleepless a number of nights and was eagerly awaiting the news. When it arrived, he fell down in prostration to God and said, “Praise be to God, who has bestowed the grace of victory on Abū ʿUbayda; for, by God, had

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12 km southeast of Baysān. It was the ancient city of Pella in the Decapolis. See the article by Fr. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Faḥl or Fiḥl.

933 The Yarmūk is the main eastern tributary of the Jordan River, into which it flows 9 km south of Lake Tiberias. The decisive battle took place near the junction of the Yarmūk and Wādī l-Ruqqād, on the present border of Jordan and Syria. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yarmūk.

934 Following M and al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2081–2082; ed. Leiden reads Māhān. His proper name was Vahān, and he was of Armenian origin. For a detailed discussion of the battle and its significance, see W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 112–146.

935 The final Muslim victory can be dated to 12 Rajab 15 (August 20, 636); see C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yarmūk.

He not bestowed it, someone would have said, 'If only Khālīd b. al-Walīd had been (in command)!'"

2:161 Abū 'Ubayda returned to Ḥimṣ and dispatched Khālīd in | pursuit of the Byzantines, (and he did so) until he came to Qinnasrīn. He came finally to Aleppo, whose inhabitants fortified themselves. Abū 'Ubayda came and took up a position opposite it. The inhabitants sought a settlement and a promise of security; Abū 'Ubayda accepted that from them and wrote them a promise of security. He sent Mālīk b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar commanding a force against the Byzantines, who had blocked the mountain pass; he killed a great number of them and then returned, God having preserved him and his companions. Abū 'Ubayda returned toward Jordan and besieged the people of ʿĪliyā', which is Bayt al-Maqdis,<sup>936</sup> but they held out against him and contended with him. Abū 'Ubayda sent 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ to Qinnasrīn; he made terms with them—the inhabitants of Aleppo, Qinnasrīn, and Manbij—and imposed the tax (*kharāj*) on them as Abū 'Ubayda had done with Ḥimṣ. The booty of al-Yarmūk was gathered at al-Jābiya, and they wrote to 'Umar (about it). He wrote to them, "Do nothing with it until you have conquered Bayt al-Maqdis." Now when the Byzantines were routed from al-Yarmūk, Jabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī went to his home territory with all his tribesmen; Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān sent a message to him, saying, "Impose *kharāj* on your lands and payment of *jizya*." But he said, "Only the peasants (*ʿulūj*) pay *jizya*; I am a man of the Arabs."<sup>937</sup>

936 ʿĪliyā' and Bayt al-Maqdis are names for Jerusalem: the former derived from the name of the Roman city Aelia built on the ruins of the Jewish city destroyed in the wake of the Jewish revolt of 132–135 CE; the latter (House of the Sanctuary) echoing the Hebrew Bayt ha-Miqdash, referring to the Jewish temple.

937 At issue here is the fact that the Banū Ghassān were a Christian Arab tribe that had provided the Byzantines with troops to guard the borders of the empire. As ethnic Arabs, though not Muslims, they wished to be treated differently from non-Arab inhabitants of the conquered territories in matters of land taxation and/or tribute (*kharāj*) and the poll-tax (*jizya*). Al-Ya'qūbī's brief mention of the last of the Ghassānid phylarchs, Jabala b. al-Ayham, can be filled out by the colorful story of his conversion to Islam after the Byzantine defeat at the Yarmūk, his journey with a splendid entourage of 500 tribesmen to Medina to see 'Umar, and how a tussle with a Bedouin tribesman who jostled him during the pilgrimage, causing his loincloth to fall to the ground—Jabala broke the man's nose for being so careless—followed by 'Umar's insistence on having Jabala pay the man damages or allow him to break his nose in return, caused Jabala to return to Christianity in indignation and make his way to Constantinople, where he was received with honor. See al-ʿIṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 14:2–8; also the article by Irfan Kavar in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djabala b. al-Ayham. Al-Ya'qūbī will relate another instance of Jabala's insistence on being treated as an Arab; v. *infra*, ed. Leiden, 2:168.

ʿUmar had sent Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī to Iraq at the head of an army with al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī. Kistrā had died, and his daughter Būrān had come to exercise the kingship.<sup>938</sup> She made Rustam and al-Firuzān custodians of the affairs of the monarchy—both of whom were weak and contemptible. Abū ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī advanced until he encountered one of the Persians’ outposts; he assaulted them, and they fought a pitched battle. Then God made the Muslims victorious over them and sent them fleeing. When the news reached Rustam, he sent against them a man named Jālinūs; the two sides met at a place called | Bārūsmā; the Persians were routed and Abū ʿUbayd conquered Bārūsmā. Then Rustam sent Dhū l-Ḥājib against them, and with him he sent the elephant.<sup>939</sup> They fought fiercely. The Muslims’ horses began to shy from the elephant, and so Abū ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī attacked it with his sword and cut off its trunk,<sup>940</sup> but the elephant knelt upon him and killed him. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī took command of the army. When the news reached ʿUmar, he became very worried about it. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī arrived from Yemen with a troop of mounted Bajila tribesmen, whose leader was ʿArfaja b. Harthama, an ally of theirs from the Azd. ʿUmar ordered them to march quickly<sup>941</sup> to Iraq, and he made ʿArfaja b. Harthama their commander. Jarīr became angry about this and said, “By God, the man isn’t one of us.” “He’s right,” replied ʿArfaja; and so ʿUmar sent Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh. Having reached Kufa, he sortied from it, attacked the *marzubān* (governor) of al-Madhār,<sup>942</sup> and killed him; the latter’s army was routed and most of its men drowned in the Tigris. Then Jarīr went to al-Nukhayla, where Mihrān was with his force, and

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938 Al-Yaʿqūbī has already given an account of the turbulent succession to the Sasanian monarchy after the murder of “Kistrā” (Khusraw II Aparwīz) in 628 CE (ed. Leiden, 1:196–198). Here he telescopes the complex story of the succession in order to focus on the Persian empire’s weakness that facilitated the Arab conquest.

939 Arabic *wa-baʿatha maʿahu bi-l-fil*. Unless *fil* is to be taken as collective, an otherwise unknown usage, the Arabic implies “the” (that is, the well-known) elephant. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2174–2182, clarifies the meaning: “Rustam charged Bahman Jādhūyah, who was Dhū l-Ḥājib, with fighting Abū ʿUbayd. He sent back with him al-Jālinūs, who had with him the elephants (*al-fiyala*, pl.), among them a white elephant (*fil abyad*) on which was a palm tree [emblem].” (Trans., Blankinship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XI, 190.)

940 Arabic *mishfar* usually means an animal’s lip, but here it almost certainly means the elephant’s trunk. The same word is used throughout in the parallel in al-Ṭabarī; see especially *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2181, where cutting off the elephant’s *mishfar* is said to be a way to kill the animal.

941 Arabic *al-nufūdh ilā*, literally, “to pass through.”

942 Reading *marzubān al-madhār*, as emended by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 253.

attacked him. The two sides fought fiercely. Al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān pressed upon Mihrān, speared him, and threw him from his mount; Jarīr then rushed up and cut off his head. The two of them quarreled over taking his spoil, so Jarīr took the weapons and al-Mundhir the belt. That was in the year 14.

When the Persians saw their own weakness and contemptibility and how the Muslims were prevailing over them, they conspired to kill Rustam and al-Fīruzān. But then they said, "This will undermine our cause," and so they sought a son of Kisrā. Finally they located Yazdagird, who was twenty years old, and made him king over them. He set their affairs in order and managed them ably, and so the kingdom became strong and the power of the Persians increased. They expelled the Muslims from the plains;<sup>943</sup> the people of the Sawād<sup>944</sup> reneged and tore up the agreements they had in their hands, and |  
2:163 the Muslims retreated to the outskirts. When 'Umar learned of it, he wanted to go out to Iraq himself; then, however, he sought advice, and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was recommended to him, so he dispatched him with 80,000 troops. Sa'd marched until he encamped at al-Qādisiyya. He<sup>945</sup> sent 'Utba b. Ghazwān to the rural districts along the Tigris,<sup>946</sup> al-Ubulla, Abarqubādh, and Maysān, and he conquered them. He<sup>947</sup> laid out the plan of Basra and constructed its mosque of reeds. It is said that 'Umar sent him for that purpose. Sa'd remained in al-Qādisiyya.

Then the Muslims seized the daughter of Āzādhmard<sup>948</sup> as she was being conveyed to marry a certain nobleman. They took the property and valuables that she had with her, and they distributed it among the Muslims, who, as a result, were delighted and whose morale improved.<sup>949</sup> Then Sa'd sent al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin with a group of men to Kisrā<sup>950</sup> to invite him to Islam. They entered his presence in the comeliest garments, wearing striped wrappers

943 Arabic *al-murūj* in ed. Leiden; the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2174–2177, has al-Marwaḥa, a place described by Yāqūt (s.v.) as being in the Sawād on the west bank of the Euphrates.

944 Arabic *sawād*, literally, "blackness," the usual term for the arable land of Iraq.

945 That is, 'Umar, as is clear from the parallel accounts.

946 Arabic *kuwar Djlā*.

947 That is, 'Utba b. Ghazwān. For a detailed account of the founding of the Arab garrison city of Basra by 'Utba b. Ghazwān, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2377–2385 (trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XII, 161–168).

948 Āzādhmard (or Āzādmard) was the son of Āzādhbih (or Āzādbih), the Persian governor (*marzubān*) of al-Ḥira; cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2233.

949 Arabic *hasunat quwwatuhum*: or, "their power came to be in a good state." Arabic *quwwa* can refer to both physical and mental strength.

950 That is, to Yazdagird, the Persian Great King.

and sandals. They told him why Sa'd had sent them to him and invited him to Islam and to bear witness to the truth, or to pay the *jizya*.<sup>951</sup> This angered him. He called for a palm-basket full of earth and said, "Load it on the head of their chief; were it not that messengers are not to be killed, I would kill them." Āṣim b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī said, "I am the chief of the group," and so they loaded the earth on him, whereupon he left hastily. He said, "By God, we have defeated them and trampled their land!"<sup>952</sup>

When a report of this reached Rustam, it was very painful to him. He said, "What does the son of the cupper know about managing the kingdom?"—Yazdagird's mother is said to have been a cupper. He sent messengers after them, but they evaded the messengers. Kisrā and the Persians then became exceedingly fearful of them. He ordered Rustam to head towards them; he was reluctant to do so, but Kisrā so badgered him about it that he marched out under duress. When he reached al-Najaf, he sent to Sa'd, saying, "Send me some men of yours so that I can negotiate with them." Sa'd therefore sent | al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, Bishr b. Abī Ruhm, ʿArfaja b. Harthama, Ḥudhayfa b. Miḥṣan, Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir, Qirfa b. Zāhir, Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī, Muḍārib b. Yazīd, and Shu'ba b. Murra. They were among the shrewdest men of the Arabs. They came before him one man at a time, each of them saying just what his companions had said and summoning him to Islam or to pay the *jizya*. It was clear to them that he desired to embrace Islam, but was afraid of his companions—whenever Islam was presented to one of them, he did not see him responding with alacrity. Then Rustam went out to set the army in battle order; he seated himself on a throne of gold, put the ranks in order, and arranged his companions. Being an astrologer, he was certain that he would perish, so he wrote to his brother: "In the name of God, the Lord of mercy, from the *iṣbahbad*<sup>953</sup> Rustam to his brother: I have seen Jupiter in descent and Venus in ascent; it is the end of the era for you. Peace upon you forever and forever."

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Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ addressed the Muslims, making them desire *jihād* and telling them of what God promised His Messenger by way of victory and making the religion triumphant,<sup>954</sup> and each of the Muslims encouraged his

951 Text has *wa-ilā adā al-jizya* (and to pay the *jizya*), but this must be a scribal error for *aw ilā ...*, "or to pay the *jizya*", as below (ed. Leiden, 2:164).

952 The symbolism of the Persian king's unwittingly transferring the land to the invaders is obvious. Cf. the much longer account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2236, 2238–2244, where Yazdagird's own general Rustam explicitly interprets the gesture in this way.

953 From Middle Persian *spāhbadh*, military governor of one of the four quadrants into which the Sasanian empire was divided during the reforms of Khusraw Anūshirwān.

954 Arabic, *iḏhār al-dīn*; the phrase echoes Qur'ān 9:33.

fellow. The fighting was initiated after the midday prayer. The two sides fought vigorously, and the Muslims showed great bravery and skill. Sa'd was sick that day, and so he went to the Palace of al-'Udhayb, stayed in it, and fortified himself in it. When Rustam found out, he sent some cavalry to surround the palace. When the Muslims learned of it, they went to the palace, and Rustam's men were put to flight. When they woke up the next morning, 6,000 troops arrived from the army of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ—they had been with Khālīd b. al-Walīd: 5,000 were Muḍar and Rabī'a tribesmen, and 1,000 were from other groups of Muslims. | They were under the command of al-Mirqāl Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Abī Waqqāṣ—the conquest of Syria<sup>955</sup> had taken place a month before (the Battle of) al-Qādisiyya. So on the morning of the third day they were in their positions. Rustam sent out the elephants, and when the squadrons saw them they almost broke ranks. Then the Muslims attacked them, putting out their eyes and cutting their trunks, and the Muslims advanced. On the morning of the fourth day the Muslims had the upper hand. Rustam was killed—a pack that was on a mule fell on him and killed him. The one who threw the pack on him was Hilāl b. 'Ullafa;<sup>956</sup> he climbed atop Rustam's throne and shouted, "I have killed [Rustam], by the Lord of the Ka'ba! To me, to me!" Some have said that Zuhayr b. 'Abd Shams, the nephew of Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh, killed him. There was great carnage among them, and they retreated in flight. The booty and spoil were gathered; the spoil of Rustam was sold. The share of a single man amounted to 14,000 (dirhams) for each cavalryman and 7,100 for an infantryman. From the bulk of the booty<sup>957</sup> a little was given as a token to the dependents of martyrs, and a little was given to the women from the bulk of the booty. As for slaves, they were plentiful.

Sa'd sent a delegation to 'Umar, and 'Umar bestowed on them 80 dinars apiece. Present at al-Qādisiyya from among the Companions of the Messenger of God were 70 veterans of Badr, 120 who had witnessed the Oath of Good Pleasure<sup>958</sup> and the conquest (of Mecca), and 100 (other) Companions of the Messenger of God. All the Persians rushed to al-Madā'in in flight, turning aside for nothing; Yazdagird the king was there. Sa'd sent the Muslims after them and

955 Arabic *al-Sha'm*, referring either to Syria or to the city of Damascus.

956 M has Malik (for Mālik) b. 'Alqama; ed. Leiden corrects to Hilāl b. 'Ullafa on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2336–2338, and al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 259, noting that miscopying could explain the confusion.

957 Arabic *min ṣulb al-fay'*.

958 The oath of allegiance sworn to the Prophet by his followers in Dhū l-Qa'da 6 (March 638) during the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiya. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bay'at al-Riḍwān.

besieged them for a month and 15 days. Then the Persians departed in flight, and al-Madāʾin was conquered. Some have said that this took place in the year 16.<sup>959</sup>

In this (year) ʿUmar began dating written documents. He wanted to write the date from the birth | of the Messenger of God; afterward he said, “from the beginning of his mission.”<sup>960</sup> ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib advised him to write it from the migration (*hijra*), so he wrote it from the *hijra*.<sup>961</sup> 2:166

ʿUtba b. Ghazwān betook himself to ʿUmar, leaving Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd al-Sulamī in charge of Basra, with al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba commanding the army. After ʿUtba departed, the local inhabitants<sup>962</sup> of Maysān and the rural districts along the Tigris came forth (in rebellion) under al-Faylakān. Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba gathered a troop of Muslims against them and marched until he encountered the local inhabitants in Maysān and routed them, taking its people captive by force. Al-Mughīra wrote about this to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ʿUmar therefore said to ʿUtba, “Have nomads been given authority over settled people?”<sup>963</sup> and wrote to al-Mughīra, saying: “You shall be ʿUtba b. Ghazwān’s deputy until ʿUtba arrives.” ʿUtba left ʿUmar’s presence, but died on the way from Medina to Basra; ʿUmar therefore wrote to al-Mughīra appointing him governor of Basra. When the Battle of al-Qādisiyya occurred, al-Mughīra went to Saʿd<sup>964</sup> and then returned to his governorship. Now al-Mughīra used to frequent a woman of the Banū Hilāl named Umm Jamīl, the wife of al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿAtīk al-Thaqafī.<sup>965</sup> A group of Muslims became suspicious of him: Abū Bakra,

959 16 A.H. = February 2, 637 – January 22, 638. The dating of the Battle of al-Qādisiyya presents problems. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:2377, following his main source, Sayf, places the narrative of the battle under 14 A.H., but notes that other authorities date it to 15 (Ibn Ishāq) or 16 (al-Madāʾinī). The arguments were summed up by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Qādisiyya. She argued for a date in Muḥarram 15 (February–March 636).

960 That is, from the time of Muḥammad’s first receiving the revelation of the Qurʾān, traditionally placed in his fortieth year.

961 That is, from the date of Muḥammad’s migration from Mecca to Medina, which became year 1 of the Islamic calendar, called *hijrī* in Arabic after the word for migration (*hijra*).

962 Arabic *aʿjām* (plural of *ʿajam*). The word usually means “Persians,” but may have the more general meaning “people who do not speak Arabic,” that is, the Aramaic- and Persian-speaking inhabitants of the areas mentioned.

963 Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd, whom ʿUtba had left in command, was of the tribe of Sulaym, a nomadic group originally from the region between Mecca and Medina; al-Mughīra, on the other hand, was a townsman hailing from al-Ṭāʾif.

964 That is, he came from Basra to the battlefield near Kufa with reinforcements.

965 According to the parallel account of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba’s misconduct (al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:2529–2533), Umm Jamīl’s husband died some time before the affair.

Nāfi' b. al-Ḥārith, Shibl b. Ma'bad, and Ziyād b. 'Ubayd<sup>966</sup> lay in wait for him until he went in to see her; when the wind lifted the curtain, lo and behold, there he was on top of her. So they<sup>967</sup> went as a delegation to 'Umar. 'Umar heard the voice of Abū Bakra—there was a screen between them—and said, "Abū Bakra?" "Yes," he replied. 'Umar said, "Have you come bringing something evil?"<sup>968</sup> Abū Bakra replied, "It is only al-Mughīra who has brought it"—and he told him the story. 'Umar therefore sent Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī as governor in place of al-Mughīra, and he ordered Abū Mūsā to send al-Mughīra back to him. When al-Mughīra arrived, 'Umar brought him and the witnesses together. Three bore witness. Ziyād approached, and when 'Umar saw him he said, "I  
 2:167 see the face of a man | through whom God will not disgrace a man who was a Companion of Muḥammad." When Ziyād drew near, 'Umar asked, "What do you have to say, O eagle's dung?"<sup>969</sup> Ziyād replied, "I saw something shameful, I heard heavy breathing, and I saw feet intertwined, but I did not see anything like the mascara-pencil in the mascara-pot."<sup>970</sup> So 'Umar had Abū Bakra, Nāfi', and Shibl b. Ma'bad whipped.<sup>971</sup> Afterward, Abū Bakra stood up and declared, "I bear witness that al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba is an adulterer." 'Umar wanted to have him whipped a second time, but 'Alī said to him, "Then your companion would die<sup>972</sup> of stoning." And so, whenever 'Umar saw al-Mughīra, he would to say,

966 This is the first appearance in al-Ya'qūbī of a man who would have a long and distinguished career later under both 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. Ziyād was the son of a slave woman named Sumayya; his paternity was uncertain, attributed for convenience to Sumayya's owner, 'Ubayd, but later attributed to Abū Sufyān, a claim which, if true, would have made him the half-brother of the caliph Mu'āwiya. Because of this uncertainty, he was often called Ziyād b. Abihi (Ziyād, his father's son). See the article by I. Hasson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ziyād b. Abihi. Note that al-Mughīra's other accusers are related through Sumayya to each other and to Ziyād. Nāfi' b. al-Ḥārith and Abū Bakra (full brothers to each other) and Shibl b. Ma'bad were all half-brothers of Ziyād.

967 Reading with M, *fa-wafadū*; ed. Leiden (apparently following C) *fa-wafada* (he went as a delegate).

968 Reading with M *la-qad ji'ta bi-sharrin*; ed. Leiden (apparently following C) reads *la-qad ji'ta bi-bushrin*, "Have you brought good tidings?" but this makes no sense with what follows.

969 Arabic *yā salḥa l-'uqāb*; apparently a variation (or miscopying) of another expression attributed to 'Umar: *yā salḥa l-ghurāb* (O dung of the crow), said to mean "O foul, or filthy, man" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *salḥ*).

970 The standard phrase in works of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) for fornication (*zinā*).

971 That is, for perjury. Islamic law requires four eye-witnesses for accusations of adultery to be found valid. Fewer than four witnesses will be charged with false witness, punishable by flogging. Cf. Qur'ān 24:4.

972 Arabic *idhan tuwuffiya ṣāhibuka ḥijāratān*; thus ed. Leiden (apparently following C). For *tuwuffiya* (would die) M reads *tawaqqā* (would be cautious of, defend himself against).



“Mughīra, whenever I see you I fear that God will pelt me with stones.” There were sixty-eight men in Basra who were Companions of the Messenger of God.

The report returns to the account of Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ and his siege of the people of Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem), because we have placed every report in its year and its time.

Abū ʿUbayda wrote to ʿUmar informing him of how the people of ʾĪlīyāʾ (Jerusalem) had been contentious and held out. One authority has said that the people of ʾĪlīyāʾ asked that the caliph himself should be the one who made a peace agreement with them. Abū ʿUbayda therefore drew up the agreements and covenants that would be binding upon them and wrote to ʿUmar. ʿUmar departed for Syria,<sup>973</sup> leaving ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as his deputy over Medina. He reconciled with Khālid, drew him near, and appointed him commander, and so (the latter) marched out with the army in command of his vanguard. This took place in Rajab of the year 16.<sup>974</sup> He encamped at al-Jābiya in the territory of Damascus; then he made his way to Bayt al-Maqdis and took it by treaty. He wrote them a document, as follows:<sup>975</sup>

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate: This is a document written by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb for the people of Bayt al-Maqdis. You shall be secure in your lives, your property, and your churches, which will not be used for billeting<sup>976</sup> or destroyed, unless you cause public discord.

He summoned men to bear witness.

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ brought him (a beverage called) *ṭilāʾ*. ʿUmar asked, “How is it made?” ʿAmr replied, “It is cooked until two-thirds of it go away and one-third of it remains.” ʿUmar said, “I see no harm in it.”<sup>977</sup>

People have differed on | the treaty of Bayt al-Maqdis. Some have said 2:168 that the Jews made the agreement; others have said the Christians.<sup>978</sup> The consensus is the Christians.

973 Arabic *al-Shaʿm*: the area to the north and west of the Arabian peninsula, including Syria, Jordan, and Palestine.

974 Rajab 16 began on July 29, 637.

975 Cf. the longer version in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2405–2407.

976 Arabic *lā tuskan*, literally “will not be inhabited,” referring apparently to requisition of them for billeting Muslim troops.

977 *Ṭilāʾ* apparently was wine boiled down into a kind of syrup (*ṭilāʾ* can also refer to pitch used to heal sores on the skin of camels). Its licitness or illicitness was a subject of debate; see the article by A. J. Wensinck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khamr*, which cites a longer version of this incident; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2410.

978 Or, “that he (ʿUmar) made the agreement with the Jews”—the Arabic is ambiguous.

Bilāl went to ‘Umar and said, “Commander of the Faithful, the commanders of the Syrian forces are eating only fowls’ flesh and fine bread, but most of the men are not receiving that.” ‘Umar therefore required the Syrian commanders to guarantee him as food for the Muslims two loaves of bread a day for each man and a suitable quantity of vinegar and oil. ‘Umar ordered that the booty be divided equally among the army, excepting only Lakhm and Judhām, for he said, “I will not treat him who has come from far away to [his enemy]<sup>979</sup> like him who has (merely) come out of his house.”<sup>980</sup> Then a man went to him and said, “If God has made the emigration (*hijra*) to be toward us, and so we (simply) went out of our houses to our enemy, are we to be deprived of our share?”

On his return to Medina, ‘Umar passed by some people who had been stood up to be punished for (non-payment of) the land-tax (*kharāj*). ‘Umar said, “Leave them alone and don’t torment them, for I heard the Messenger of God say that those who torment people in this life will be tormented by God in the hereafter on the Day of Resurrection.” So he sent a messenger to them and let them go their way. Jabala b. al-Ayham came to him and said, “You should take the alms-tax (*ṣadaqa*) from me just as you do with the Arabs.”<sup>981</sup> “Nay, rather the poll-tax (*jizya*),” replied ‘Umar, “or else join those who follow your religion.” Jabala therefore left with 30,000 of his people and betook himself to Byzantine territory. ‘Umar regretted what he had done in his case.

‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ came to him<sup>982</sup> and said to him: “Commander of the Faithful, you should allow me to go to Egypt. If we conquer it, it will be a strength for the Muslims, for it is among the richest of lands and the least capable of fighting.” He continued to stress to ‘Umar its importance and make its conquest seem easy to him until ‘Umar put him in charge of 4,000 men, all of them from (the tribe of) ‘Akk, and said to him: “A letter from me will reach you quickly. If my letter reaches you commanding you | to turn back from Egypt before you have entered any of its territory, then withdraw. But if you have entered it and then my letter reaches you, continue and ask for God’s help.” ‘Amr marched in haste. When he was in Rafah, which is the last district of Palestine, ‘Umar’s messenger

979 Inserted by the Leiden editor to fill a visible lacuna in C; M similar.

980 The point is that soldiers of Lakhm and Judhām, whose homes lay in the southern part of geographical Syria, should not get as much booty as soldiers who had come from distant Arabia.

981 Cf. the incident involving Jabala narrated by al-Ya’qūbī above, ed. Leiden, 2:161.

982 The Leiden editor read the manuscript as *wajjaha ‘Amru bnu l-‘Āṣ* (‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ sent), but as there is no indication of whom he sent and the sentence continues with ‘Amr speaking to ‘Umar, the MS is probably to be read as a slip (or defective spelling) for *wa-jā’ahu ‘Amru* ... (‘Amr came to him ...); M similar.

came to him with a letter, but ʿAmr did not open it; he pushed ahead until he came to a village near al-ʿArīsh and then read the letter. Then he asked, “Of what is this village part?” “Of Egypt,” they replied. He said, “The Commander of the Faithful ordered me to forge ahead if his letter reached me after I had entered any part of Egypt and to ask God’s help.” [He went on]<sup>983</sup> until he came to al-Faramā.<sup>984</sup> They fought him for about three months. Then God granted him victory, and he continued until he came to Umm Dunayn.<sup>985</sup> They fought him fiercely and the conquest was slow in coming, so he wrote to ʿUmar for reinforcements. ʿUmar sent 4,000 men and wrote to him that he had set over each thousand men one man who could take the place of a thousand. Among them were al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, and Khārīja b. Ḥudhāfa. Some say that Maslama b. Mukhallad was one of them. They fought fiercely; then al-Zubayr said, “I give my life to God and hope that God will give victory to the Muslims.” He put a ladder by night on the side of the fortress; a company of men assaulted it with him, and the Muslims called out, “God is most great!” When the killing reached fever pitch, they<sup>986</sup> called for a peace agreement. Some have said that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ granted al-Muqawqis<sup>987</sup> a peace agreement against payment of two dinars for each man. Others have said that there was no peace agreement; rather, it was conquered by force.

Then ʿAmr made his way to Alexandria. There were Byzantine troops in it and three fortresses overlooking it. The troops fought him fiercely, and the fighting between them went on for three months. Al-Muqawqis had asked ʿAmr to make a peace agreement with him for Alexandria, on terms that whoever wanted to leave for | Byzantine territory would be released and whoever remained would owe two dinars as tribute (*kharāj*). He agreed to it, but when Heraclius, the Byzantine king, learned of it, ...<sup>988</sup> and grew angry. So

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983 Conjectural addition by the Leiden editor.

984 Al-Faramā (Pelusium) was a town on the Mediterranean on the eastern edge of the Nile delta; its ruins (modern Tel El Farama) are about 25 km east of the Suez Canal.

985 C, M: *al-madīna* (the city); emended by the Leiden editor. Cf. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt*, 8. Umm Dunayn was a town on the Nile near the Byzantine fortress of Babylon, for which it served as harbor. It was thus near the site of later Cairo (Yāqūt, s.v.). A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), 217, located it near the site of the modern Ezbekiyya in Cairo, taking into account the shifting of the course of the Nile.

986 That is, the defenders of the fortress.

987 Al-Muqawqis is the Arabic designation for Cyrus, the Melchite Patriarch of Alexandria, transferred by Heraclius to Egypt from Colchis in the Caucasus in 631. The Arabic (al-Muqawqis) is derived through Coptic from Colchis or Caucasus. See the article by K. Öhrnberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muḳawḳis.

988 There is a visible lacuna in M; ed. Leiden (apparently following C) displaces it until

al-Muqawqis said, "I gave them good advice, but they were suspicious of me; therefore do not grant them the favorable terms that you granted me."

ʿUmar left for Mecca in the year 17 and performed the lesser pilgrimage of Rajab.<sup>989</sup> He expanded the Station<sup>990</sup> and made it farther from the House.<sup>991</sup> He expanded the Hijr,<sup>992</sup> and he did construction work on the Sacred Mosque and expanded it. He purchased houses from some people, but others refused, and so he razed their houses and put the equivalent of their houses' value into the treasury. One of the houses demolished was the house of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who said to him, "Will you raze my house?" ʿUmar replied, "In order to expand the sacred mosque!" Al-ʿAbbās said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'God ordered David to build a house for Him in ʾIlīyā', and so he built it in Bayt al-Maqdis,<sup>993</sup> but whenever the building rose, it fell down. So David said, 'My Lord, you ordered me to build you a house, but whenever I build, the building falls down.' God then sent him a revelation, saying, 'I accept only that which is of pleasing odor,<sup>994</sup> but you have built for me on land wrongfully taken.' David therefore looked, and lo there was a plot of land he had not purchased, and he bought it from its owner at his price.<sup>995</sup> Then he built, and the building was completed.'" "Who," asked ʿUmar "will bear witness that they heard this from the Messenger of God?" Some men stood up and bore witness. ʿUmar said, "Name us a price, Abū l-Faḍl,<sup>996</sup> or else we will desist." Al-ʿAbbās replied, "I have left it to God." Twenty days later ʿUmar set out to return. Al-ʿAbbās was riding along with him, but on an intractable mount. ʿUmar got ahead of him, but stopped until al-ʿAbbās caught up with him. ʿUmar said to him, "I got ahead of you, but it is not right for anyone to get ahead of you, people of the Banū

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after next word. The parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 215, reads: "When the Byzantine king learned of it, he became furious and dispatched the armies. They shut the gate of Alexandria and declared war on ʿAmr. Al-Muqawqis therefore came out to ʿAmr and said ..."

989 Rajab 17 began on July 19, 638.

990 That is, the Maqām Ibrāhīm (Abraham's Standing Place), just off the east corner of the Ka'ba.

991 That is, farther from the Ka'ba (the House, *al-Bayt*).

992 The area just northwest of the Ka'ba, between its northwest wall and the low semicircular wall called *al-ḥaṭīm*.

993 The "house" is the temple, built according to 2Samuel 7, not by David, but by his son Solomon.

994 Arabic *ṭayyib* (good) often has the sense of "pleasant in taste or odor"—perhaps a reminiscence of the "pleasing odor" of the Old Testament sacrifices (e.g., Leviticus 1:9).

995 Arabic *bi-ḥukmihi*, that is, at the owner's judgment of its value.

996 That is, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, addressing him by his *kunya*.

Hāshim, a people in whom there is weakness.”<sup>997</sup> (Al-ʿAbbās) said, “Has God deemed us strong enough for prophecy, but too weak for the caliphate?”<sup>998</sup>

ʿUmar left for Syria and reached Sargh.<sup>999</sup> He learned that the plague had spread, so he turned back. The commanders of Syria met him, and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ spoke to him very bluntly, saying, “Are you fleeing from the decree of Almighty God?” “Yes,” replied ʿUmar, “I am fleeing from God’s decree to God’s decree.”

2:171

In this year ʿUmar asked ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib for the hand of ʿAlī’s daughter Umm Kulthūm, whose mother was Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God. ʿAlī said that she was still young. ʿUmar replied: “I did not mean it in the way you thought. I heard the Messenger of God say, ‘Every descent and relationship will be broken on the Day of Resurrection, except relationship to me, descent from me, and relationship to me by marriage.’ So I desired to have a relationship and marriage-tie to the Messenger of God.” He then married her and gave her 10,000 dinars as dowry.

In this year—some say that it was at the beginning of the year 18<sup>1000</sup>—the Muslims settled Kufa, laid out plots in it, and built houses. Eighty of the Companions of the Messenger of God settled in it.

Drought, barrenness, and severe famine afflicted the people in the Year of Ashes, which was [the year] 18. ʿUmar went out to pray for rain. He had the people come out, took al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib by the hand, and said: “O God, we draw near to You by the uncle of Your Prophet. O God, do not disappoint their expectation in Your Messenger.” And they were granted rain.

997 ʿUmar is playing on the two senses of the Arabic verb *taqaddama*, which means both “get ahead of” and “take precedence over.” Although there is no indication of a lacuna in the MSS, the Leiden editor inferred one and therefore printed a text that can be translated: “I got ahead of you, but it is not right for anyone to take precedence over you, people of the Banū Hāshim, a people ... in you/whom there is weakness.”

998 The Arabic original of the sentence lacks an initial interrogative particle, but it seems best to take it as a rhetorical question whose answer is no. Al-ʿAbbās then would be affirming the claim of the Banū Hāshim, Muḥammad’s clan (“God deemed us strong enough for prophecy”), to being qualified also for the succession (the caliphate). The prediction, a veiled prophecy attributed to al-ʿAbbās, would be fulfilled, though after al-ʿAbbās’s death, with the accession of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to the caliphate, and, after the Umayyad interregnum, by the accession of a descendant of al-ʿAbbās to the caliphate and the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty.

999 According to Yāqūt, s.v., Sargh was thirteen days’ journey north of Medina and marked the border between the Ḥijāz and al-Shaʿm (Syria).

1000 18 A.H. = January 12, 639 – January 1, 640.

‘Umar appointed a food allowance for the dependents of certain Muslims in that year and ordered that the expenses of foundlings and their nursing should be paid from the treasury.

2:172 In this year ‘Umar was styled Commander of the Faithful; he had been styled Successor (*Khalifa*) | of the Successor of the Messenger of God. Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī addressed a letter to him: “To the Servant of God ‘Umar, Commander of the Faithful,” and this became customary. Some have said that al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba came to see him and said, “Peace be upon you, Commander of the Faithful,” whereupon ‘Umar said, “You must not say such a thing!” “Aren’t we Muslims?” asked al-Mughīra. “Of course,” replied ‘Umar. Al-Mughīra said, “And you are our commander.” ‘Umar said, “Yes, by God.”

Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ had sent ‘Iyād b. Ghanm al-Fihri to the Jazīra. He kept besieging them, and then he conquered al-Raqqā, Sarūj, Edessa (al-Ruhā), Nisibis (Nišibīn), and the other towns of the Jazīra—all of them by peace agreement. He imposed tax (*kharāj*) on the land, and (he imposed a poll-tax) on the necks of men: on each person four or five dinars, or six, in the year 18. Then he returned to Abū ‘Ubayda.

The plague spread in Syria—it was the plague of ‘Amwās.<sup>1001</sup> Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ died. He appointed as successor ‘Iyād b. Ghanm over Ḥimṣ and its dependencies of Qinnasrīn and Mu‘ādh b. Jabal over Jordan, but it was only a few days before Mu‘ādh b. Jabal died. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān and Shurahbīl b. Ḥasana also died. ‘Umar therefore confirmed Mu‘āwiya over Yazīd’s governorate. In that year 25,000 died in the ‘Amwās plague, apart from those who were not encompassed.<sup>1002</sup> Prices rose and the people began hoarding; ‘Umar therefore prohibited hoarding.

In this (year) al-Faḍl b. al-Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib died in Palestine. Palestine had been conquered, except for Caesarea (al-Qaysāriyya); Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān was stationed against it, and he conquered it in the year 18. It has been said that there were 80,000 fighting men in the city. Mu‘āwiya sent two men from the tribe of Judhām to ‘Umar with the good tidings; after them he sent a man named Zuhayr from the tribe of Khath‘am. He said to him, “If you can get

1001 ‘Amwās (or ‘Amawās) is the Biblical Emmaus, about seven miles from Jerusalem (Luke 24:13). The plague was named for the place where it started. See the article by Justin K. Stearns in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Amwās, plague of.

1002 Arabic *sīwā man lam yuḥṣar minhum* (apart from those of them who were not restrained) apparently refers to those who contracted the disease but did not die. Although Lane, *Lexicon*, records instances of the verb *ḥaṣara* (restrain) referring to the debilitating effects of disease, one is tempted to emend one letter and read *sīwā man lam yuḥṣā minhum* (apart from those who were not counted).

there before the two Judhāmīs, | do it.” So the Khathʿamī overtook them while they were sleeping and passed them by. He arrived in Medina at night, came to ʿUmar, and told him the news. ʿUmar shouted, “God is most great!” and praised God. Then he went out to the mosque, ordered fire be brought and it was, and he praised God and informed them of the conquest of Caesarea. 2:173

Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ wrote from al-Madāʿin to ʿUmar three years after he had settled in, informing him that the Persians had gathered at Jalūlāʾ, a village of the Sawād near Ḥulwān. ʿUmar wrote to him to hasten against them with the men he had with him, and he dispatched ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd and put him in Saʿd’s place. Some have said that he sent Salmān to be at al-Madāʿin. Ibn Masʿūd used to instruct them in religion and teach them. The battle of Jalūlāʾ was in the year 19;<sup>1003</sup> he<sup>1004</sup> continued fighting them until God made him victorious. A great many Persians were killed, and Yazdagird fled with those who remained with him and reached Isfahan; then he marched to the vicinity of al-Rayy. The ruler (*ṣāhib*) of Ṭabaristān came to him and informed him of the impregnability of his country, but Yazdagird refused his offer and went on to Marw. He had with him 1,000 of his cavalymen, 1,000 crack troops,<sup>1005</sup> and 1,000 men of special valor.<sup>1006</sup> He corresponded with Nayzak Ṭarkhān, but the latter attacked him with a club.<sup>1007</sup> So he left in flight and entered the house of a miller; they overtook him and killed him in the miller’s house. His cavalymen made their way to Balkh, his valorous troops reached Herat, and his crack troops Marv. The hosts of the Persians dispersed; God made their kingdom pass away and scattered their assembly.

Saʿd returned to Kufa and laid out its mosque and its governor’s palace.<sup>1008</sup> Al-Ashʿath laid out the Cemetery of Kinda, and the Kinda laid out plots around it; Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh laid out the desert side,<sup>1009</sup> and the Bajīla laid out plots

1003 19 A.H. = January 2 – December 20, 640. Note that al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2456, places the Battle of Jalūlāʾ in 16 A.H.

1004 Apparently referring to Saʿd.

1005 Ed. Leiden has *jabbār*, perhaps “toughs.”

1006 Ed. Leiden has *ṣannāja*.

1007 Nayzak Ṭarkhān was the ruler of the Turks with whom, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2877–2882, Yazdagird hoped to ally himself. Al-Yaʿqūbī offers here a fragment of a much longer narrative involving Yazdagird, the Persian prince Farrukhzād, and the ruler of Marv. In al-Ṭabarī’s version, (*Taʾrīkh*, 1:2878–2879) it is Farrukhzād who attacks Yazdagird with a club.

1008 Arabic, *qaṣr imāratiḥā*, lit. “its palace of command,” the governor’s residence, more commonly called *dār al-imāra*.

1009 Arabic, *nāḥiyat al-barriyya*, or “uncultivated district.”

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around it. ‘Umar consulted the Companions of the Messenger of God about the cultivated land (*sawād*) of Kufa. Some said to him, “You<sup>1010</sup> should divide it among us.” He consulted ‘Alī, who said, “If you divide it today, there will be nothing | for those who come after; instead, you should confirm it in their hands to work it,<sup>1011</sup> so that it will be there for us and for those after us.” ‘Umar said: “May God give you success! This is the right view.” He dispatched ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and they surveyed the cultivated lands. ‘Umar ordered them not to burden anyone beyond his ability, and so he levied 80 million dirhams as the land-tax (*kharāj*) of the Sawād. He provided ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf with a daily allowance of five dirhams and a leather bag of flour and ordered him not to include in the survey any hill,<sup>1012</sup> thicket, swamp, or anything that water could not reach. He was to measure using the “black” cubit, which consists of a cubit (*dhirāʿ*) and a hand’s-breadth (*qabḍa*), and he raised his thumb above his fist slightly.<sup>1013</sup> ‘Uthmān surveyed everything this side of the mountains of Ḥulwān up to the land of the west,<sup>1014</sup> which is the lower part of the Euphrates.<sup>1015</sup> Then he wrote to ‘Umar: “I have found out everything that water has ever reached, be it cultivated or uncultivated,<sup>1016</sup> as long as water has ever reached it, whether its owner has worked it or not.” [He assessed on every *jarīb* of land]<sup>1017</sup> one dirham and one *qafīz*; on vineyards, 10 dirhams; and on

1010 Here and in the next sentence M appears to read the first person, “We should divide ...”

1011 Arabic *yaʿmalūnahā*, perhaps in the sense of overseeing the working of the land and collecting taxes on it, but not owning it. The Arab tribesmen would thus remain a military caste ready to be deployed, rather than assimilating into the agricultural economy of the Sawād.

1012 Arabic *tall*, perhaps referring to the ruins of ancient habitations (tells) that dot the Iraqi landscape. Such hills would not be suitable for agriculture.

1013 On the various types of cubit (*dhirāʿ*), see the article by W. Hinz in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dhirāʿ*. The “black” cubit (*dhirāʿ sawdāʾ*) later was fixed at 54.04 cm, as against the shorter “legal” cubit (*dhirāʿ sharʿiyya*) of 49.8 cm.

1014 Thus M, *arḍ al-maghrib*; ed. Leiden *arḍ al-ʿarab* (the land of the Arabs).

1015 The text is problematic. Literally, it says “and it (*wa-huwa*) is the lower part of the Euphrates.” The only possible antecedent for “it” (*huwa*, masculine in Arabic) is “land,” which is feminine. One is tempted to emend to *wa-ilā* (and up to), which would make good sense as defining the Sawād as extending from the Zagros Mountains around Ḥulwān, west to the Syrian Desert, and south to the lower reaches of the Euphrates.

1016 Reading with M: *min ʿāmirin aw ghāmirin*. Ed. Leiden (apparently following C), *min ʿāmirin aw ghayri ʿāmirin* (whether cultivated or uncultivated), is a copyist’s attempt to make sense out of the unusual word *ghāmir*- (desolate, untilled), which the scribe of M wrote without a dot on its initial letter.

1017 There is a lacuna, although no gap is visible in M. The text can be restored from al-



fresh dates<sup>1018</sup> 5 dirhams. He imposed (a poll-tax) on their necks: 48 dirhams on the well-to-do, 24<sup>1019</sup> dirhams on those below that, and 12 dirhams on those who could not find (enough to pay more), saying, “A dirham a month will not make a man destitute.” In the first year, 80 million dirhams of tax revenue (*kharāj*) were taken from the Sawād; in the next year, 120 million dirhams were taken. The Persian landlords (*dihqāns*) met with ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf about the vineyards, saying, “A bunch of grapes from what is near the city sells for (only) a dirham.” ʿUthmān therefore wrote to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about it. ʿUmar wrote to him to collect from the one and remit from the next, according to the capacity of each location. ʿUmar used to take the *jizya*<sup>1020</sup> from all of their tradesmen according to the value of what they owed. ʿAlī did likewise. ʿUmar wrote to Abū Mūsā to levy the same tax (*kharāj*) on the territory of Basra | as ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf levied on the territory of Kufa, and he wrote to ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf, saying, “Transport the stipends of the people of Medina to them, for they are their partners.”<sup>1021</sup> He used to transport between 20 million and 30 million (dirhams annually).

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ʿUmar drew up the (military) registers (*dawāwīn*, pl. of *dīwān*) and instituted the system of stipends (*aṭāʾ*) in the year 20.<sup>1022</sup> “Wealth has proliferated,” he said, and therefore he was advised to make a register. He summoned ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, Makhrama<sup>1023</sup> b. Nawfal, and Jubayr b. Muṭʿim b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf

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Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 269; *waḍaʿa ʿUmaru ʿalā l-sawādi ʿalā kullī jarībīn ʿāmirīn aw ghāmīrīn yabluḡuhu l-māʾu dirhaman wa-qafīzan*. (ʿUmar assessed on every *jarīb* in the Sawād, whether cultivated or uncultivated, provided it was accessible to water, one dirham and one *qafīz*.) The *jarīb* was a measure of land, originally the amount of land that could be sown with a certain amount of seed (also called a *jarīb*, consisting of four *qafīz* measures). It was approximately 1,600 m<sup>2</sup>. See the articles by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Misāḥa; and by E. Ashtor, s.v. Mawāzīn. The *qafīz* was a Persian measure of grain.

1018 Arabic *riṭāb*, which is ambiguous; it can be the plural of *ruṭab* (fresh dates), as opposed to varieties normally dried, or it can be the plural of *raṭba* (clover), i.e., “fields of clover.” The parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 269–270, uses *raṭba*, and thus refers to clover rather than date palms.

1019 The MSS read 28; emended by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 269.

1020 The MSS read *al-jibya*, which may be another word for “tax” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:378; Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:172); cf. Syriac *ghīṭa*, “contribution, gift” (Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 201). The Leiden editor emended to *al-jizya*.

1021 That is, partners of the Muslims living in Kufa.

1022 20 A.H. = December 21, 640 – December 9, 641. Curiously, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:241 dates the event to 15 A.H.; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 450, dates it to 20 A.H. On these administrative developments, see the articles by A. A. Duri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dīwān*, and by Cl. Cahen, s.v. *ʿAṭāʾ*.

1023 The MSS read “Waraqā” (in M an x has been written over the word, perhaps to indicate

and said: "Write down the people according to their standings."<sup>1024</sup> Begin with the Banū 'Abd Manāf." So he registered the first of the people, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, at 5,000 (dirhams); al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī at 3,000; and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī at 3,000. It is said that he put second<sup>1025</sup> al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib at 3,000; everyone from Quraysh who had been present at the Battle of Badr (on the Muslim side) at 3,000; and those of the Anṣār who had been present at Badr at 4,000. As for the people of Mecca, he registered the chief men of Quraysh, such as Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, at 5,000; then came the Quraysh according to their standings, those who had not been present at Badr. He registered the Mothers of the Believers<sup>1026</sup> at 6,000 each; 'Ā'isha, [Umm] Ḥabība, and Ḥafṣa at 12,000 (each); and Ṣafiyya and Juwayriya at 5,000 each. He registered himself at 4,000, and his son 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar at 5,000. He registered the people of Mecca who did not emigrate (to Medina) at 600 and 700. He allocated the people of Yemen 400, the Muḍar 300, and the Rabī'a 200.

2:176 The first money he gave out as stipend (*'aṭā'*) was money that Abū Hurayra brought from al-Baḥrayn in the amount of 700,000 dirhams. He said: "Register the people according to their standings."<sup>1027</sup> They registered the Banū 'Abd Manāf and followed them with Abū Bakr and his kinsmen, and then with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and his kinsmen, | according to the order of succession to the caliphate.<sup>1028</sup> When 'Umar looked at what they had done, he said, "I wish, by God, that I were so close to the Messenger of God! Begin rather

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that it is incorrect). The Leiden editor emended the reading, apparently on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 449. In fact, the well-known Waraqa b. Nawfal, who had become a monotheist and recognized Muḥammad's earliest revelations as authentic, died before Muḥammad's death. Makhrama b. Nawfal also appears in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2529, as one of the men who assisted 'Umar in carrying out his construction projects around the Meccan sanctuary in 17 A.H.

1024 Arabic, *'alā manāzilihim*, presumably their priority in becoming Muslims, but, as al-Ya'qūbī's account, which shows marks of being pieced together from more than one source, makes clear, other factors were taken into account, with the result that the organization of the *diwān* became a matter of contention.

1025 Reading with M, *thanā bi-*; ed. Leiden (apparently following C), *bada'a bi-* (he began with).

1026 That is, the wives of the Prophet, three of whom were given higher allotments, and two lower ones.

1027 This sentence, an exact repetition of 'Umar's words cited in the previous paragraph, seems to indicate that al-Ya'qūbī has begun to cite a different account.

1028 This arrangement would place two minor clans within Quraysh, the Banū Taym b. Murra (Abū Bakr's clan) and the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b ('Umar's clan) ahead of the clans more closely related to the Prophet through 'Abd Manāf.

with the Messenger of God, followed by those most closely related to him and then the next closest, so that you put ʿUmar where God has put him.” He made allotments to the women Emigrants and other women according to their merit. His allotment to them was 2,000, 1,500, or 1,000 (dirhams): he allocated 2,000 to Asmā’ bt. ʿUmays, Umm Kulthūm bt. ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayt, and Khawla bt. Ḥakīm b. al-Awqaṣ, the wife of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, and he allocated 1,500 to Umm ʿAbd. He made awards to the Persian nobles: he allocated 2,000 (dirhams) each to Fayrūz, son of Yazdagird, *dihqān* of Nahr al-Malik, to al-Nakhīrjān, to Khālīd and al-Jamīl, the sons of Buṣbuhrā, *dihqān* of al-Fallūja, to al-Hurmuzān,<sup>1029</sup> to Bisṭām b. Narsī, *dihqān* of Babylon, and to Jufayna al-ʿIbādī. He said, “Noblemen by whom I wish to win over others!” ʿUmar said in his last year: “I won people over by favoring some over others, but if I live out this year, I will treat people equally and not favor a ruddy person over a swarthy one<sup>1030</sup> or an Arab over a non-Arab. I will do as the Messenger of God and Abū Bakr did.”

He established the garrison cities (*aṃṣār*, plural of *miṣr*) in this year.<sup>1031</sup> “The *aṃṣār*,” he said, “are seven: Medina is a *miṣr*, al-Shaʿm (Syria or Damascus) is a *miṣr*, the Jazīra is a *miṣr*, Kufa is a *miṣr*, Basra is a *miṣr*, [...]”<sup>1032</sup> He also

1029 The Persian general al-Hurmuzān was captured at the Battle of Tustar and taken to Medina. He converted to Islam and became ʿUmar’s adviser on Persian affairs. After the assassination of ʿUmar, which al-Yaʿqūbī will describe below (ed. Leiden, 2:284–185), he fell victim to the wrath of ʿUmar’s son ʿUbaydallāh, who murdered him on suspicion that he had been involved with ʿUmar’s assassin, Abū Luʿluʾa, who, although a Christian, was also Persian; see the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Hurmuzān.

1030 Arabic *al-aḥmar* (red), that is, those with light complexions, referring to the peoples to the north of the Arabs; *al-aswad* (black), referring to the Arabs and any other dark complexioned peoples. Here the idiom is used by way of inclusion, rather than specifically, to mean something like “all and sundry.”

1031 The word *miṣr* denotes, in earliest Islam, “the settlements developing out of the armed encampments established by the Arabs in the conquered provinces outside Arabia and then, subsequently, the capital towns or metropolises of the conquered provinces” (C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Miṣr*). The Arabic phrase used here, *wa-maṣṣara l-aṃṣār*, does not imply that Arab forces were sent only at this time to these places; rather, it implies establishment (or reform) of the administrative framework for these cities. Indeed, the term *miṣr*, as used here in the case of the Jazīra and probably also in the case of al-Shaʿm, refers to military districts, not to the chief city of the district. On the internal organization of these cities, see the article by P. Crone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khiṭṭa*.

1032 Lacuna in text, although the MSS show no break. The missing *aṃṣār* are probably Egypt (Fustāt) and possibly al-Yamāma (sometimes called al-Baḥrayn) or Yemen.

established the military districts (*ajnād*, plural of *jund*):<sup>1033</sup> he made Palestine a *jund*, the Jazīra a *jund*, Mosul a *jund*, and Qinnasrīn a *jund*.

2:177 In this year ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ conquered Alexandria and the other districts of Egypt. He collected 14 million dinars in tax (*kharāj*) on their heads—| a dinar for every person—and tax on their crops, 2 *irdabbs* for every 100 *irdabbs*.<sup>1034</sup> He expelled the companions of Heraclius.<sup>1035</sup> Heraclius, the king of the Byzantines, died, which increased their incapacity and weakness. When ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ conquered Alexandria, he sent Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī as a messenger to ‘Umar. Mu‘āwiya said to ‘Amr, “Send a written letter with me.” ‘Amr replied: “Why should I send a letter with you? Just tell him what you saw and convey the message to him.” When Mu‘āwiya reached ‘Umar and told him the news, ‘Umar bowed in prostration. ‘Umar wrote to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ to ship to Medina by sea enough food for all the Muslims and to convey it to the coast of al-Jār.<sup>1036</sup> ‘Amr transported food to al-Qulzum, and then transported it by sea in twenty ships, each containing approximately 3,000 *irdabbs*, until it reached al-Jār. When ‘Umar learned of their arrival, he went out to al-Jār with many of the Companions of the Messenger of God and inspected the ships. He appointed agents to take possession of the food, and he built two storehouses<sup>1037</sup> there and put the food in them. Then he ordered Zayd b. Thābit to register the people according to their standings: he ordered him to write them vouchers of papyrus<sup>1038</sup> and to seal them at the bottom; thus he was the first to make vouchers and to seal them at the bottom.

1033 The word *jund* meant “military district.” In practice it was used only for the military districts of formerly Byzantine lands of Syria, not those in Iraq or Egypt. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djund*. Again, the language (*wa-jannada l-ajnād*) implies administrative action, rather than the initial deployment of troops.

1034 The *irdabb*, originally a Persian measure of capacity, was used in Egypt as a measure for grain. It may have varied in size from district to district. The figure given by the geographer al-Muqaddasī (4th/10th century) is the equivalent of 72.3 kg of wheat. See the article by E. Ashtor in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mawāzīn*.

1035 Arabic *aṣḥāb Hiraql*; a vague expression applicable to anyone who supported the Byzantine emperor.

1036 Al-Jār was a port on the Red Sea one day from Medina.

1037 The text has *qaṣrayn* (two palaces), but clearly storehouses or warehouses are meant.

1038 Arabic *ṣikāk min qarātīs*. *Ṣakk* (plural *ṣikāk*) is the origin of the word “cheque/check” in English and other European languages. The documents were sealed vouchers issued by the *dīwān* (registry bureau) enabling the bearer to collect a salary, allowance, or pension (see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṣakk*). *Qirṭās* (plural *qarātīs*) at this early period referred to papyrus.

Resumption of the account of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ: [Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ returned] to Kufa and stayed there. Settlement plots (*khīṭaṭ*) were laid out, and houses and quarters<sup>1039</sup> were built. Then the people of Kufa complained about Saʿd and said that he did not pray properly, so ʿUmar dismissed him from command over them. Saʿd cursed them, praying that God—may He be glorified and exalted—would not make them pleased with any commander, or any commander pleased with them. In place of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿUmar appointed ʿAmmār b. Yāsir.<sup>1040</sup> Afterward, the people of Kufa came to ʿUmar. | He asked, “How did you leave your commander, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir?” They replied, “A weak Muslim!” So ʿUmar dismissed him and sent Jubayr b. Muṭʿim. Then al-Mughīra (b. Shuʿba) used cunning against Jubayr: he carried a report about him to ʿUmar and said to him, “Appoint me, Commander of the Faithful.” ʿUmar said, “You are a dissolute man.” He replied: “You need not worry about me. My competence and forcefulness will be yours; my dissoluteness mine alone.” So ʿUmar appointed him governor of Kufa. Then he asked the Kufans about al-Mughīra. They said, “You are the one who knows him and his immorality best.” So ʿUmar said, “What a trial you are to me, people of Kufa! If I appoint you a God-fearing Muslim, you say he is weak; and if I appoint you someone experienced,<sup>1041</sup> you say he is dissolute.” Some say that ʿUmar reinstated Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

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ʿUmar expelled the Jews of Khaybar from the Ḥijāz when Muḏahhir<sup>1042</sup> b. Rāfiʿ al-Ḥārithī was killed.<sup>1043</sup> He said, “I heard the Messenger of God say, ‘Two religions shall not coexist in the peninsula of the Arabs.’” So he divided Khaybar into sixteen shares.<sup>1044</sup>

1039 Arabic *maḥāll* (plural of *maḥalla*), literally means “resting place,” a place where pack animals could be unloaded. It could also designate a quarter of a city. It is not clear which of these meanings is intended here, although “built” suggests the latter.

1040 Ed. Leiden indicates a lacuna in C; M shows no break.

1041 Reading with M, *mujarraban* (the *jīm* is undotted); ed. Leiden reads *mujriman* (a criminal).

1042 Following the vocalization of the name in ed. Leiden; the *Tāj al-ʿarūs* vocalizes the name as Muḏhir, but Muḏahhir is the common form; see W. Caskel, *Ġamharat annasab*, 2:439.

1043 He was killed by the slaves working his lands in Khaybar; the Jews of Khaybar were said to have incited them; see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, s.n. (no. 8035).

1044 Reports about the Prophet’s conquest of Khaybar in A.H. 7 became the battleground for later contending views on how lands should be handled for taxation. Some reports say that the Prophet divided the lands among his followers; others that the lands remained in the hands of the Jews, who were reduced to the status of serfs on the land and paid half the annual crop to the Muslims. See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khaybar.

He sent Maysara b. Masrūq al-ʿAbsī against Byzantine territory; the first army to enter it was the army of Maysara in this year—the year 20. He sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri<sup>1045</sup> to raid, and set a deadline for him. When Ḥabīb exceeded that time, ʿUmar became very worried until he arrived. “What,” he asked, “delayed you beyond the deadline I set for you?” Ḥabīb replied, “One of the Muslims fell ill, so we stayed with him until God decreed what He decreed.” ʿUmar did not raid Byzantine territory after Ḥabīb. Whenever the Byzantines were mentioned, ʿUmar would say, “By God, I wish the mountain pass were a burning coal between us and them, we having everything this side of it and the Byzantines everything beyond it”—because of how much he disliked fighting them. He dispatched ʿAlqama b. Mujazziz | al-Mudlijī with about twenty ships, but all the men were killed, and so ʿUmar vowed that he would never send anyone off by sea.

In this year there were earthquakes the like of which had never been seen.

Nihāwand<sup>1046</sup> was conquered in the year 21.<sup>1047</sup> The commander of the men was al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī. The Persians had gathered from Rayy, Qūmis, Iṣbahān, and a number of other places and had come to Nihāwand. “Our land,” they said, “has been wrested from us, and we have been humiliated in our own homeland.” ʿUmar sent al-Nuʿmān with an army, and he made his way to Nihāwand. The Persians had set over themselves a king named D\_\_\_\_n.<sup>1048</sup>

1045 See the article by Michael Lecker in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri. The mountain pass (*al-darb*) to which ʿUmar will refer is the Cilician Gates, in the Taurus Mountains between Anatolia and Syria. The word may be derived from the town of Derbe near the pass; see Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:866.

1046 Nihāwand is a town in the Zagros Mountains of western Iran (the modern town preserves the name). See the article by V. Minorsky in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nihāwand. Cf. also al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:2596–2633 (trans. Juynboll, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XIII, 179–217). For a detailed discussion of the sources, see Albrecht Noth, “Iṣfahān-Nihāwand: Eine quellenkritische Studie zur frühislamischen Historiographie.” See also the article by C. E. Bosworth in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Nehavand.

1047 21 A.H. = December 10, 641 – November 29, 642.

1048 The name, as written in M, consists of four letters, of which the first and last are unambiguous. Ed. Leiden, based on C, is of no help. The Leiden editor calls attention to a Persian named Dīnār, mentioned in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 306; but he is never identified as a “king,” or even as a commander. However, in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 303, the Persian commander is called Dhū l-Ḥājibayn (He of the Eyebrows), a well-known epithet for the Sasanian commander Mardānshāh b. Hurmuz, and perhaps the original reading of al-Yaʿqūbī was Dhū l-Ḥājibayn, miscopied by the omission of its middle letters. The phrase *mallakū ʿalayhim malikan* (they set over themselves a king) is also puzzling. Perhaps *malik* should be taken in the sense of “prince” or “grandee.” Indeed, al-Balādhurī’s account stresses the pomp of the Persian commander, who sits on a throne (*sarīr*).

There was fierce fighting; al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin was killed, but then God routed the Persians, and Nihāwand was conquered. During the Nihāwand raid ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was on the pulpit of the Messenger of God delivering a sermon. Suddenly, while he was speaking, he said, “Sāriya, the mountain, the mountain!”—Sāriya was with the army of Nihāwand.<sup>1049</sup> When Sāriya returned from Nihāwand, he said, “The enemy had surrounded us, but when we heard your voice, Commander of the Faithful, saying ‘Sāriya, the mountain, the mountain!’ we fled to the mountain and were saved.”

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ conquered Barqa<sup>1050</sup> and granted its people a peace agreement against payment of 13,000 dinars, with provision that they should sell such of their children as they wished in order to pay their *jizya* in this year. Then he marched on until he came to Tripoli of Africa and conquered it. He wrote to ʿUmar asking his permission to raid the rest of Africa, but ʿUmar wrote to him, “It is widely dispersed, and no one shall raid it as long as I remain alive.” He sent Busr b. [Abī] Arṭāt, who made terms with the people of Waddān and the people of Fazzān.<sup>1051</sup> He sent ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ al-Fihri—he was the brother of al-ʿĀṣ | b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī on his mother’s side—to the land of the Nūba. The Muslims encountered intense fighting from the Nūba. When the Muslims returned from the land of the Nūba, they laid out settlement plots in Giza. When ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ wrote to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about it, ʿUmar wrote to him, “Don’t put any water between me and you; encamp in a place such that whenever I want to get on my camel and come to you, I can do it.”<sup>1052</sup>

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Azerbaijan was conquered in the year 22.<sup>1053</sup> The commander of the men was al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba—according to others it was Hāshim b. ʿUtba b. Abī Waqqāṣ. Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī conquered the villages of al-Ahwāz and Iṣṭakhr in the year 23.<sup>1054</sup> ʿUmar wrote to him to impose tax (*kharāj*) on them as he had on the rest of the land of Iraq, and he did so.<sup>1055</sup> Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqāʾ

1049 He appears in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2569, as Sāriya b. Zunaym al-Kinānī, a commander appointed by ʿUmar on another occasion.

1050 Barqa is the name both of a region (Cyrenaica in modern Libya) and of a town in it (modern al-Marj) on the Mediterranean coast between modern Benghazi and al-Bayḍāʾ. See the article by J. Despois in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Barqa.

1051 On Waddān and Fazzān (modern Fezzan), both in modern Libya, see the articles by J. Despois in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djufra and s.v. Fazzān.

1052 Umar disapproved of Giza as the site of an Arab garrison city because Giza, on the west bank of the Nile, was separated from the Arabian peninsula by the river; this was not the case with Fustāt, which was located east of the Nile.

1053 22 A.H. = November 30, 642 – November 18, 643.

1054 23 A.H. = November 19, 643 – November 6, 644.

1055 “On the rest of the land of Iraq”—al-Ahwāz in Khūzistān, with its riverine agriculture

al-Khuzā'ī conquered Hamadhān and Isfahan in this year, and Qaraẓa b. Ka'b al-Anṣārī conquered al-Rayy. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān conquered 'Asqalān. 'Umar appointed Khālīd b. al-Walīd governor of Edessa, Ḥarrān, Raqqa, Tall Mawzan, and Āmid; he stayed there for a year and then asked to be relieved of his post, so 'Umar relieved him of it. Khālīd came to Medina and resided there for a few days; then he died in Medina. According to al-Wāqīdī, Khālīd b. al-Walīd died in Ḥimṣ and appointed 'Umar to be his executor. When the news of his death came to 'Umar, Ḥaḥṣa and 'Umar's family lamented him and wept a great deal over him. 'Umar said, "The women are right to weep over Abū Sulaymān," and he grieved openly over him. He dispatched Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri to Armenia and sent Salmān b. Rabī'a after him to reinforce him, but he did not reach him until after the murder of 'Umar.

2:181 'Umar allowed the wives of the Prophet to make the pilgrimage in this year, and he made the pilgrimage with them. One (authority) says: "I saw the wives of the Messenger of God in the howdahs, wearing blue shawls, | in the year 23. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf was in front of them and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān behind them, and they allowed no one to come near them."

'Umar confiscated half of the wealth of a group of his governors.<sup>1056</sup> It is said that among them were Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, his governor over Kufa; 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, his governor over Egypt; Abū Hurayra, his governor over al-Baḥrayn; al-Nu'mān b. 'Adī b. Ḥurthān, his governor over Maysān; Nāfi' b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī, [his governor] over Mecca; and Ya'lā b. Munya, his governor over Yemen. Abū Bakra refused the division, saying, "By God, if this wealth belongs to God, it is not permissible for you to take part of it and leave us part; and if it belongs to us, you have no right to take it." 'Umar said to him: "Either you are a Believer who does not defraud people, or a hypocrite. Which are you?"<sup>1057</sup> He replied, "Nay, a Believer who does not defraud."

Some people of Quraysh asked 'Umar for permission to go out on jihād. He said: "You have already been through that with the Messenger of God, who said, 'I will hold the Quraysh by their throats at the extremes of this tract of stones.'<sup>1058</sup> Do not go out, lest you disperse the people right and left." 'Abd al-

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along the Kārūn River, could be considered an extension of Iraq, which is not the case with Iṣṭakhr, which lay to the east in Fārs, slightly to the north of the ruins of Persepolis.

1056 Literally, "divided in half," but the sense is clearly that half of the wealth was taken from them.

1057 Reading with M, *ayyuka*; L's conjectural readin *ifk* (lie) makes no sense.

1058 Arabic *ḥarra*, a tract of desert covered with sharp basalt stones in the vicinity of Medina. The implication is that the Prophet did not allow the Quraysh to go any further afield.



Raḥmān b. ʿAwf said, “I said, ‘Yes, Commander of the Faithful; but why do you bar us from jihād?’ He replied, ‘It is better for you that I keep silent with you and not respond to you than for me to respond to you.’” Then he began talking about Abū Bakr; finally he said, “The oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr was a fluke<sup>1059</sup> whose evil consequence God warded off; if anyone does something like it again, kill him.”

The following has been related on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, who said:<sup>1060</sup> “Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb came knocking at my door in the middle of the night and said, ‘Let us go out to keep watch over the open spaces<sup>1061</sup> of Medina.’ He went out, barefoot, with his whip on his neck, until he came to Baqīʿ al-Gharqad.<sup>1062</sup> Then he lay down on his back and began to beat the soles of his feet with his hand | and to moan grievously. ‘Commander of the Faithful,’ I asked, ‘what has brought you to this state?’ He said, ‘The affair of God,<sup>1063</sup> Ibn ʿAbbās.’ [I] said, ‘If you wish, I’ll inform you of what is in your soul.’ He said: ‘Dive in!’<sup>1064</sup> And if you are going to say something, may it be good!’ I mentioned precisely this affair and to whom he should give it. He replied, ‘Right.’ So I said to him, ‘Where do you stand on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf?’ He replied, ‘He is a man who is tight-fisted, and this affair is only suitable for one who is open-handed without extravagance, and restrained without niggardliness.’ I said, ‘Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ?’ He replied, ‘A believer, (but) weak.’ I said, ‘Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh?’<sup>1065</sup> He said,

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1059 Arabic *falta* (an unexpected event, accident, mishap; something done hastily without thorough consideration) became a code-word in Shīʿī discourse about Abū Bakr’s election, which they rejected as illegitimate.

1060 In the following long account from Ibn ʿAbbās, numerous breaks in the narrative to reiterate “Ibn ʿAbbās said” have been removed and the pronouns adjusted accordingly.

1061 Reading with M, *sawāḥi*, an unusual plural of *sāḥa* (open spaces, level areas); ed. Leiden reads *nawāḥi* (precincts, outskirts).

1062 The cemetery of Medina.

1063 That is, the succession to the caliphate.

1064 The text is uncertain. M reads *uḍ ʿawwāḍ*, which normally would mean, “give a substitute, O substituter!”—but might mean simply, “Give, O giver!” The Leiden editor read *ghuṣ ghawwāṣ* (dive in, O diver), which makes a certain sense as *ghawwāṣ* (diver) could be used metaphorically to mean “skilled in obtaining sustenance” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 6:2309).

1065 Following M; ed. Leiden has Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbdallāh. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh was a prominent Companion of the Prophet and, like Abū Bakr with whom he was closely associated, a member of the Taym b. Murra clan of Quraysh. He was appointed by ʿUmar as one of the six electors to choose his successor, but, being away from Medina, did not take part in the deliberations. For his later career and death in the Battle of the Camel, see below, and the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh.

‘He is a man who hands things over (only) to get honor and praise; he gives his wealth (only) in order to reach the wealth of others; and he is boastful and haughty.’ So I said, ‘What about al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām?—for he is the knight of Islam.’ He replied, ‘He is a human being one day and a devil the next; and (he is so) abstemious<sup>1066</sup> (that) if there were a measure of dates<sup>1067</sup> in it for him, he would work from morning to noon and even miss the prayer.’ I said, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān?’ He said: ‘If he is appointed he will load Ibn Abī Mu‘ayt<sup>1068</sup> and the Banū Umayya on the necks of the people; he will give them God’s wealth. If he is appointed, by God, he will do it; and, if he does, the Arabs will march against him and kill him in his home.’ He fell silent, and then said: ‘Keep going, Ibn ‘Abbās. Do you think *your* man is the right one for it?’<sup>1069</sup> I said, ‘Why should you find it strange for him, given his virtue, his precedence, his relationship (to the Prophet), and his knowledge?’ He replied: ‘By God, he is as you describe. If he should rule them, he would carry them over the clear path and take the clear route with them.’<sup>1070</sup> Yet he has some other traits: jesting during audiences, following his own opinion exclusively, and reproaching people—besides his youthfulness.’ I said, ‘Commander of the Faithful, then why did you<sup>1071</sup> not consider him too young at the Battle of the Trench, when ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Wudd went out and heroes were muzzled by fear of him and grown men hesitated to meet his challenge?’<sup>1072</sup> And at the Battle of Badr, when | he was cutting his opponents to pieces? Moreover, you did not precede him in Islam. If the people and Quraysh appoint him, he will give you full measure.’<sup>1073</sup> He said: ‘See to your own affairs, Ibn ‘Abbās! Do you want to do to me the like of what your father

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- 1066 Ed. Leiden has *wa-‘iffatu nafsin*; M has *wa-‘iffatun li-qassin* (chastity is for priests [?]), perhaps an idiom.
- 1067 Reading with M, *min al-tamr* (of dates); omitted in ed. Leiden.
- 1068 Al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayt, uterine half-brother of ‘Uthmān and appointed by the latter as his governor of Kufa, from which he was dismissed for drunkenness—hence a figure of opprobrium among the pious.
- 1069 Literally, “do you think your companion is a place for it?” A reference to ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās’s fellow Hāshimite. W. Madelung, in *The Succession to Muḥammad*, 72–73, describes this report of Ibn ‘Abbās in al-Ya‘qūbī as similar to one found in al-Māwardī, but “revised with a Shī‘ite bias.”
- 1070 Reading with M, *bihim* (with them); omitted by ed. Leiden.
- 1071 Plural, meaning ‘Umar and Muḥammad’s other followers.
- 1072 ‘Alī’s single combat in which he killed the Meccan pagan ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Wudd at the Battle of the Trench has been narrated above by al-Ya‘qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:50–51.
- 1073 The text is unclear. Ed. Leiden has *idh kāna ja‘alathu al-s.‘b.* with a note that the text is corrupt. M appears to have *in kāna ja‘alathu al-sha‘bu*. The translation follows M.

and ʿAlī did to Abū Bakr on the day the two of them visited him?<sup>1074</sup> I did not want to anger him, and so I fell silent. Then he said: ‘By God, Ibn ʿAbbās, your uncle’s son ʿAlī is indeed the person most worthy of it,<sup>1075</sup> but the Quraysh will not abide him. If he becomes their ruler, he will hold them to the path of truth; they will find no leniency with him; and if he does so, they will break their oath of allegiance to him, and they will fight each other.’”

ʿUmar performed the pilgrimage in every year of his rule except the first year, which was the year 13. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf led the people on pilgrimage (in that year). The persons with the greatest influence over ʿUmar were ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.

One informant has related that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās was in charge of ʿUmar’s security forces (*shurāt*); his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was his *mawlā* Yarfa’.

ʿUmar was stabbed on Wednesday, four nights remaining of Dhū l-Ḥijja 23, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Tishrīn 11 (November).<sup>1076</sup> The one who stabbed him was Abū Lu’lu’a, a slave of al-Mughīra b. Shu’ba. He came to him with a poisoned dagger. ʿUmar’s age at that time was 63 years—other say 54 years. His rule lasted 10 years and 8 months.

When ʿUmar was stabbed he said to his son, “I borrowed 80,000 (dirhams) from the treasury of the Muslims; let it be returned from the property of my children; if their property is not sufficient, then from the property of the family of al-Khaṭṭāb; if that does not suffice, then from the property of the Banū ʿAdī; otherwise, from the Quraysh generally, but do not go beyond them.” When his death drew near, the people gathered around him. He said: “I have established | the garrison cities (*amṣār*), set up the registers (*dīwāns*), implemented the stipends, and raided by land and sea; if I perish, God is the one who takes my place for you. You will make your own decisions. I have left you on the clear (path). I fear for your sake only two kinds of men: a man who deems himself more entitled to rule than his fellow and fights him over it ...<sup>1077</sup> I have

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1074 This refers to the episode (above, ed. Leiden, 2:140) in which the two brought arguments showing that not Abū Bakr, but only ʿAlī, was entitled to lead the community.

1075 Text has *bihā* (“of it,” feminine); the word that until now has been used to refer to the leadership of the community (*amr*) is masculine; perhaps one should understand *al-khilāfa* (the succession). The Arabic, *al-aḥaqqu l-nāsi bihā*, can also be translated, “the person with the most right to it.”

1076 That is, 25 Dhū l-Ḥijja = November 2, 644 (a Tuesday, but the day and date will correspond if one assumes that the event took place after sunset; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:2726, says that he was stabbed the eve of Wednesday and buried Wednesday morning). Other dates are given.

1077 One must assume a lacuna in the text, although M shows no break.

recited<sup>1078</sup> in the Book of God: *The old man and the old woman, [when they have fornicated,] stone the two of them definitely as an exemplary punishment from God; and God is all-knowing, wise.* Do not turn away from stoning:<sup>1079</sup> the Messenger of God stoned, and we stoned; were it not that people would say, “Umar added something to the book of God,” I would write it down with my own hand, for I have recited it in the book of God.”

‘Umar put the matter of leadership in the hands of a consultative council (*shūrā*) composed of six of the Companions of the Messenger of God: ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubaydallāh,<sup>1080</sup> and Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He said, “I have excluded Sa’īd b. Zayd because of his close relationship to me.”<sup>1081</sup> Asked about his son ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, he said, “The family of al-Khaṭṭāb has borne enough of it<sup>1082</sup>—and ‘Abdallāh was not even up to divorcing his wife.”<sup>1083</sup>

‘Umar ordered Ṣuhayb<sup>1084</sup> to lead the people in prayer until they reached a consensus on one of the six. He appointed Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl al-Anṣārī and said, “If four (of the six) agree (on a candidate) and two oppose, cut off the heads of the two; if three agree and three oppose, cut off the heads of the three among whom ‘Abd al-Raḥmān is not (numbered); and if three days pass and they do not reach a consensus on one (of the candidate), cut off all their heads.” The *shūrā* took place in the remaining (days) of Dhū l-Ḥijja, 23; Ṣuhayb led the

1078 Arabic *qara’u* means both “I read” and “I recited.” As the following verse is not present in the canonical written text of the Qur’ān, it is logical to infer that ‘Umar is referring to a verse transmitted orally, rather than to one already written down. This is the usual interpretation of ‘Umar’s words, and it is reinforced by ‘Umar’s expressed fear of what people might say if he wrote the verse down. For a discussion of how Islamic scholars dealt with the implications of ‘Umar’s reference to a Qur’ānic verse not in the written text of the Qur’ān, see the article by J. Burton in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Naskh.

1079 M and ed. Leiden read *lā tahlikū ‘an al-rajm* (do not perish/fall away from stoning), but the correct reading would appear to be *lā tuhallilū ‘an al-rajm*, which the translation follows. For this meaning, see *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. h-l-l.

1080 As in M; ed. Leiden has ‘Abdallāh.

1081 ‘Umar was his brother-in-law and embraced Islām in the house of Sa’d, who was a very early convert; see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, s.n.

1082 That is, of the caliphate, or of authority over the community.

1083 ‘Umar uses similar language in the parallel, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2777.

1084 Ṣuhayb b. Sinān was a Byzantine slave emancipated after his move to Mecca; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, 3:414–415. His appointment as prayer-leader appears to have been intended to avoid the controversy that might have ensued on the appointment of someone who was a possible candidate for the caliphate.

people in prayer, and he | was the one who prayed over ʿUmar.<sup>1085</sup> Abū Ṭalḥa 2:185 would stick his head in on them and say, “Hurry, hurry! The time has drawn near and the period is almost over.”

ʿUmar was buried beside Abū Bakr. He left six sons: ʿAbdallāh, ʿUbaydallāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿĀṣim, Zayd, and Abū ʿUbaydallāh. His son ʿUbaydallāh assaulted Abū Luʿluʾa and killed him and his daughter and wife, and al-Hurmuzān was not on his guard, so that he killed him, too. ʿUbaydallāh used to relate that he followed al-Hurmuzān and that when al-Hurmuzān felt the sword he said, “I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.” One authority has related that ʿUmar (on his deathbed) ordered that vengeance should be executed on ʿUbaydallāh for killing al-Hurmuzān and that ʿUthmān desired that it be done. Before coming to power, ʿUthmān had been the most severe of all God’s creatures against ʿUbaydallāh—he had even pulled his hair and said: “You enemy of God, you killed a Muslim man and a little girl and a woman who had no fault. May God kill me if I don’t kill you!” However, when he came to rule, he sent ʿUbaydallāh back to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. One authority has cited ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar as having said: “May God forgive Ḥaḥṣa! It was she who encouraged ʿUbaydallāh to kill them.”

### Description of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

ʿUmar was very tall, bald, squint-eyed, very dark, and ambidextrous—he could do things with both his hands. He dyed his beard yellow—some say that he colored it with henna and *katam*.<sup>1086</sup>

The religious scholars (*fuqahāʾ*) from whom knowledge was acquired during his days were ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb, Muʿādh b. Jabal, Zayd b. Thābit, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, Abū l-Dardāʾ, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās.

ʿUmar’s governors at the time of his death were Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās, over Kufa |—some say al-Mughīra; Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, over Basra; ʿUmayr b. Saʿd 2:186 al-Anṣārī, over Ḥims; Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, over part of Syria; ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, over Egypt; Ziyād b. [Labīd] al-Bayāḍī, over part of Yemen; Abū Hurayra, over Oman; Nāfiʿ b. al-Ḥārith, over Mecca; Yaʿlā b. Munya al-Tamīmī, over Ṣanʿāʾ; al-

1085 That is, over his body at the funeral.

1086 *Katam*, a vegetable dye, has already been mentioned in connection with Abū Bakr; see above, ed. Leiden 2:157 and note.

Ḥārith b. Abī l-ʿĀṣ al-Thaqafī, over al-Baḥrayn; and ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīʿa, over al-Janad.

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### The Days of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān

Then ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān b. Abī l-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams became caliph; his mother was Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams.

When ʿUmar died and they<sup>1087</sup> met for the *shūrā*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī asked to withdraw himself from consideration for the caliphate, on condition that he would select someone from among them; and they did that. He waited for three days; then he met with ʿAlī alone and said, “We need your assurance by God that if you take charge of this matter,<sup>1088</sup> you will lead us in accordance with God’s Book, the *sunna* of His Prophet, and the conduct (*sīra*) of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.” ʿAlī said, “I will lead you in accordance with God’s Book and the *sunna* of His Prophet to the best of my ability.” ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf met with ʿUthmān alone and said, “We need your assurance by God that if you take charge of this matter, you will lead us in accordance with God’s Book, the *sunna* of His Prophet, and the conduct of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.” ʿUthmān said, “I promise to lead you in accordance with God’s Book, the *sunna* of His Prophet, and the conduct of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.” Then he met with ʿAlī alone and said to him what he had said the first time, and ʿAlī answered him as he had answered the first time. He met with ʿUthmān alone and said to him what he had said the first time, and ʿUthmān answered him as he had answered the first time. Then he met with ʿAlī alone and said to him what he had said the first time.

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ʿAlī said, “Along with God’s Book and the *sunna* of His Prophet, no one’s | custom is needed; you are striving to deflect this matter away from me.” Then he met with ʿUthmān alone and repeated the statement to him, and ʿUthmān answered him with that answer. So ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf clasped his hand.<sup>1089</sup>

ʿUthmān came out and the people congratulated him. It was Monday, the first day of Muḥarram of the year 24, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Tishrīn 11 (November).<sup>1090</sup> On that day the Sun was in Scorpio, 13°; Saturn in

1087 That is, the six members of the *shūrā* listed above (ed. Leiden, 2:184). Parallels: al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2776–2796; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/1, 500–511 (especially the account of ʿAlī’s responses to the questions of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf on p. 508).

1088 That is, the caliphate.

1089 That is, he gave him his oath of allegiance (*bayʿa*).

1090 November 7, 644. The day was a Sunday, not a Monday, as in the text.

Aries, 21° 30', retrograde; Jupiter in Capricorn, 4° 40'; Mars in Libra, 50'; Venus in Scorpio, 11°, retrograde; and the Ascending Node in Taurus, 24°.

ʿUthmān ascended the pulpit and sat in the place where God's Messenger used to sit and where neither Abū Bakr nor ʿUmar had sat: Abū Bakr had sat one step below it and ʿUmar one step below Abū Bakr. The people started to talk about that, and one of them said, "Today evil has been born." A shy man, ʿUthmān was at a loss for words and remained silent for a long time. Then he said:

Abū Bakr and ʿUmar used to prepare a speech for such an occasion, but you are in greater need of a just ruler than of one who can make fine speeches. If you live long enough, the speech will come to you.

Then he descended.

Someone has related that on the eve of the day he was given the oath of allegiance ʿUthmān went out to pray the evening prayer with a candle before him. Al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr ran into him and exclaimed: "What is this innovation?"<sup>1091</sup>

Some people sided with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and spoke disparagingly of ʿUthmān. Someone has related: I entered the mosque of God's Messenger and saw a man kneeling and lamenting like someone who had owned the world | and had been robbed of it. He was saying: "How strange that the Quraysh have deflected this matter from their Prophet's family, when among them is the first believer, the cousin of God's Messenger, one who best knows and understands God's religion, the most steadfast in Islam, the most discerning of the way, and the best-guided to the straight path! By God, they have pushed it away from the rightly-guiding, rightly-guided, immaculate, and pure one. They have not sought the welfare of the community or the correct course of action; rather, they have preferred this world to the next. A far removal, and away with the wrongdoing folk!"<sup>1092</sup> I approached the man and said, "Who are you, may God have mercy upon you, and who is this man?" He said, "I am al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr,<sup>1093</sup> and the man is ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." So I said, "Will you not stand up for this matter, in which case I will help you with it?" He said, "Nephew, this is a

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<sup>1091</sup> Arabic *mā hādhihi l-bid'a*. Al-Miqdād means that ʿUthmān's conduct—having a candle carried before him or himself carrying a candle (the Arabic is ambiguous)—is an objectionable innovation (*bid'a*), because neither his two predecessors nor the Prophet had engaged in such conduct.

<sup>1092</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 23:41, 11:44, and 67:11.

<sup>1093</sup> Al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr has been mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:138) as having favored ʿAlī

matter in which one man or two men are not enough." I left and ran into Abū Dharr.<sup>1094</sup> I mentioned it to him, and Abū Dharr said, "My brother al-Miqdād has spoken the truth." Then I went to 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and mentioned it to him. He said, "We have been informed and have not been remiss."<sup>1095</sup>

The people talked much about the blood of al-Hurmuzān and 'Uthmān's withholding of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar.<sup>1096</sup> 'Uthmān therefore ascended the pulpit and addressed the people. He said:

I am indeed the guardian (*walī*) of al-Hurmuzān's blood: I have granted it to God and to 'Umar, and have relinquished it for 'Umar's blood.

Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr rose and said: "Al-Hurmuzān was a client (*mawlā*) of God and His Messenger. It is not up to you to grant that which belongs to God and His Messenger." 'Uthmān said, "We see things our way and you see things your way." 'Uthmān then sent 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar out of Medina to Kufa and settled him in a residence; the place came to be called "Kuwayfat Ibn 'Umar" after him.<sup>1097</sup> A certain poet therefore said:

Abū 'Amr,<sup>1098</sup> 'Ubaydallāh is responsible  
—have no doubt about it—for the killing of al-Hurmuzān.

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over Abū Bakr as successor to Muḥammad. See the article by J. H. A. Juynboll in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Miqdād b. 'Amr.

1094 Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, a very early convert to Islam, has also been mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:138) as having favored 'Alī over Abū Bakr. See the article by J. Robson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Dharr.

1095 Arabic *la-qad ukhbirnā fa-lam na'lu*. The sense is, "... and we have not been negligent or remiss in giving advice." Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, cxvii.

1096 That is, his withholding of 'Ubaydallāh from punishment for having killed al-Hurmuzān, the Persian general who had been granted protection as a Muslim. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar killed al-Hurmuzān because he suspected him of involvement with his father's assassin. Because al-Hurmuzān's involvement was not proved, and because he had no heirs to take vengeance on his behalf, the onus fell on 'Uthmān as head of the community. 'Uthmān's decision not to exact blood vengeance by killing 'Umar's son, and to accept blood-money (which he paid himself), caused controversy. On al-Hurmuzān, see above, ed. Leiden 2:176, 185; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2795–2797, and al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/1, 510 (where 'Alī is mentioned explicitly as demanding the death of 'Ubaydallāh).

1097 The name means "Little Kufa of Ibn 'Umar," see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:496.

1098 The addressing of 'Uthmān by his original *kunya*, Abū 'Amr, rather than by his more common *kunya*, Abū 'Abdallāh (on the basis of his son from the Prophet's daughter



Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba conquered Hamadhān. He wrote to 'Uthmān that he had entered al-Rayy and had settled the Muslims there. Al-Rayy had been conquered in 'Umar's lifetime—some, however, have said that it had not been conquered, but had been besieged, and that it was conquered in the year 24.<sup>1099</sup> 2:189

'Uthmān wrote to al-Ḥakam b. [Abī] l-'Āṣ that he should come to him. Al-Ḥakam had been a man expelled by God's Messenger.<sup>1100</sup> When Abū Bakr came to power, 'Uthmān and a group of the Banū Umayya came to Abū Bakr and petitioned him concerning al-Ḥakam, but Abū Bakr would not grant permission for him to return. When 'Umar came to power, they did the same thing, but 'Umar would not grant him permission. Therefore the people disapproved of 'Uthmān's permission to al-Ḥakam. One of them said: I saw al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-'Āṣ the day he arrived in Medina; he was wearing a tattered old garment and driving a billy goat. He entered 'Uthmān's residence while people gazed at his evil state and that of his companions; he came out wearing a silk tunic (*jubba*) and a shawl (*ṭaylasān*).

Alexandria rebelled in the year 25.<sup>1101</sup> 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ fought its people until he conquered it. He took the children captive and sent them to Medina, but 'Uthmān returned them to their previous treaty status.<sup>1102</sup> 'Uthmān dismissed 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ<sup>1103</sup> and appointed 'Abdallāh b. [Sa'd b.] Abī Sarḥ; this was the cause of the animosity between 'Uthmān and 'Amr. When 'Amr arrived (in Medina), 'Uthmān said to him, "How was 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd when you left?" 'Amr said, "Just as you would like him to be." 'Uthmān said, "What does this mean?"

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Ruqayya), may be due to metrical necessity, but may also indicate hostility. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 481.

1099 That is, during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. For a list of the varying dates for these conquests, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2650.

1100 The reason for the Prophet's expulsion of al-Ḥakam to al-Tā'if is given variously as his eavesdropping on the Prophet and relaying to his Qurayshī opponents his sayings about them or his mocking imitation of the Prophet's gait. Al-Ḥakam had accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca in 8/30. He was 'Uthmān's paternal uncle. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5:27; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 2:35.

1101 25 A.H. = October 28, 645 – October 16, 646. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2809; al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 10–12.

1102 Reading with M, *fa-raddahum 'Uthmānu ilā dhimmatihimu l-ūlā*. That is, rather than receiving them as slaves, 'Uthmān returned them to their previous status as *ahl al-dhimma*, non-Muslims who had accepted Muslim rule in return for a promise of protection. Houtsma's reading *damihimu l-ūlā* (their former blood, their former life), is grammatically impossible.

1103 That is, from the governorship of Egypt. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2813–2819, places the event in the year 27.

‘Amr said, “Strong in matters pertaining to himself, weak in matters pertaining to God.” ‘Uthmān said, “I ordered him to follow in your footsteps!” ‘Amr said, “You asked too much of him.” When ‘Abdallāh [b. Sa’d] levied 12,000,000 dinars in taxes from Egypt, ‘Uthmān said to ‘Amr [b. al-‘Āṣ], “The milch-camels have produced an abundance.” ‘Amr said, “If this is carried out, it will harm the sucklings.”

2:190 ‘Uthmān enlarged the Sacred Mosque (in Mecca) and added to it in the year 26.<sup>1104</sup> He bought houses from one group of people, but others refused to sell; so he had their houses pulled down over them, and he placed the funds in the | treasury. When they shouted at ‘Uthmān, he ordered that they be imprisoned, saying: “It was only my forbearance that emboldened you against me. ‘Umar did the same thing, but you did not cry out.” ‘Uthmān also renovated the pillars marking the sacred territory.<sup>1105</sup>

In this year, ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ al-Thaqafī conquered Sābūr.<sup>1106</sup>

In it, ‘Uthmān appointed al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayṭ<sup>1107</sup> over Kufa in place of Sa’d [b. Abī Waqqāṣ]. Al-Walīd led the people in the morning prayer while drunk, making four prostrations; then he vomited in the *miḥrāb* and turned to those praying behind him and said, “Shall I give you more?”<sup>1108</sup> Then he sat down in the courtyard of the mosque. A magician from Kufa called Baṭrawī<sup>1109</sup> was brought to him, and the people gathered round him. The magician would stick (something) into a camel’s anus and extract (it) from its

1104 26 A.H. = October 17, 646 – October 6, 647. Parallel: Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2810–2811.

1105 The whole of Mecca, not merely the area around the Ka’ba, was considered a sacred area (*ḥaram*). ‘Uthmān’s enlargement of the Sacred Mosque also included renewing the pillars (*anṣāb*) marking the boundaries of the sacred area.

1106 Persian, Shāpūr: a town and district in the western part of Fārs province on the river of the same name. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 262–263. Parallel: Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2810.

1107 Al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba was ‘Uthmān’s half brother on his mother’s side, and this fact along with his wine drinking made him unpopular with pietistic elements. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 516–524, and the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayṭ.

1108 The dawn or morning prayer normally consists of two prostrations, as opposed to the four prostrations of the noon and three prostrations of the mid-afternoon prayers. Al-Walīd added two to the canonical number, but was too drunk to know what he was doing.

1109 The name is uncertain, but this is how it appears in both MSS. Houtsma refers to a Leiden MS that reads Naṭrūqī; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 519, has “Naṭrūy, also known as Busānī” (see n. 1, and also Goitein’s note in his edition of volume V of the *Ansāb*, 31); Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 495, reads Bushtātī; al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:82 (§ 1591), reads

mouth and would perform wonders.<sup>1110</sup> Jundab b. Ka'b al-Azdī<sup>1111</sup> saw him. He went to a sword-dealer and took a sword from him. Then made his way forward in the crowd, hiding the sword, and struck off the magician's head; then he said to him, "Revive yourself if you are truthful!" Al-Walid took Jundab and wanted to strike off his head. But some people from the Azd rose up and said, "By God, you shall not kill our kinsman!" So al-Walid put him in jail, where he would pray all night. The jailer, whose *kunya* was Abū Sinān, looked at him and said, "What is my excuse before God if I hold you in custody for al-Walid to kill you?" So he set him free. Jundab went to Medina. Al-Walid took Abū Sinān and gave him two hundred lashes. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh, 'Adī b. Ḥātim, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and al-Ash'ath b. Qays rose up against al-Walid and wrote to 'Uthmān with messengers of theirs. 'Uthmān therefore dismissed al-Walid and replaced him with Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ. When al-Walid arrived (in Medina), 'Uthmān said, "Who will flog him?"<sup>1112</sup> The people held back due to al-Walid's kinship—he was 'Uthmān's half-brother on his mother's side. 'Alī then rose up and flogged him. Later 'Uthmān sent al-Walid to be in charge of collecting the alms payments (*ṣadaqāt*) from the tribes of Kalb and Balqayn.

'Uthmān sent the people on a campaign against Ifrīqiya in the year 27<sup>1113</sup> under the command of 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ. 'Abdallāh encountered Jurjīr<sup>1114</sup> and called upon him to accept Islam or to pay the poll-tax (*jizya*). Jurjīr refused. He had a large army with him, but God broke up that army. Jurjīr therefore sued for peace, but was denied it. The Muslims drove Jurjīr back until he reached the city of Subayṭila.<sup>1115</sup> The battle raged until Jurjīr was killed. The

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Baṭrūnī (and see n. 3 for still another form) and identifies him as a Jew. See also Pellat's comments in his edition of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 6:198.

1110 Exactly what he did is unclear. Another possible translation: "The magician would enter into the camel's anus and come out from its mouth." The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2845–2846, suggests the latter, although the animal mentioned is a donkey.

1111 Both MSS read al-Asadī; but the word is corrected in the margin of M to al-Azdī. On Jundab and the magician, see Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 495 (in the section on the Azd).

1112 That is, inflict the prescribed *ḥadd* punishment for drinking.

1113 27 A.H. = October 7, 647 – September 24, 648.

1114 The MSS read Jirjīr (or Jurjīr, unpointed), which Houtsma corrected to Jirjis, the usual Arabic rendering of the Greek name Γεώργιος. However, the person meant is evidently the Patrician (a military title) Gregory—see Theophanes, *Chronicle* (tr. H. Turtledove, 43; tr. C. Mango and R. Scott, 478)—whose name is Arabicized as Jurjīr in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2814–2818, and who is identified as a "patrician (*biṭrīq*) whose domain extended from Tripoli to Tangier," in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 227. It is therefore best to retain Jurjīr as the Arabic form closest to the Greek.

1115 On the history of Subayṭila (modern Sbeitla in west-central Tunisia) see the article by Fethi Béjaoui in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Subayṭila.

spoils were abundant, amounting to 2,520,000 dinars. Someone has related that when 'Uthmān married his daughter to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam,<sup>1116</sup> he ordered that one-fifth of this sum be given to Marwān.<sup>1117</sup> 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ sent 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr<sup>1118</sup> to 'Uthmān with the good news. Ibn al-Zubayr traveled twenty nights until he arrived in Medina. He informed 'Uthmān, and 'Uthmān ascended the pulpit and informed the people about it.

'Abdallāh b. Sa'd sent an army to Nubia. The Nubians asked for conciliation (*muwāda'a*) and peace (*ṣulḥ*), on terms that they would owe three hundred "heads" every year, and that he would send them the equivalent value of food and drink.<sup>1119</sup> 'Abdallāh wrote to 'Uthmān about it, and 'Uthmān acceded to it.

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān conquered Cyprus.

In this year, 'Uthmān built his house and built al-Zawrā'.<sup>1120</sup>

He enlarged the Mosque of God's Messenger (in Medina) in the year 29.<sup>1121</sup> The stones for it were carried from Baṭn Nakhl;<sup>1122</sup> he put lead in its pillars, and

1116 Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-Āṣ (d. 65/685) was an influential and controversial member of the Umayyad family; he became the fourth Umayyad caliph, reigning briefly in 64–65 (684–685). See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

1117 According to Qur'ān 8:41, one-fifth (*khums*) of the booty taken in battle is "God's, and the Messenger's, and the near kinsman's, and the orphans', and for the needy, and the traveler." After Muḥammad's death, the interpretation of the verse became controversial: some jurists saw it as implying a mandatory further division of this fifth into five parts (for God, the Messenger, the near kinsman, the orphans, and the travelers, respectively); other jurists (particularly Mālik ibn Anas) saw these further divisions as merely advisory, with the Prophet (and his successors) free to deal with their fifth as they wished. In any case, 'Uthmān's gift of the full *khums* to his cousin and prospective son-in-law Marwān was widely seen as a violation of this Qur'ānic provision and an example of his nepotism (cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 512–516), and the article by R. Gleave in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khums*.

1118 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr (d. 73/692), a distinguished Companion of the Prophet, later claimed the caliphate after the death of Mu'āwiya and took control of Mecca. He was eventually killed by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. See the article by Sandra Campbell in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

1119 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2593, under the year 22, where the pronouns make it clear that the "heads" are people, i.e., slaves. See a similar notice in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 236–237 (trans. Hitti, 1:379). Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 188, reads "captives" (*min al-saby*).

1120 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2827, this took place in the year 28 (September 25, 648 – September 13, 649). Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 3:156, gives al-Zawrā' ("the bent" or "slanting") as a name for 'Uthmān's residence in Medina.

1121 29 A.H. = September 14, 649 – September 3, 650.

1122 Baṭn Nakhl is near Medina, on the road to Basra. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 1:449–450.

he made its length 160 cubits and its width 150 cubits. Its doors were six, just as they were during the time of ʿUmar.

He dismissed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī<sup>1123</sup> and replaced him with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. | Kurayz,<sup>1124</sup> who was twenty-five years old at the time. When the news of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir's appointment reached Abū Mūsā, he stood up to preach. 2:192 Having praised and extolled God and blessed His Prophet, he said:

A young man with many paternal and maternal aunts and grandmothers among the Quraysh has come to you. He will pour money on you profusely.

When Ibn ʿĀmir came to Basra, he sent out armies to conquer Sābūr, Fasā, Darābjird, and Iṣṭakhr in the land of Fārs. The commander of the army that conquered Iṣṭakhr was ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar al-Taymī.<sup>1125</sup> ʿUbaydallāh was killed at the foot of the wall of the city of Iṣṭakhr, and (his son) ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh<sup>1126</sup> took his place and conquered the city. Then ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir himself marched to Iṣṭakhr. He sent out ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura<sup>1127</sup>—who had been a Companion (of the Prophet)—to Sijistān. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān conquered Zaranj after great adversity.

When ʿUthmān had appointed ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir over Basra and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ over Kufa, he wrote to them, saying, “Whichever of you reaches Khurāsān first shall be its governor (*amīr*).” So ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ set out. One of the *dihqāns*<sup>1128</sup> of Khurāsān came to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir and said, “What will you give me if I get you there first?” He answered, “You shall

<sup>1123</sup> That is, as governor of Basra.

<sup>1124</sup> ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz al-ʿAbshamī was ʿUthmān's cousin on his mother's side. On his career, see the article Michael G. Morony in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir.

<sup>1125</sup> On ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar al-Taymī, see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 162; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 390; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2696–2700, 2828–2833; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, 8:122.

<sup>1126</sup> ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar al-Taymī (d. 82/702–703) later became governor of Basra for Ibn al-Zubayr, then governor of Fārs, and fought the Khārijites on behalf of ʿAbd al-Malik. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 297; al-Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 189, 288; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 289, 414; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 51, 364, 396; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, index; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, 14:286.

<sup>1127</sup> On his career see the article by H. A. R. Gibb in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura.

<sup>1128</sup> *Dihqān*, pl. *dahāqīn* (Middle Persian: *dēhkān* or *dahigān*, pl.: *dēhkānān*): a villager, landlord, or member of the local class of Persian landlords in Iraq who administered subdistricts. See the article by Ann K. S. Lambton in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dihkān; Jürgen Paul in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Dihqān; and Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 529.

have your own and your family's land-tax (*kharāj*) until the Day of Judgment." The *dihqān* led him [on] a shortcut to Qūmis, with 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī<sup>1129</sup> heading his vanguard. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim marched to Nishapur<sup>1130</sup> and besieged the city. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir met him, conquered Nishapur by force in the year 30,<sup>1131</sup> and made peace with the people of the two Ṭabas<sup>1132</sup> districts on terms of 75,000 (dirhams). He then marched on until he arrived at the city of Abarshahr.<sup>1133</sup> He besieged its people for months, then conquered it and made

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peace with them. He wrote to the people of | Herat. They wrote back, saying, "If you conquer Abarshahr, we will agree to what you have asked." At that time, Būshanj and Bādghīs belonged to Herat, while Ṭūs and Nishapur belonged to Abarshahr. Then he conquered it,<sup>1134</sup> and he made peace with the people on terms of 1,000,000 dirhams.

He<sup>1135</sup> sent al-Aḥnaf b. Qays<sup>1136</sup> to Herat and Marw al-Rūdh. Al-Aḥnaf marched to Herat, where its ruler met him with provisions and obedience. Al-Aḥnaf then proceeded to Marw al-Rūdh and conquered it by force. He also conquered al-Ṭālaqān, al-Fāriyāb, and Ṭukhāristān, and did not return to 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir until he had drunk from the river of Balkh.<sup>1137</sup>

One of the people of Khurāsān said: Having conquered Nishapur, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir sent out armies. He sent al-Aḥnaf b. Qays to Marw al-Rūdh; he sent

1129 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī (d. c. 73/692–693) later became governor of Khurāsān. See the article by Abdulhadi Alajmi in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim.

1130 Arabic, Nishābūr or Naysābūr, one of the most important of the cities of Khurāsān. See the article by E. Honigmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nishāpūr.

1131 30 A.H. = September 4, 650 – August 23, 651.

1132 Arabic, al-Ṭabasān, "the two Ṭabases"—the name of two places in Ḳuhistān in Eastern Persia. The district was connected to Nishāpūr. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭabas.

1133 Abarshahr (also vocalized as Abrashahr) was another of the districts connected to Nishāpūr (Naysābūr), but Nishāpūr was also at times called "the city of Abrashahr." Two accounts may have been merged here. See the article by Touraj Daryaei in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abarshahr.

1134 The reference of the pronouns is ambiguous. That the city is Herat is clear from Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:125.

1135 That is, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir.

1136 Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays (d. 67/686–687) was leader of the tribe of Tamīm in Basra. Active in the conquest of Khurāsān, he sided with 'Alī in the battle of Ṣiffin, but made his peace with Mu'āwiya. He died in Kufa fighting al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī on the side of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Aḥnaf b. Qays.

1137 That is, the Oxus, known in Arabic as Jayhūn, but also as Nahr Balkh.

Aws b. Tha'labā al-Taymī<sup>1138</sup> to Herat; he sent Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhili<sup>1139</sup> to Marw; and he sent 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī to Sarakhs. All these people conquered what they were sent to conquer, except Marw: it made peace with Ḥātim on terms of 2,200,000 full (*wāfiya*) (dirhams)<sup>1140</sup> and that they make room for the Muslims in their dwellings.

Having conquered these districts (*kuwar*), 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir returned to 'Uthmān. He had alternately attacked the Turks and the Daylamites,<sup>1141</sup> and he had divided Khurāsān into four quarters. He appointed Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī<sup>1142</sup> over a quarter; Rāshid b. 'Amr al-Judaydī<sup>1143</sup> over a quarter; 'Imrān

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- 1138 Thus in M; ed. Leiden (erroneously), al-Tamīmī. Aws b. Tha'labā b. Zufar al-Māzinī al-Taymī (from the tribe of Taym Allāh; see Caskel, *Ġamharat al-nasab*, 2:215) participated in the conquest of Herat and became its governor, but then had to flee it. Under Mu'āwiya, he was governor of Sijistān, and under Yazīd I, he returned to Herat as governor, only to be ousted by the governor of Khurāsān, 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim. He died of his wounds in 64/683–684 near Sijistān. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 355; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:278, 489–491, 494–496, 593; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 9:405.
- 1139 Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhili, conquered Marw, fought on Mu'āwiya's side at the battle of Šiffīn, and during Ziyād's governorship of Iraq was appointed finance director in Khurāsān. In 99/717–718, 'Umar II sent him to fight the Turks in Azerbaijan. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Šiffīn*, 207; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 11:379.
- 1140 Thus apparently in M, although the word is unpointed. Ed. Leiden emends to *wuqūyya*, ounce(s), sc. of silver or gold. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 405, gives three differing reports about the amount that the people of Marw agreed to pay: 2,200,00 dirhams; 1,000,000 dirhams and 200,000 *jaribs* of wheat and barley; and 1,100,000 *wuqūyya*.
- 1141 Arabic, al-Daylam. On this people of the highlands of northwest Iran, see the article by V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Daylam.
- 1142 Qays b. al-Haytham b. al-Šalt al-Sulamī was later ousted from his governorship of one of Khurāsān's quarters by 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim. He later was vocal in support of 'Uthmān in Basra, became deputy-governor and head of the police of the city during Mu'āwiya's caliphate, but sided with the Zubayrids against al-Mukhtār and 'Abd al-Malik. He died after 71/690–691. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 166, 207, 404; al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 77; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index.
- 1143 Rāshid b. 'Amr al-Judaydī al-Azdī served as deputy-finance director of Basra and later, during Ziyād's governorship of Iraq, as governor of Makrān on the border of India, where he was killed during an incursion into Sind in 50/670–671. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:32 (in the biography of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz); Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 211; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433; and the article by Y. Friedmann and D. Shulman in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mēd.

b. al-Faṣīl al-Burjumī<sup>1144</sup> over a quarter; and ‘Amr b. Mālik al-Khuzā‘ī<sup>1145</sup> over a quarter.

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When ‘Uthmān sent ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir back, (‘Abdallāh) sent out Umayr b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī<sup>1146</sup> to Khurāsān. (‘Abdallāh)<sup>1147</sup> then went to Marw and encamped there. When winter overtook him |, the people of Marw let him into the city, but then he learned that they were planning to revolt against him; so he put them to the sword until he exterminated them. He then returned to ‘Uthmān. When ‘Uthmān saw him, he threatened him, so ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir left ‘Uthmān in anger. ‘Uthmān had rebuked him for killing the people of Marw.<sup>1148</sup>

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir returned to Basra, then went to Kirmān and encamped there. Such a severe famine struck them that a loaf of bread cost one dinar. Then news reached him that ‘Uthmān had been besieged, so he went back (to Medina), leaving as his deputy in Khurāsān Qays b. al-Haytham b. al-Ṣalt.<sup>1149</sup> Qays then conquered Ṭukhāristān.<sup>1150</sup>

‘Uthmān sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri to Armenia, and then dispatched Salmān b. Rabī‘a al-Bāhili after him to reinforce him. When Salmān came to Ḥabīb, the two men fell out with each other. They were still at odds when

1144 ‘Imrān b. al-Faṣīl al-Burjumī participated in the conquest of Sijistān and was its governor during the caliphates of ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī. In 61/680–681, he accompanied Salm b. Ziyād, the newly appointed governor of Khurāsān and Sijistān. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 182, 199; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 395; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2830–2831, 2:392, 1191.

1145 ‘Amr b. Mālik al-Khuzā‘ī is not mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, Khalifa b. Khayyāt, or Ibn al-Kalbī’s *Ġamharat an-nasab*.

1146 Umayr b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī was appointed by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān over Ṭūs and Sijistān, and conquered several places in Qūhistān and around Abarshahr until he reached Sarakhs, with whose people he concluded a peace settlement. He also was appointed deputy-governor of Zaranj, but its people ousted him from their city. Later Ziyād put him, among others, in charge of taxation in Khurāsān, and appointed him governor of Marw; he became the first to settle Arabs in Marw. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 164, 180; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 395, 403, 407, 409; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2830–2831, 2887, and 2:79–81.

1147 The pronouns are ambiguous, but the context indicates that ‘Abdallāh is the subject.

1148 This story is not mentioned in the parallels. Khalifa, *Ta’rikh*, 164, and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2884–2888, 2904, 2907, mention only a peace settlement with Marw and report no incident between ‘Abdallāh and ‘Uthmān.

1149 Qays b. al-Haytham b. al-Ṣalt is the same person mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:193) as Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī.

1150 Ṭukhāristān is a region in present-day Afghanistan located along the southern banks of the middle and upper Oxus river. See the article by W. Barthold and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭukhāristān.



ʿUthmān was killed. Ḥabīb b. Maslama had already conquered part of Armenia. ʿUthmān wrote to Salmān appointing him governor over Armenia, and so Salmān marched until he came to al-Baylaqān.<sup>1151</sup> Its people went out to meet him and made peace with him. He marched on until he came to Bardhaʿa,<sup>1152</sup> and its people made peace with him on terms of a given sum.

It is said that Ḥabīb b. Maslama conquered Jurzān.<sup>1153</sup> Salmān then penetrated as far as Shirwān,<sup>1154</sup> and its king made peace with him. He then marched on until he reached the land of Masqaṭ, and made peace with its people. The king of al-Lakz,<sup>1155</sup> the people of al-Shābirān, and the people of Fīlān did the same. The Khāqān, king of the Khazars, with a large host, met him with his army beyond the river of al-Balanjar,<sup>1156</sup> and Salmān and those with him—four thousand men—were killed. ʿUthmān appointed Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān al-ʿAbsī (in his place). Then he dismissed Ḥudhayfa and appointed al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba.

ʿUthmān married his daughter to ʿAbdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd,<sup>1157</sup> and he ordered | him to be given 600,000 dirhams; he wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir to 2:195 pay them to him from the treasury of Basra.

1151 Baylaqān is an ancient town in Arrān (Albania), south of the Caucasus, said to have been founded by the Sāsānid Qubād. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baylaqān.

1152 Bardhaʿa, Armenian Partav, modern Barda, is a town south of the Caucasus. It was the capital of Arrān, the ancient Albania. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bardhaʿa.

1153 Jurzān (also Jurz, al-Kurj, Gurj, Gurjistān) is the region of Georgia in the Caucasus. See the article by V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Kurdj, Gurdj, Gurdjistān. However, al-Yaʿqūbī, *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 364, speaks of *madīnat Jurzān* (the city of Jurzān) as forming part of the third division of Armenia, implying that al-Yaʿqūbī took Jurzān to be the name of a city.

1154 Shirwān (also Shirwān or Sharwān) is a region in the eastern Caucasus known by these names in medieval Islamic and modern times. Masqaṭ (Maskat) is in the north of this area. See the article by W. Barthold and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shīrwān*, *Shirwān* or *Sharwān*.

1155 Al-Lakz (the country of the Lezgins) is an area of southern Daghestan in the Caucasus. See the article by Michael Kemper in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Daghestan.

1156 Balanjar was an important Khazar town located on a river of the same name north of the pass of Darband, i.e., Bāb al-Abwāb, at the eastern extremity of the Caucasus. After Salmān's defeat in 32/625, it was not captured by the Arabs until 104/722–723; see al-Yaʿqūbī's notice below at ed. Leiden, 2:376–377. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Balandjar.

1157 ʿAbdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd b. Abī al-ʿĪṣ al-Qurashī al-Umawī, according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 46, had interceded for those who refused to give up their houses to ʿUthmān

Abū Ishāq<sup>1158</sup> narrated from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yasār,<sup>1159</sup> who said: I saw how the Muslims’ alms-collector in charge of the market of Medina, when evening came, took the alms to ‘Uthmān, and ‘Uthmān told him, “Hand them to al-Ḥakam b. Abi l-Āṣ.” Whenever ‘Uthmān granted a present to a member of his family, he would give it as a loan<sup>1160</sup> from the treasury. (The alms-collector) tried to put him off,<sup>1161</sup> saying to him, “It will come to pass, and we shall give it to you, God willing!” But (‘Uthmān) persisted and said: “You are only *our* treasurer! If we give you something, take it; and if we say nothing to you (about paying), shut up!” The alms-collector said: “You lie, by God! I am neither your treasurer nor your family’s; I am the Muslims’ treasurer!” On Friday, while ‘Uthmān was delivering the sermon, the alms-collector brought the key (of the treasury) and said: “People! ‘Uthmān has claimed that I am his treasurer and his family’s; but I am only the Muslims’ treasurer. Here are the keys of your treasury!”—and he threw them down. ‘Uthmān took them and handed them to Zayd b. Thābit.

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in order to enlarge the Meccan Sanctuary. During the dispute which led to the Battle of the Camel he remained neutral, but later had strong ties to Ziyād. Ziyād appointed him in some capacity in Fārs, and when he came to die he deputized him over Kufa, in charge of which he remained until the following year, leading the prayer over Ziyād when the latter died in 53/672–673. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 219; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:281, 2949, 3102–3102, 2:162–163, 166, 170, 172; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:149.

1158 Abū Ishāq appears several times as a source in al-Ya’qūbī’s history. He could be the Kufan traditionist Abū Ishāq ‘Amr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Sabī’ī (d. c. 129/746–747). See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 3:459. The identification is uncertain.

1159 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yasār, one of al-Ya’qūbī’s narrator-sources, appears in the history only in this report. He could be the Kufan traditionist ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yasār Ibn Abī Laylā, a partisan of ‘Alī who died fighting with Ibn al-Ash’ath in 82/701–702 or 83/702–703. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 3:126. The identification is uncertain.

1160 Following M, *qard*; ed. Leiden reads *fard*, “an appointed gift or stipend” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 6:2374). Cf. the similarly worded anecdote in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 518, where the governors of Kufa are said to have asked for loans regularly from the public treasury and then repaid them. When the egregious al-Walid b. ‘Uqba arrived, he requested and received such a loan; when the treasurer Ibn Mas’ūd asked for repayment, al-Walid complained to ‘Uthmān, resulting in an angry confrontation during which Ibn Mas’ūd threw the keys of the treasury at the new governor, with almost exactly the same words that al-Ya’qūbī puts into the mouth of the official in Medina.

1161 Ed. Leiden reads *yudāfi’uhu* (he would put him off, attempt to repel him); M, *yadfa’uhu* (he would push him away), meaning, apparently, that the alms-collector/treasurer tried to put ‘Uthmān off, but ‘Uthmān would accept no delay. The pronouns are so ambiguous that it is unclear who said what to whom.

In this year, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb died, and ʿUthmān prayed over him. It was the year 31.<sup>1162</sup>

ʿUthmān sent an army commanded by Muʿāwiya for the summer campaign in the year 32.<sup>1163</sup> They reached the strait of Constantinople and made many conquests. ʿUthmān put Muʿāwiya in charge of the campaigns against the Byzantines, [on the understanding] that he would dispatch whomever he chose to lead the summer campaign. Muʿāwiya appointed Sufyān b. ʿAwf al-Ghāmīdī;<sup>1164</sup> he continued to be in charge of the summer campaigns throughout the days of ʿUthmān. [...] <sup>1165</sup> due to a dispute that broke out between the two of them during ʿUthmān's caliphate.

It has been related: ʿUthmān became severely ill. He summoned Ḥumrān b. Abān<sup>1166</sup> and wrote a testament to his successor, leaving a space for the name.<sup>1167</sup> Then ʿUthmān wrote “ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf” in his own hand, tied up the testament, and sent | it to Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān.<sup>1168</sup> Ḥumrān 2:196 read it on the way and went to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and told him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān became very angry and said, “I put him in charge in public and he puts me in charge in secret!” The news about this became known and spread in Medina, and the Banū Umayya became angry. ʿUthmān called his client Ḥumrān, gave

1162 31A.H. = August 24, 651 – August 11, 652.

1163 32A.H. = August 12, 652 – August 1, 653.

1164 Sufyān b. ʿAwf al-Azdī al-Ghāmīdī (both MSS mistakenly write “al-ʿĀmirī,” corrected by Houtsma to “al-Ghāmīdī”) participated in the conquest of Damascus with Abū ʿUbayda. A partisan of Muʿāwiya, he led summer and winter campaigns during the latter's caliphate, and died while garrisoned in Byzantine territory in 52/672–673 or 54/673–674 or 55/674–675 or 58/677–678. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 180, 218, 223; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 188; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2825, 3445, and 2:87, 157, 170; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3:213–214 (§1818–1819); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, 21:347.

1165 Although there is no blank in the MSS, some words must be missing here, as noted by Houtsma.

1166 Ḥumrān b. Abān al-Namarī, originally a war captive of ʿAyn al-Tamr, was ʿUthmān's client and later his chamberlain and scribe. ʿUthmān banished him to Basra after the misdeed described here, but later he was put in charge of Sābūr. He was close to the Umayyads and twice tried to seize power in Basra. He died after 80/699–700. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 179, 269; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, index; al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarāʾ wa l-kuttāb*, 21; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, 15:172.

1167 Al-Yaʿqūbī probably means that it was Ḥumrān b. Abān who wrote the testament on ʿUthmān's behalf; ʿUthmān only filled in the blank, as the next sentence indicates.

1168 Umm Ḥabība Ramla bt. Abī Sufyān, Muʿāwiya's sister, was one of the Prophet's wives. She died in 42/662–663, or 44/664–665, or 59/678–679. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:68; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 79, 86; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 136, 344; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, 69:130, 70:207.

him a hundred lashes, and banished him to Basra. That was the cause of the enmity between (‘Uthmān) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf sent his son to ‘Uthmān and told him, “Say to him: ‘By God, I gave you my oath of allegiance at a time when I had three qualifications that placed me ahead of you: I participated in the Battle of Badr, while you did not; I attended the Pledge of Good Satisfaction, while you did not; and I stood firm at the Battle of Uḥud, while you ran away.’” When his son delivered the message to ‘Uthmān, ‘Uthmān said to him: “Tell him: ‘As for my absence from Badr, I stayed watching over the daughter<sup>1169</sup> of God’s Messenger, and so God’s Messenger assigned me my share and reward.<sup>1170</sup> As for the Pledge of Good Satisfaction, God’s Messenger clasped for me with his right hand over his left one, and God’s Messenger’s left hand is better than (all of) your right ones.<sup>1171</sup> As for the Battle of Uḥud, what you have mentioned did happen, but God has forgiven me; indeed we have done things which we do not know whether God has forgiven us them or not.’”

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf divorced his wife Tumāḍīr bt. al-Aṣḥab al-Kalbiyya when he became severely ill, but ‘Uthmān allowed her to inherit.<sup>1172</sup> She was given in the ensuing agreement a quarter of the eighth (of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s inheritance):<sup>1173</sup> 100,000 dinars—others say 80,000 dinars.<sup>1174</sup>

‘Uthmān collected and assembled the Qur’ān:<sup>1175</sup> he put the long sūras with the long sūras and the short sūras with the short ones. He wrote ordering that

1169 Reading with M, *bint*; ed. Leiden reads *bayt* (family, household). The reference is to Ruqayya, the Prophet’s daughter and ‘Uthmān’s wife, who died during the battle of Badr (see al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi*, 14:140).

1170 That is, the Prophet gave him a share in the booty from Badr despite his not having participated in the fighting.

1171 This background of this statement is as follows. ‘Uthmān had been sent to Mecca to negotiate a truce, and the Pledge was the direct result of a false report that he had been killed by the Meccans. The Prophet included him in the pledge symbolically, in absentia, in case he was still alive (as he indeed was). See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bay‘at al-Riḍwān.

1172 Vocalizing *warrathahā*. This presumably was because deathbed divorce was invalid.

1173 This is because ‘Abd al-Raḥmān had four wives (including Tumāḍīr) who divided the eighth that the wife or wives inherit according to Islamic law.

1174 On the inheritance of Tumāḍīr al-Kalbiyya, see Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/1, 97 and 90. The report shows the great wealth of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf: four, or three, of his wives outlived him, and each of them received of his estate as much as Tumāḍīr did. He died in 32/652–653.

1175 Virtually every book on the Qur’ān discusses ‘Uthmān’s role in collecting and standardizing the text. For a summary of the literature, see the articles by John Burton, “The

the copies of the Qurʾān should be collected from everywhere, so they were collected. He then boiled them in hot water and vinegar—he is also said to have burned them. There remained no copy of the Qurʾān | to which he did not do this, except the copy of Ibn Masʿūd. Ibn Masʿūd was in Kufa, and he declined to hand over his copy to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir. ʿUthmān wrote to ʿAbdallāh: “Send him to me! For this religion shall not fall into confusion, and this community shall not fall into corruption.”<sup>1176</sup> Ibn Masʿūd entered the mosque while ʿUthmān was giving the sermon. ʿUthmān said, “Truly, an evil beast has come to you!” When Ibn Masʿūd spoke harshly to ʿUthmān, ʿUthmān gave orders and he was dragged away by his foot, so that two of his ribs were broken. When ʿĀʾisha spoke up and said many things, ʿUthmān sent her to the Anṣār.<sup>1177</sup> 2:197

ʿUthmān sent a copy of the Qurʾān to Kufa, one to Basra, one to Medina, one to Mecca, one to Egypt, one to Syria, one to al-Baḥrayn, one to Yemen, and one to the Jazīra. He ordered the people to recite the Qurʾān according to a single version. The reason for this was that it had reached him that the people were saying, “the Qurʾān of the family of so-and-so,” and so he wanted the Qurʾān to be one version.

Some have said that Ibn Masʿūd had written to him to do this.<sup>1178</sup> However, when word reached him that ʿUthmān was burning the copies of the Qurʾān, he said, “I did not mean that!” Others have said that Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān wrote to ʿUthmān about the matter.

When Ibn Masʿūd became ill, ʿUthmān went to visit him and asked him, “Behold, certain sayings ascribed to you have reached me.”<sup>1179</sup> Ibn Masʿūd said, “I mentioned what you did to me: that you gave orders concerning me, and my body was trampled so that I was not conscious for the noon prayer or the afternoon prayer, and that you deprived me of my stipend.” ʿUthmān said: “I will allow you to retaliate against me. Do to me as was done to you.” Ibn Masʿūd said,

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Collection of the Qurʾān,” and Gabriel Said Reynolds, “ʿUthmān,” in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, and the article by A. T. Welch, R. Paret, and J. D. Pearson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḳurʾān.

1176 Following M, *fa-innahu lan yakun* ... despite the faulty grammar. Ed. Leiden reads *in lam yakun*, i.e., “Send him to me, if this religion is not confusion, and this community corruption.” But the Leiden reading might also mean, “Send him to me! If not, this religion will be confusion, and this community corruption.”

1177 A more detailed account of the hostility between ʿUthmān and Ibn Masʿūd can be found in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 524–526.

1178 That is, to standardize the Qurʾān.

1179 Following M, *hā kalāmūn balaghanī ʿanka*; ed. Leiden, *mā kalāmūn balaghanī ʿanka* (What are certain sayings ascribed to you that have reached me?).

2:198 “I am not the one to initiate retribution against caliphs.” ‘Uthmān said, “Here is your stipend; take it!” Ibn Mas‘ūd said: “You deprived me of it when I needed it, and you give it to me when I have no need for it. I do not need it.” So ‘Uthmān left, and Ibn Mas‘ūd remained angry at ‘Uthmān until he died.<sup>1180</sup> ‘Ammār b. Yāsir prayed over him—[‘Uthmān] was | away, and the matter was concealed (from him).<sup>1181</sup> When he returned, [‘Uthmān] saw the grave and asked whose it was. He was told, “The grave of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd.” He asked, “How was he buried before I knew?” They said, “‘Ammār b. Yāsir took charge of his affair; he mentioned that he had been instructed not to tell about it.” Soon afterward, al-Miqdād (b. ‘Amr) died<sup>1182</sup>—he had appointed ‘Ammār as his executor—and ‘Ammār prayed over him without notifying ‘Uthmān. ‘Uthmān became very angry at ‘Ammār and said: “Woe to me from that son of a black woman! Yes, I know him very well.”<sup>1183</sup>

‘Uthmān learned that Abū Dharr was sitting in the Mosque of God’s Messenger; people were gathering around him, and he was relating things to discredit ‘Uthmān.<sup>1184</sup> Abū Dharr had stood at the door of the mosque and had said:

People! Those who know me know me indeed; as for those who know me not, I am Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: I am Jundub b. Junāda al-Rabadhī. *God chose Adam and Noah and the family of Abraham [and the family of ‘Imrān] above all beings, the descendants one of another; and God is all-hearing, all-knowing.*<sup>1185</sup> Muḥammad is the choice descendant from Noah, the foremost descendant from Abraham, and the scion from Ishmael; and the guiding household is from Muḥammad: the nobility of their noble ones, and those who have deserved precedence among their people.<sup>1186</sup> They are among us like the uplifted sky, or like the covered Ka’ba, or

1180 Ibn Mas‘ūd died in 32/652–653.

1181 The sentence is shaky, and there may be a lacuna after “[‘Uthmān] was away.” The reading “the matter was concealed” (*fa-sutira amruhu*) is Houtsma’s conjecture; the mss have eight unpointed letters that do not form a recognizable word or words.

1182 Al-Miqdād died in 33/653–654.

1183 That is, I know of his hidden antagonism towards me. On Sumayya, ‘Ammār’s mother, who was a slave woman, see Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 4:1863; al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi*, 15:457.

1184 The mistreatment of Abū Dharr, one of the earliest and most pious converts to Islam, by ‘Uthmān and the Umayyads is presented as an epitome of ‘Uthmān’s misgovernance. The accounts of the episode are quite diverse. A summary may be found in the article by Asma Afsaruddin in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī.

1185 Qur’ān 3:33–34.

1186 Following M, *qawmihim*; ed. Leiden *qawm hum* (among a people who are among us like ...).

like the erected *qibla*,<sup>1187</sup> or like the bright-shining sun, or like the night-traveling moon, or like the guiding stars, or like the olive tree whose oil glows and whose froth<sup>1188</sup> has been blessed.<sup>1189</sup> Muḥammad is the heir to Adam's knowledge and that by which the prophets were distinguished, and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is Muḥammad's trustee (*waṣī*) and the heir to his knowledge. O community | perplexed after the death of your Prophet! Truly, if you had put forward him whom God put forward and had put back him whom God put back, and had established the guardianship and inheritance in your Prophet's family, you would have eaten from above your heads and from beneath your feet: God's friend (*walī Allāh*) would not have been reduced to poverty; no share of God's ordinances would have gone astray; and no two people would have disagreed about God's judgment without your finding knowledge of it with them—from God's Book and the *sunna* of His Prophet. Now that you have done what you have done, taste the evil effects of your conduct!<sup>1190</sup> *Those who do wrong shall surely know by what overturning they will be overturned!*<sup>1191</sup> 2:199

ʿUthmān again learned that that Abū Dharr was defaming him, saying that he had changed and altered the practices (*sunna*) of God's Messenger and those of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. So ʿUthmān banished him to Syria, to Muʿāwiya. There he would sit in the mosque and talk as he used to talk, and people would gather round him, until those who gathered and listened to him became numerous. When he prayed the morning prayer, he would stand at the gate of Damascus and say: "The rain-cloud<sup>1192</sup> has come carrying fire! God curse those who command the good but neglect to do it! God curse those who forbid evil but do it!"<sup>1193</sup>

1187 The *qibla* is the direction to which Muslims turn when they pray.

1188 Reading *zabaduhā* (its froth), as suggested by Landberg, in *Critica Arabica* 1:47. The word is not pointed in the MSS; ed. Leiden prints *zayduhā* (its increase), which does not make sense.

1189 The language is taken from the Qurʾān's so-called Verse of Light (*Ayat al-Nūr*), Qurʾān 24:35.

1190 The language (*fa-dhūqū wabāla amrikum*) echoes Qurʾān 59:15, 64:5, 65:9.

1191 Qurʾān 26:227.

1192 The reading is uncertain. M has an undotted word that can be read as *al-quṭār* (the rain-cloud) or as *al-qīṭār* (the caravan of camels); both readings make sense.

1193 Thereby violating the Qurʾānic injunction (Qurʾān 3:100) to command good and forbid evil.

Mu‘āwiya wrote to ‘Uthmān: “You have spoiled Syria for yourself by means of Abū Dharr.” ‘Uthmān wrote back to Mu‘āwiya: “Put him on a pack-saddle without a pad.”

2:200 Abū Dharr was brought to Medina with the flesh of his thighs gone. When he came before ‘Uthmān—a group of people were present—‘Uthmān said: “I have learned that you are saying that you heard God’s Messenger say, ‘When the Banū Umayya become a full thirty men, they will rotate God’s lands among themselves, make God’s servants slaves, and corrupt God’s religion.’” Abū Dharr answered, “Yes, I heard God’s Messenger say that.” ‘Uthmān asked those present whether they had ever heard God’s Messenger say that. Then he sent for ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and when ‘Alī came to him, ‘Uthmān asked him, “Abū l-Ḥasan, did you ever hear God’s Messenger say what | Abū Dharr has related?”—and he told him the report, whereupon ‘Alī said, “Yes.” ‘Uthmān said, “So how do you testify?” Citing the words of God’s Messenger, ‘Alī said, “Green earth has not shaded or dusty earth carried a person more truthful in speech than Abū Dharr.”

Before Abū Dharr had been in Medina more than a few days, ‘Uthmān sent a message to him, saying, “By God, you shall leave Medina!” Abū Dharr said, “Will you expel me from the sanctuary of God’s Messenger?” ‘Uthmān said, “Yes, and with your nose in the dust!” Abū Dharr said, “How about Mecca?” ‘Uthmān said, “No.” Abū Dharr said, “How about Basra?” ‘Uthmān said, “No.” Abū Dharr said, “How about Kufa?” ‘Uthmān said: “No, but to al-Rabadha,<sup>1194</sup> whence you came and where you shall stay until you die. Marwān,<sup>1195</sup> take him away, and let no one talk to him until he leaves.”

Marwān took Abū Dharr away on a camel, along with his wife and daughter. As he left, ‘Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far,<sup>1196</sup> and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir were watching. When Abū Dharr saw ‘Alī, he went up to him and kissed his hand. Then he wept and said, “When I see you and your children, I remember the words of God’s Messenger and cannot keep myself from weeping.” ‘Alī began to talk to him, but Marwān said to ‘Alī, “The Commander of the Faithful has forbidden anyone to talk to him.” Whereupon ‘Alī lifted his whip, hit the face of Marwān’s camel, and said, “Back off—may God take you away to Hellfire!” ‘Alī then saw Abū Dharr off and spoke words to him that would be too long to explain here, and everyone in the group also spoke to him; then they went back.

1194 Al-Rabadha was a village in the Ḥijāz, some 124 miles east of Medina. See the article by S. ‘A. al-Rashid in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Rabadha.

1195 That is, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

1196 That is, ‘Alī’s nephew, ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib.



Marwān went back to ʿUthmān, and a certain estrangement occurred between him<sup>1197</sup> and ʿAlī on account of this, and they exchanged insulting words.

Abū Dharr remained in al-Rabadha until he died.<sup>1198</sup> When he was on his deathbed, his daughter said to him, “I am alone in this place, and I fear that the beasts of prey will get to you before I can (bury you).” He said: “No, a band of believers will attend me. Look: do you see anyone?” She said, “I see no one.” He said, “The time has not come.” Then he said, “Look: do you see anyone?” “Yes,” she said. | “I see riders coming.” He said: “God is great! God and His Messenger have spoken the truth. Turn my face to the *qibla*. When the men come, greet them for me. When they have finished with my affair, slaughter this sheep for them, and say to them, ‘I adjure you not to leave until you have eaten.’” Then he expired. And so when the men came, the girl said to them, “This is Abū Dharr, the Companion of God’s Messenger; he has died.” They dismounted: they were seven persons, among them Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān and al-Ashtar.<sup>1199</sup> They wept copiously, washed Abū Dharr, shrouded him, prayed over him, and buried him. Then she said to them, “He adjures you not to leave until you have eaten.” They slaughtered the sheep and ate; then they took Abū Dharr’s daughter and brought her to Medina.

2:201

When ʿUthmān learned of Abū Dharr’s death, he said: “May God have mercy on Abū Dharr.” ʿAmmār (b. Yāsir) said: “Yes, may God have mercy on Abū Dharr more than all of us!”<sup>1200</sup> This annoyed ʿUthmān. Sayings attributed to ʿAmmār reached ʿUthmān, and so he wanted to banish him, too. But the Banū Makhzūm went together to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and asked for his help. ʿAlī said, “We will not let ʿUthmān carry out his decision.” So ʿAmmār stayed in his house. When word of what the Banū Makhzūm had said reached ʿUthmān, he desisted from ʿAmmār.

1197 That is, between ʿUthmān and ʿAlī; cf. the parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 544: “Words were exchanged between ʿAlī and ʿUthmān on account of this, so much so that ʿUthmān said, ‘As far as I am concerned, you are no better than he!’—and they spoke coarse words to each other. People criticized what ʿUthmān had said and intervened between the two until they made peace.”

1198 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2895, Abū Dharr died in Dhū l-Ḥijja 32 (July 653); the account (from al-Wāqidī) cited by al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 545, dates his death at the end of Dhū l-Qaʿda 31 (July 652).

1199 That is, Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʿī.

1200 The MSS and ed. Leiden read *min k-l anfs-nā*, the vocalization and meaning of which are unclear. The same phrase occurs in the account in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 544. In his 1936 Jerusalem edition of the *Ansāb*, 5:54, Goitein conjectures that it is to be read *min kulli anfusinā*, meaning “more than all of us”—that is, may God be more merciful to him than we have been.

‘Uthmān banished ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥanbal,<sup>1201</sup> the Companion of God’s Messenger, to al-Qamūs<sup>1202</sup> in Khaybar. The reason for his banishing him was that word had reached him that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān had disapproved of the misdeeds of ‘Uthmān’s son and maternal uncle, and that he had composed abusive poetry against him.<sup>1203</sup>

2:202 ‘Uthmān was generous and munificent with money. He gave preference to his relatives and blood-relations, but put the people on an equal footing in stipends. The people who had influence over him were Marwān b. al-Ḥakam | b. Abī l-‘Āṣ and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. His chief of police was ‘Abdallāh b. Qunfudh al-Taymī; his chamberlain (*hājib*) was Ḥumrān b. Abān, his client (*mawlā*).

The people became full of rancor against ‘Uthmān six years into his rule, and there was much talk about him. They said that he had preferred his relatives; had prohibited public use of grazing reserve; had [re-]built the House; had appropriated estates and fortunes with God’s and the Muslims’ money; had banished Abū Dharr, the Companion of God’s Messenger, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥanbal; had given refuge to al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-‘Āṣ and ‘Abdallāh b. Sa’d b. Abī Sarḥ, two men who had been expelled by God’s Messenger; had allowed the blood of al-Hurmuzān to be shed and had not killed ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar for it; had appointed al-Walid b. ‘Uqba as governor of Kufa, who then introduced innovations into the prayer ritual, yet this did not prevent ‘Uthmān from protecting him; and he had permitted stoning. That took place when he stoned a woman from the Juhayna who gave birth six months after her marriage to her husband; ‘Uthmān ordered that she should be stoned. When she was taken out, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib went before ‘Uthmān and said: “God, may He be glorified and exalted, says, *his bearing and his weaning are thirty months*.<sup>1204</sup> God says about its suckling, *two full years*.”<sup>1205</sup> ‘Uthmān sent after the woman, but she was found to have been stoned and to have died. The man acknowledged the child as his own.

1201 Correcting the reading of the MSS, ‘Abdallāh b. Shuraḥbīl, on the basis of Ibn Qutayba, as suggested by the Leiden editor. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥanbal had participated in the battle of Ajnādayn in Syria and in the conquest of Damascus. Later he fought on ‘Alī’s side at Šiffīn. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2:829; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:288.

1202 Al-Qamūs is written with a *ṣīn* in C and ed. Leiden, and is unclear in M—the final letter could be read as *ṣīn* or *ṣād*. Yāqūt, 4:398, writes it with *ṣād* and identifies it as a mountain near Khaybar.

1203 On the basis of the parallel in Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 101, Houtsma identified the son as al-Walid, and the maternal uncle as ‘Āmir b. Kurayz.

1204 Qur’ān 46:15.

1205 Qur’ān 2:233.

The people of the provinces came to him and protested. When ‘Uthmān learned that the people of Egypt had come armed with weapons, he sent ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ to them, who talked to them and told them that ‘Uthmān “would go back to doing what you approve.” ‘Uthmān set this in writing for them, and so they left.

‘Uthmān said to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, “Go out and give excuses for me to the people.” ‘Amr went out, ascended the pulpit, and summoned to congregational prayer. When the people had gathered, he praised and extolled God; then he spoke of Muḥammad as befits him, and said:

God sent him out of compassion and mercy. He imparted | the message, 2:203  
gave sincere advice to the community, and strove in God’s way with  
wisdom and good admonition.<sup>1206</sup> Is that not so?

They said: “Yes! May God give him the best reward He has given to a prophet on behalf of his community.” Then ‘Amr said:

After him, a man<sup>1207</sup> took charge who was just to the subjects (*ra‘īyya*) and ruled rightly. Is that not so?

They said: “Yes! May God reward him well.”  
He said:

Then the left-handed, squint-eyed son of Ḥantama took charge.<sup>1208</sup> Earth showed him her hidden riches and uncovered for him her concealed treasures, and he departed from this world after a noble career. Is that not so?

They said: “Yes! May God reward him well.”  
He said:

Then ‘Uthmān took charge. You said things and he said things; you blamed him, and he proffered excuses for himself. Is that not so?

“Yes!” they said.

1206 The language echoes Qur’ān 16:125.

1207 That is, Abū Bakr.

1208 Ḥantama bt. Hāshim b. al-Mughira was the mother of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

He said:

Then be patient with him, for the small becomes big, the lean becomes fat, and delaying a matter may be better than bringing it forward.

Then he descended.

‘Uthmān’s family members then went to ‘Uthmān and said to him, “Has anyone ever censured you as ‘Amr has?” So when ‘Amr came to him, ‘Uthmān said to him: “Son of al-Nābigha!<sup>1209</sup> By God, you have done nothing but incite people against me!” ‘Amr said: “By God, I said about you the best I know about you. But you have done things against the people, and they have responded in kind.<sup>1210</sup> So step aside if you will not straighten up!” ‘Uthmān said: “Son of al-Nābigha! Your coat of mail has become full of lice<sup>1211</sup> since I dismissed you from (the governorship of) Egypt!”

The troop of riders who had come from Egypt left. Somewhere along the way they came across a man riding on a camel. Not recognizing him, they searched him and found with him a note from ‘Uthmān to his deputy (in Egypt), ‘Abdallāh b. Sa’d: “When the men come to you, cut off their hands and feet.” So they turned back and decided to rebel. The people from whom they took their cues were Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa,<sup>1212</sup> Kināna b. Bishr,<sup>1213</sup> and Ibn ‘Udays al-Balawī.<sup>1214</sup> So they returned to Medina.

1209 According to Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif*, 285, ‘Amr’s mother was called al-Nābigha and was from the tribe of ‘Anaza.

1210 The Arabic, *rakibta min al-nās wa rakibūhā minka*, is terse and enigmatic. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2933, *qad rakibta l-nās bi-mā yakrahūn* (you have done to people what they loathed), is more straightforward.

1211 Arabic *qamila dir’uka*, a metaphor for changing for the worse. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2933, reads, “May your scalp crawl with lice!” (trans. Humphreys, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xv, 137).

1212 Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa al-‘Abshamī was a Companion of the Prophet who was brought up by ‘Uthmān after his father’s death at the battle of al-Yamāma, but ‘Uthmān refused to appoint him to office and he became active in the revolt against ‘Uthmān. Later, he was appointed by ‘Alī as governor of Egypt. He refused to hand over ‘Uthmān’s killers to Mu‘āwiya, but was tricked by the latter into leaving Egypt. He was killed in Palestine in Dhū l-Ḥijja 36/May–June 657. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa.

1213 Kināna b. Bishr b. ‘Attāb al-Tujībī, one of the leaders of the Egyptian rebels, was reportedly the one who stabbed him and burned down his house. He was killed in 36/656–657 in Palestine after fighting ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in Egypt. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudaydj.

1214 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Udays al-Balawī was a Companion of the Prophet who was at the

There was mutual aversion between ʿUthmān and ʿĀʾisha | because he had decreased the stipend that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to give her and had put her on the same footing as the other wives of God's Messenger. One day when ʿUthmān was addressing the people, ʿĀʾisha displayed the shirt of God's Messenger and called out: "Assemblage of Muslims, this is the garment of God's Messenger. It has not become worn, but ʿUthmān has made the *sunna* of God's Messenger worn." ʿUthmān said: "O Lord, turn away women's guile from me; surely their guile is great."<sup>1215</sup> 2:204

Ibn ʿUdays al-Balawī besieged ʿUthmān in his house. ʿUthmān implored them by God. He<sup>1216</sup> then sought the keys of the treasuries, and they brought them to Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh while ʿUthmān was besieged in his house.

The people who incited most against ʿUthmān were Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾisha.

ʿUthmān wrote to Muʿāwiya, asking him to come quickly to him. Muʿāwiya headed toward him with 12,000 men, but then he said to them, "Stay in place at the borders of Syria until I go to the Commander of the Faithful to find out the truth about his situation." When he came to ʿUthmān and ʿUthmān asked him about the reinforcements, he said, "I have come to find out your opinion first, then return to them and bring them to you." ʿUthmān said: "No, by God! Rather, you wanted me to be killed, so that you could say, 'I am the one responsible for taking vengeance.' Go back and bring me the troops!" Muʿāwiya went back, but he did not return to ʿUthmān until the latter had been killed.

Marwān went to ʿĀʾisha and said, "Mother of the Faithful, if only you would stand up and set things right between this man and the people!" She said, "I have just finished preparing and am about to make the pilgrimage." He said, "He will pay you two dirhams for every dirham you have spent." She said: "Perhaps you think that I am of two minds about your friend. By God, I would like to see him chopped up in pieces inside one of my straw-sacks, so I could carry him off and throw him into the sea!"

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head of the rebellious troops against ʿUthmān. He was imprisoned by Muʿāwiya and was killed in 36/656–657 while running away from prison. See the article by M. J. Kister in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḳuḏāʿa*.

1215 The language echoes Qurʾān 12:28, 33, the words of Joseph when he was tempted by Potiphar's wife.

1216 Probably referring to Ibn ʿUdays. On the rebels' interest in, and eventual looting of the treasury after ʿUthmān was killed, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:3018, 3020; on the secret discussions between Ibn ʿUdays and Ṭalḥa during the siege of ʿUthmān, see *ibid.*, 1:3000.

2:205 'Uthmān remained besieged for forty days. He was killed at the age of eighty-three—others say eighty-six—twelve nights remaining in Dhū l-Ḥijja of the year 35.<sup>1217</sup> Those who carried out his murder were Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Muḥammad | b. Abī Ḥudhayfa, and Ibn Ḥazm<sup>1218</sup>—according to others: Kināna b. Bishr al-Tujībī, 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'i,<sup>1219</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Udays al-Balawī, and Sūdān b. Ḥumrān.<sup>1220</sup> He remained unburied for three nights. Present at his burial were Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, and 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, his son.<sup>1221</sup> He was buried in Medina at night in a place known as Ḥashsh Kawkab.<sup>1222</sup> These four prayed over him. Some say that he was not prayed over; and others say that one of the four had already prayed over him, so that he was interred without being prayed over.

The days (of his rule) were twelve years.

'Uthmān led the people at the pilgrimage throughout his reign, except in the first year, which was the year 24<sup>1223</sup>—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf led the people at that pilgrimage—and in the year he was killed—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās led the people at that pilgrimage; it was in the year 35.<sup>1224</sup>

'Uthmān had seven sons: 'Amr, 'Umar, Khālīd, Abān, al-Walīd, Sa'īd, and 'Abd al-Malik.

1217 June 17, 656.

1218 'Amr b. Ḥazm b. Zayd al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī fought in some of the Prophet's battles and was appointed by the Prophet over the people of Najrān. His house was next to 'Uthmān's in Medina, and he allowed the rebels to enter the latter's house through his. He died between 51/671–672 and 54/673–674. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index.

1219 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'i, a Companion of the Prophet, fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffīn. He fled when Ziyād pursued the partisans of Ḥujr b. 'Adī and was killed in the Jazīra in 51/671–672. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:15; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 194, 212; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index.

1220 Sūdān b. Ḥumrān, who had participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyya, was the one who won over 'Ammār b. Yāsir to the side of the rebels against 'Uthmān when 'Ammār was sent by 'Uthmān to Egypt to explore the situation of the rebels there. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 175; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index.

1221 'Uthmān's son 'Amr was married to Mu'āwiya's daughter Ramla and died c. 80/699–670. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:111; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 99; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3056.

1222 Ḥashsh Kawkab (Kawkab's Garden) was located near the Baqī' al-Gharqad, the cemetery inside the city. According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 2:262, 'Uthmān bought it and added it to al-Baqī'. However, a report in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3048 (from al-Wāqidī) says that the plot was not formally added to the cemetery until the time of the Umayyads.

1223 Dhū l-Ḥijja 24 began on 28 September 645.

1224 Dhū l-Ḥijja 35 began on 31 May 656.

‘Uthmān’s appearance: He was of medium height, with a handsome face, delicate skin, and a big bushy beard. He was tawny, stocky, broad-shouldered, with an abundant head of hair, and his teeth were braced with gold. He used to dye his beard yellow.

‘Uthmān’s governors:<sup>1225</sup> over Yemen, Ya‘lā b. Munya al-Tamīmī; over Mecca, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr al-Ḥaḍramī;<sup>1226</sup> over Hamadhān, Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Bajalī; over al-Ṭā‘if, al-Qāsim b. Rabī‘a al-Thaqafi;<sup>1227</sup> over Kufa, Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī; over Basra, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz; over | Egypt, ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d b. Abī 2:206 Sarḥ; and over Syria, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā’*) during ‘Uthmān’s days were the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,<sup>1228</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd, Ubayy b. Ka‘b; Zayd b. Thābit, Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, Abū l-Dardā, Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, and Salmān b. Rabī‘a al-Bāhilī.

### The Caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful

#### ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>1229</sup>

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib—his mother was Fāṭima bt. Asad b. Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf—was made caliph on Tuesday, seven nights remaining in Dhū l-Ḥijja of the year 35, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ḥazirān (June).<sup>1230</sup> On that day the Sun was in Gemini, 26° 40’; the Moon in Aquarius, 18° 40’; Saturn in Virgo, 25°; Mars in Capricorn, 7° ...<sup>1231</sup>

Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār pledged allegiance to him. The first to pledge allegiance to him and to clasp his hand was Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubaydallāh, whereupon a man from the Banū Asad said, “The first hand to pledge allegiance was a withered hand”<sup>1232</sup>—or, “a deficient hand.” Al-Ashtar stood

1225 Similar lists with additional details in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3057–3058.

1226 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr al-Ḥaḍramī, born during the Prophet’s lifetime, was an ally of the Banū Umayya. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3413–3417, 3430, 3449.

1227 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3057.

1228 Because the Arabic lacks punctuation, the title “Commander of the Faithful” could conceivably be read as referring to ‘Uthmān, although al-Ya‘qūbī’s usual practice is to place this title before the caliph’s name, as he does in the section heading immediately following. The translation therefore connects the title to ‘Alī.

1229 The MSS add a benediction: May God honor him (*karrama Allāhu wajhahu*).

1230 23 Dhū l-Ḥijja 35 = June 23, 656.

1231 There is a lacuna in the MSS.

1232 Ṭalḥa’s finger was injured at the Battle of Uḥud while he was fending off arrows with his hand in order to protect the Prophet; see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 16:474.

and said, “I pledge allegiance to you, Commander of the Faithful, on condition that I shall be in charge of securing the oath of allegiance of the people of Kufa.” Then Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr stood and said, “We pledge allegiance to you, Commander of the Faithful, on condition that we shall be in charge of securing the oath of allegiance of the Muhājirūn.” Then Abū l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān,<sup>1233</sup> ‘Uqba b. ‘Amr,<sup>1234</sup> and Abū Ayyūb<sup>1235</sup> stood and said, “We pledge allegiance to you on condition that we shall be in charge of securing the oath of allegiance of the Anṣār and the rest of the Quraysh.”

2:207 The people pledged allegiance except for three persons from the Quraysh: Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Sa‘īd b. | al-‘Āṣ, and al-Walid b. ‘Uqba, who was the spokesman of the group. He said to ‘Alī: “You! You have put us all in a position of seeking revenge.<sup>1236</sup> As for me, you deliberately killed my father at the Battle of Badr off the battlefield;<sup>1237</sup> as for Sa‘īd, you killed his father at the Battle of Badr, and his father was of the light<sup>1238</sup> of the Quraysh; as for Marwān, you abused his father and reproved ‘Uthmān when he attached him to himself. The Banū ‘Abd Manāf [...]”<sup>1239</sup> for that. So we give you our oath of allegiance on condition

1233 Abū l-Haytham Mālik b. Balī Ibn al-Tayyihān al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī was a Companion of the Prophet who participated in all his battles. There are reports that he died in 20/640–641 or 21/641–642, and others that he died later, fighting on ‘Alī’s side at Ṣiffīn in 37/657. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111/2, 21; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 149; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārīf*, 270; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 29; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1213, 1220, 1222, 3095, 3:2537.

1234 ‘Uqba b. ‘Amr al-Khazrajī, better known as Abū Mas‘ūd al-Badrī, a Companion of the Prophet, was a partisan of ‘Alī, who appointed him deputy governor of Kufa when he went to Ṣiffīn. He died c. 40/660–661. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:9; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 202; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 40:507.

1235 On Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd al-Anṣārī, a Companion of the Prophet and supporter of ‘Alī, see the article by Michael Lecker in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī.

1236 Arabic *watartanā*, literally, “you have killed kinsmen of ours, leaving us with the burden of taking vengeance.”

1237 “Off the battlefield” translates *ṣabran*, the emendation in ed. Leiden and the text as found in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:98 (§ 1622). It accords with the story of how ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayṭ was killed at Badr (Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, trans. Guillaume, 308). The MSS have *ṣabīyyan* (as a young boy), which is improbable.

1238 The word *nūr* (light) is unpointed in the MSS and is uncertain.

1239 Following ed. Leiden. Houtsma, its editor, assumed that a word or words had fallen out of the text, and emended the MS reading *ṣamada* to *ḍamma*, following al-Mas‘ūdī, which is what has been translated. However, the evidence of M seems to indicate that the copyist left out a word, crossed out the word he had written, and resumed copying correctly. If that is the case, the passage should read: “as for Marwān, you abused his father and reproved ‘Uthmān when the Banū ‘Abd Manāf betook themselves (*ṣamada*) to him over that.”



that you remove from us that whereby we have been afflicted,<sup>1240</sup> allow us to retain what is in our possession, and kill the killers of our friend.”<sup>1241</sup> ‘Alī became angry and said: “As for your mentioning that I have put you in a position of seeking revenge, it is the Truth<sup>1242</sup> that has done so. As for removing from you that whereby you have been afflicted, it is not up to me to put aside the right of Almighty God. As for allowing you to retain what is in your possession—as to that which belongs to God and the Muslims, you will be accommodated with justice. As for my killing the killers of ‘Uthmān, if it were incumbent upon me to kill them today, I should have to fight them tomorrow. But I give you this: that I will govern you in accordance with the Book of God and the *sunna* of His Prophet. Anyone who considers the truth to be confining for him will find falsehood to be more confining for him. If you wish, join your hangers-on.” Marwān said, “Rather, we will pledge allegiance to you and stay with you; then you will see and we shall see.”

Some people<sup>1243</sup> rose and spoke. The first to speak was Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Anṣārī, who was the spokesman of the Anṣār. He said: “By God, Commander of the Faithful, if they have preceded you in ruling, they have not preceded you in religion; and if they came ahead of you yesterday, you have caught up with them today. They have been, and you have been: your station is not hidden, and your position not unknown. They need you in what they do not know, and you, given your knowledge, do not need anyone.”

Then Khuzayma b. Thābit al-Anṣārī—he is Dhū l-Shahādatayn<sup>1244</sup>—rose and said: “Commander of the Faithful, we have found | no one for this affair of ours<sup>1245</sup> other than you, and there is no recourse but to you. If our souls speak rightly to us concerning you, you are indeed the oldest in accepting the faith, the most knowledgeable concerning God, and the most deserving of the

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1240 Arabic *an taḍa‘a ‘annā mā uṣibnā* (reading the second verb as passive and taking a direct object, cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ṭa‘rīkh*, Glossary, cccxxviii). The phrase apparently refers to the loss of kinsmen just mentioned, for which they want redress. If one reads the active, *aṣabnā*, the phrase means, “that you take from us (exempt us?) from what we have acquired.”

1241 That is, ‘Uthmān.

1242 That is, God (*al-Ḥaqq*).

1243 Houtsma added here between brackets: *min al-anṣār* (from the Anṣār), but the MSS lack the words.

1244 Thābit b. Khuzayma al-Anṣārī was called Dhū l-Shahādatayn (he of the two testimonies/martyrdoms) because the Prophet had promised him double the normal martyr’s rewards. He died fighting on ‘Alī’s side at Ṣiffin. On this type of nickname, see C. E. Bosworth’s article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Laḳab.

1245 Arabic *li-amrinā hādihā*, that is, for the caliphate.

faithful to succeed God's Messenger. You have what they have, but they do not have what you have."

Ṣa'sa'a b. Ṣūḥān<sup>1246</sup> rose and said: "By God, Commander of the Faithful, you have adorned the caliphate rather than its adorning you; you have elevated it rather than its elevating you. It is more in need of you than you of it."

Then Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar rose and said: "People! This is the trustee (*waṣī*) of trustees; the heir to the prophets' knowledge; the one with great deeds and admirable resourcefulness; the one to whose faith the Book of God has testified, and God's Messenger to his place in the Garden of Satisfaction (*jannat al-riḍwān*); the one in whom the virtues have been completed, and whose precedence, knowledge, and merit neither the later people nor the earlier ones have doubted."

Then 'Uqba b. 'Amr rose and said: "Who has to his credit a day like the Day of al-'Aqaba<sup>1247</sup> and a pledge like the Pledge of Good Satisfaction?<sup>1248</sup> He is the most truly guiding<sup>1249</sup> imam, from whom there is no fear of oppression, and the man of knowledge, from whom there is no fear of ignorance."

'Alī dismissed 'Uthmān's governors of the provinces, except Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī: al-Ashtar talked to 'Alī about him, so 'Alī confirmed him in his position.<sup>1250</sup> He appointed Qutham b. al-'Abbās<sup>1251</sup> over Mecca, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās<sup>1252</sup> over Yemen, Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda<sup>1253</sup> over Egypt, and 'Uthmān b. Hunayf al-Anṣārī over Basra.

1246 Ṣa'sa'a b. Ṣūḥān al-'Abdī (d. c. 60/679–680) a Kufan orator whom 'Uthmān had expelled to Syria, fought on 'Alī's side at the Battle of the Camel. See Naṣr b. Muzāhim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, index; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:154; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 171, 195; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārīf*, 402; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-tiwāl*, 168; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 24:79.

1247 On the Day of al-'Aqaba, see al-Ya'qūbī above, ed. Leiden, 2:38.

1248 On the Pledge of Good Satisfaction (*Bay'at al-Riḍwān*), see al-Ya'qūbī above, ed. Leiden, 2:64.

1249 Or, "the most truly guided Imam"; the Arabic *al-imām al-ahdā* has both senses.

1250 That is, as governor of Kufa.

1251 On Qutham b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qutham b. al-'Abbās.

1252 On 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī (d. 58/677–678 or 87/705–706) see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-'Abbās.

1253 Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda al-Anṣārī, son of an important leader of the Anṣār, was appointed by 'Alī as governor of Egypt in 36/656–657, but dismissed in the following year. He died c. 59/678–679. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:34; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 197, 201, 227; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt*, 20; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 49:396.

Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr came to ‘Alī and said, “We were treated with harshness after the death of God’s Messenger, so make us partners in your affair.” He said, “You shall be my partners in strength and uprightness, and my helpers against weakness and crookedness.”<sup>1254</sup>

Someone has narrated that ‘Alī appointed Ṭalḥa over Yemen and al-Zubayr over al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn. When he handed them their commissions, they said to him, “You are good to your relations!”<sup>1255</sup> He said, “Rather, I have bestowed upon you the management of the affairs | of the Muslims!”—and he took back their commissions. They were angry about it and said, “You have preferred others to us!” He said, “Had it not been for your manifest greed, I would have been able to depend on your judgment.”

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Someone has narrated that al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba said to ‘Alī: “Commander of the Faithful, send Ṭalḥa over Yemen and al-Zubayr over al-Baḥrayn, and write a letter appointing Mu‘āwiya over Syria. Once things fall into line for you, you can do with them what you like.” ‘Alī answered him with an answer.<sup>1256</sup> Al-Mughīra said, “By God, I never gave him advice before this, and I will not give him any after this.”

‘Ā’isha was in Mecca, having left before ‘Uthmān was killed. When she had completed her pilgrimage, she set out to return. At a certain point along the road, the son of Umm Kilāb<sup>1257</sup> met her. She asked him, “How is ‘Uthmān?” “He has been killed,” he said. “Good riddance!” she said. Then she asked, “To

1254 The language echoes the words of Moses in Qur’ān 20:25–35, asking God to grant him a helper, his brother Aaron, to assist him in confronting Pharaoh.

1255 Arabic *waṣalatka raḥim*. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, Glossarium, dlvi. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, who were not close relatives of ‘Alī, seem to have meant this in a general way, although ‘Alī had in fact just appointed two of his cousins, Qutham and ‘Ubaydallāh, to governorships. Calling attention to the fact was, to say the least, impolitic, since nepotism was one of the misdeeds for which ‘Uthmān had been criticized. This would explain ‘Alī’s angry response of withdrawing the appointment and telling them that rather than doing them a favor—and providing them an opportunity to enrich themselves—he was assigning them the responsibility of caring for the affairs of the Muslims.

1256 That is, with an answer that al-Mughīra did not like. The accounts in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3082–3086, and al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:99–101 (§1625–1627), 119 (§1656–1657), are more detailed. A marginal note in the MSS indicates that the answer was to quote from Qur’ān 18:49, “I would never take as support those who lead others astray.” The source of the note is not clear.

1257 Arabic *Ibn Umm Kilāb*, referring to ‘Ubayd b. Abī Salima al-Laythī. He is known in the historical sources for his meeting with ‘Ā’isha. The literary sources memorialize him as the husband of Ḥubbā l-Madaniyya, whom he married as a young man when she was middle-aged. She had married several times and was so outspoken about her sexual

whom have the people pledged allegiance?" "Ṭalḥa," he said. "Ha!" she said, "the man with the finger!"<sup>1258</sup> Then another man met her. She asked, "How are the people?" He said, "They have pledged allegiance to 'Alī." She said, "By God, I would not care if this fell on this!"<sup>1259</sup> Then she returned to Mecca.

'Alī stayed put for a few days; then Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr came to him and said, "We want to perform the lesser pilgrimage; give us permission to leave." Someone has narrated that 'Alī, referring to the two of them or to certain of his companions, said, "By God, the two of them did not want to perform the lesser pilgrimage; rather, they wanted to betray."<sup>1260</sup>

Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr joined 'Ā'isha in Mecca and incited her to revolt. 'Ā'isha then went to Umm Salama bt. Abī Umayya, the wife of God's Messenger, and said: "My cousin and my sister's husband<sup>1261</sup> have told me that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly, that most people were not pleased with the oath of allegiance given to 'Alī, and that the majority of those in Basra have opposed this. Were you to lead us in revolt, perhaps God would mend the situation of Muḥammad's community at our hands." Umm Salama said to her: "Religion's pillar is not  
2:210 raised up by women. | The praiseworthy things about women consist of their lowering the eyes, casting down the extremities, and dragging the trains of their garments."<sup>1262</sup> God has relieved me and you of this thing. What would you say if God's Messenger encountered you on the outskirts of the deserts having ripped off the veil which he imposed on you?" So 'Ā'isha's crier called out: "Lo, the Mother of the Faithful is staying here; so stay!" But Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr came to her, changed her mind, and incited her to revolt.

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interests that a proverb was coined: *ashbaq min Ḥubbā* (more lustful than Ḥubbā). See al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, 1:537 (no. 2049).

1258 Referring to Ṭalḥa's withered finger. See note to ed. Leiden, 2:206, above.

1259 The Arabic (*an taqa'a hādhihi 'alā hādhihi*) is enigmatic. The feminine singular demonstratives (*hādhihi*) make it certain that 'this' does not refer to an individual male human being. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:311, (*layta anna hādhihi nṭabaqat 'alā hādhihi*, literally, "Would that this were made to cover this") is translated by Adrian Brockett (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xvi, 52), "Would that the sky were overturned if the command is decided in favor of your leader." This makes good sense as 'sky' and 'earth' are feminine in Arabic.

1260 The sentence contains a play on words: "They did not want *al-'umra*; rather, they wanted *al-ghudra*."

1261 By 'cousin' 'Ā'isha means Ṭalḥa, whose father, 'Ubaydallāh, was Abū Bakr's cousin, making Ṭalḥa 'Ā'isha's second cousin (see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 280). By 'sister's husband' 'Ā'isha means al-Zubayr, who was married to her sister, Asmā' (ibid., 275–276).

1262 The language alludes to the "verse of the veil" addressed to female believers (Qur'ān 24:31) and the verses addressed specifically to the Prophet's wives (Qur'ān 33:32–33).

‘Ā’isha headed to Basra, breaking away from ‘Alī, and with her went Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr with a large host. Ya‘lā b. Munya arrived with some revenues that had been collected in Yemen, said to have amounted to 400,000 dinars. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr took the money from him, made use of it, and marched toward Basra. At night, the company passed a watering place called Mā’ al-Ḥaw’ab,<sup>1263</sup> and its dogs barked at them. ‘Ā’isha asked what that watering place was. Someone said it was Mā’ al-Ḥaw’ab. ‘Ā’isha said: “*We are God’s and to Him we shall return!*”<sup>1264</sup> Take me back! Take me back! This is the watering place about which God’s Messenger told me: ‘Do not be the one barked at by the dogs of al-Ḥaw’ab!’”<sup>1265</sup> The people brought her forty men who swore by God that it was not Mā’ al-Ḥaw’ab.

The company arrived in Basra. ‘Alī’s governor there was ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf. He prevented ‘Ā’isha and those with her from entering. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr said, “We have not come for war, but for peace.” So they drew up a document between them and him, that they would provoke no mischief until ‘Alī came and that each side would be safe from the other. Then they separated, and ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf laid down [his weapons].<sup>1266</sup> They plucked out his beard,

1263 Reading according to M; ed. Leiden (following C) has Marr al-Ḥaw’ab (but emended in the notes). Mā’ al-Ḥaw’ab (Ḥaw’ab’s Water Hole) was on the road to Basra; the fortress of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Zurāra al-Kilābī was located there. Al-Ḥaw’ab was the name of a woman: al-Ḥaw’ab bt. Kalb b. Wabara. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 2:314.

1264 Qur’ān 2:156: words normally recited on the occasion of death.

1265 This saying attributed to the Prophet appears in the historical and geographical literature; see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, 1:456.

1266 Al-Ya‘qūbī has condensed; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3122–3126, gives details. The Basrans agreed to send a messenger to Medina and await his return, to investigate whether Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr had sworn allegiance to ‘Alī under duress or willingly. If they had sworn under duress, ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf would evacuate Basra for them; if they had sworn willingly, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr would retreat. The discussions in Medina were chaotic—according to the account only one man dared to speak up—but implied that Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr had given their allegiance unwillingly, and the messenger returned to Basra with this report. Meanwhile, news of the events in Medina reached ‘Alī, who sent a letter to ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf accusing him of indecisiveness and stating that if Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr wanted to depose him—‘Alī—they had no justification, but if they wanted something else, he—‘Alī—would discuss the matter with them. Basing themselves on the messenger’s report, the Basrans asked ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf to leave Basra. He, however, basing himself on ‘Alī’s letter, refused to do so. When Ibn Ḥunayf arrived at the mosque later than usual to lead the evening prayer, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr had already sent their own men, who started the prayer but were attacked in the mosque by Ibn Ḥunayf’s guard. A fight ensued in which the men stood their

mustache, eyelashes, and eyebrows and plundered the treasury, taking all that was in it.

2:211 When the time for prayer came, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr quarreled, each pulling at the other, until the time for prayer passed. | The people cried out: “To prayer, to prayer, O Companions of Muḥammad!” ‘Ā’isha said: “Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa<sup>1267</sup> shall lead the prayer one day, and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr shall lead it the next.” So they were reconciled in accordance with that.

When the news reached ‘Alī, he set out for Basra, deputizing over Medina Abū Ḥasan b. ‘Abd ‘Amr, one of the Banū l-Najjār.<sup>1268</sup> He left Medina accompanied by four hundred horsemen, Companions of the Prophet. When they reached the territory of the Asad and Ṭayyi’, six hundred of them followed him. ‘Alī then went to Dhū Qār.<sup>1269</sup> He dispatched al-Ḥasan<sup>1270</sup> and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, who called upon the people of Kufa to fight. ‘Alī’s governor over Kufa at that time was Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī; he discouraged the people from joining ‘Alī, so (only) six thousand of them came to him. ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf met ‘Alī and said, “Commander of the Faithful, you sent me out a bearded man and I have come to you beardless!”—and he told him the story.

Then the Commander of the Faithful came to Basra. The Battle of the Camel took place in a place called al-Khurayba<sup>1271</sup> in Jumādā I of the year 36.<sup>1272</sup> Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr and those with them went out and stood in their ranks. ‘Alī sent

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ground. They took Ibn Ḥunayf to Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, where he was humiliated and mistreated.

1267 Ṭalḥa’s son Muḥammad was known as *al-Sajjād* (the prostrating one), since he reportedly prayed one thousand prostrations each day. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:37.

1268 The name of Abū Ḥasan b. ‘Abd ‘Amr al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī was Tamīm b. ‘Amr. He was a Medinan Companion of the Prophet. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 5:171; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 4:43 (no. 273).

1269 Dhū Qār, a watering place between Kufa and Wāsiṭ, was the site of a famous pre-Islamic battle between the tribe of Bakr and the Persians (mentioned above by al-Ya’qūbī, ed. Leiden 1:245–246, 257–258, and 2:47). See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhū Qār.

1270 Al-Ḥasan (d. 49/669–670, but other dates are given) was ‘Alī’s eldest son and the one who succeeded him in the caliphate and, according to Shī’ites, the imamate. He abdicated the caliphate before his death. See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (al-)Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

1271 Al-Khurayba (the Little Ruin) was near Basra and received its name from the ruined palace of a Sasanian marzpan (military governor). See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 2:363. For a list of the historical sources for the battle, see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djāmal.

1272 Jumādā I 36 began on October 26, 656.

to them, asking, “What do you seek and what do you want?” They said, “We seek to avenge the blood of ‘Uthmān.” ‘Alī said, “May God curse the killers of ‘Uthmān.”

‘Alī’s followers formed their ranks. ‘Alī said to them: “Shoot no arrow, thrust no spear, and strike with no sword. Render yourselves excused.”<sup>1273</sup> Then a man from the enemy camp shot an arrow, killing one of the supporters of the Commander of the Faithful. He was brought to ‘Alī, and ‘Alī said, “O God, bear witness!” Then another man shot and killed another of ‘Alī’s supporters. ‘Alī said, “O God, bear witness!” Then another man shot and hit ‘Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqā’ al-Khuzā’ī, killing him. His brother, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān,<sup>1274</sup> carried him to ‘Alī, who said, “O God, bear witness!”

And then it was war. The Banū Ḍabba, who were carrying the banner,<sup>1275</sup> encircled the camel, | and 2,000 of them were killed. The Azd surrounded<sup>1276</sup> the camel, and 2,700 of them were killed: no one could seize the nose rein of the camel without losing his life.

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Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubaydallāh was killed in the battle: Marwān b. al-Ḥakam shot an arrow at him, felling him, and said, “By God, I no longer seek vengeance for ‘Uthmān after this day, it being you who killed him!”<sup>1277</sup> Ṭalḥa said as he fell: “By God, never have I seen an elder of Quraysh more lost than I am today! By God, never have I stood in a place but that I knew where to set my feet in it—except this place!”

1273 That is, by not attacking first (reading the verb as an imperative, *a’dhirū*). Al-Ya’qūbī has so heavily abbreviated the report that the Leiden editor assumed a lacuna before “Render yourselves excused,” adducing al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:107 (§ 1634), as evidence. However, the MSS show no lacuna, and such abbreviations of reports are part of al-Ya’qūbī’s method.

1274 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Budayl b. Warqā’ al-Khuzā’ī and his brother ‘Abdallāh had served the Prophet as messengers to the people of Yemen, and both fought on ‘Alī’s side in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffin. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 161, 194; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. Budayl. By saying that it was ‘Abdallāh who was killed at the Battle of the Camel, which took place before Ṣiffin, al-Ya’qūbī is citing a report of very limited circulation and acceptance. In fact, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq’at Ṣiffin* (see index), gives ‘Abdallāh b. Budayl a prominent role in the battle of Ṣiffin and, like Khalīfa b. Khayyāt and al-Ṭabarī, does not mention ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

1275 That is, of the rebels. The camel was the one on which ‘Ā’isha was mounted.

1276 Reading with ed. Leiden *wa-ḥaffat bihi*. M appears to read *wa-khaffat fihi* (though the *kh* is undotted), “rushed up to it.”

1277 Reading with M, *wa-anta qataltaḥu*; ed. Leiden reads *wa-ana qataltaḥu*, i.e., “now that I have killed *him*,” that is, Ṭalḥa, whom Marwān singles out as ‘Uthmān’s killer.

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to al-Zubayr, “Abū ‘Abdallāh, come near me and I will remind you of words that you and I heard from God’s Messenger.” Al-Zubayr said to ‘Alī, “Am I safe?” ‘Alī said, “You are safe.” Al-Zubayr then came out to ‘Alī, and ‘Alī reminded him of the words. Al-Zubayr said, “O God, only now do I remember this!”—and he turned the reins of his horse to depart. But (his son) ‘Abdallāh said to him, “Where are you going?” He said, “‘Alī reminded me of some words that God’s Messenger spoke.” ‘Abdallāh said, “No; you just saw that the swords of the Banū Hāshim were sharp and carried by strong men.” Al-Zubayr said: “Woe to you! Is someone like me to be reproached for cowardice? Come, bring me the spear!” He took the spear and attacked ‘Alī’s followers. ‘Alī said (to his men), “Make way for the old man, for he has been hard pressed!”<sup>1278</sup> Al-Zubayr broke through the right flank, the left, and the center, then he returned and said to his son: “May you become motherless! Does a coward do this?” Then he left. He passed by al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. Al-Aḥnaf said: “Never have I seen anything like this. He brought the wife of God’s Messenger, driving her on, and ripped from her the veil (ordained) by God’s Messenger. Yet he concealed his own wife in his house, and then deserted her and went away.  
 2:213 Is there no | man who will avenge God on him?” ‘Amr b. Jurmūz al-Tamīmī<sup>1279</sup> therefore followed him and killed him in a place called Wādī l-Sibā’.<sup>1280</sup>

1278 Arabic *afrijū li-l-shaykh innahu muḥarraj*. The meaning of *muḥarraj* is ambiguous. It literally means, “straightened, narrowed,” but also can refer to a state of mind, “annoyed, vexed.” ‘Alī’s words may simply be a command to stand back from him because he is in a difficult position, spoken out of reluctance to endanger a man to whom safe-conduct has been promised. Something else, however, may be implied. In two accounts in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3176 and 3185, al-Zubayr, speaking to his son, first cites his oath of allegiance to ‘Alī as reason not to fight. When his son attributes his reluctance to cowardice, al-Zubayr (“angered and shaking with rage,” as one account puts it) releases himself from his oath of allegiance by vowing to free one of his slaves. One of the meanings of *muḥarraj* is “placed under oath” (cf. al-Ṭabarī, Glossarium, s.v.) and that may be the case here. ‘Alī would then be saying that the old man is fighting only to fulfill an oath. In al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:108 (§1635), ‘Alī says, *afrijū lahu fa-qad hājūhu*, “Make way for him, for they have incited him (i.e., to fight)” —that is, he is not acting completely of his own volition.

1279 ‘Amr b. Jurmūz al-Tamīmī al-Mujāshī’ī was a Bedouin who is portrayed negatively in the sources for killing al-Zubayr. ‘Alī is reported to have been angry at his deed and predicted that he would go to hell. Ibn Jurmūz was later pardoned by Muṣ’ab, al-Zubayr’s son, when Muṣ’ab conquered Iraq for the Zubayrids in 67/686–687. He died shortly thereafter. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 181, 186, 187; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif*, 209; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3171–3172, 3187–3188, 3218; 2:83; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 221.

1280 Wādī l-Sibā’ was five miles from Basra. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 5:343.



The battle lasted four hours of the day. Someone has reported that on that day more than 30,000 people were killed. Then ‘Alī’s crier called out that no wounded man (of the enemy) should be finished off,<sup>1281</sup> no runaway should be pursued, and no one fleeing with his back turned should be reproached;<sup>1282</sup> furthermore, whoever laid down his arms would be safe, and whoever shut his door would be safe. ‘Alī then guaranteed the safety of all and sundry.<sup>1283</sup>

‘Alī dispatched Ibn ‘Abbās to ‘Ā’isha, ordering her to return (to Medina). When Ibn ‘Abbās came into her presence, she said, “You have missed the *sunna* twice, Ibn ‘Abbās: you entered my house without my permission, and you sat on my furniture without my invitation.” Ibn ‘Abbās said: “It was we who taught you the *sunna*. This is not your house; your house is the one in which God’s Messenger left you, and in which the Qur’ān ordered you to stay.”<sup>1284</sup> Words flowed between them whose place is in a book other than this one.<sup>1285</sup>

‘Alī came to her while she was in the house of ‘Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzā’ī<sup>1286</sup>—[his son was the one known]<sup>1287</sup> as Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt.<sup>1288</sup> He said: “Ho, little red one!<sup>1289</sup> Weren’t you forbidden to make this journey?” She said, “Son of Abū Ṭālib, you have power; so forgive with goodness.” He said, “Leave for

1281 That is, killed.

1282 That is, attacked verbally. See al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. w.j.h.

1283 Arabic *al-aswad wa-l-aḥmar* (the black and the red), referring to the Arabs (dark complexioned) and the Persians (light complexioned), but used in a general sense to encompass all ethnic groups. Presumably, both armies included, besides Arabs, non-Arab clients and slaves.

1284 Qur’ān 33:33.

1285 Arabic *kalāmun mawḍi’uhu fī ḡhayri ḥādhā min al-kitāb* would seem to mean, “words whose place is in another (place) of the book.” However, since al-Ya’qūbī does not mention the conversation between ‘Ā’isha and Ibn ‘Abbās elsewhere in this book, it seems better to take the sense as translated.

1286 ‘Abdallāh b. Khalaf b. As’ad al-Khuzā’ī had been in charge of the *dīwān* for ‘Umar and his scribe in Medina. He was killed during the Battle of the Camel, fighting on the side of ‘Ā’isha, while his brother ‘Uthmān was on the side of ‘Alī. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 156; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 360; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3216–3218, 3222, 3224.

1287 “His son is the one known” (*wa-bnuhu l-ma’rūf*) is in neither MSS, but was added by Houtsma. The copyist of M seems to have tried to fix the problem by inserting an interlinear *Abī* (the father of).

1288 Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt (Ṭalḥa of the Ṭalḥas) is Ṭalḥa b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzā’ī. He served the Umayyads as governor of Sijistān, then was dismissed from office and died in Sijistān c. 65/684–685. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt.

1289 Arabic *Ḥumayrā*, a nickname given to ‘Ā’isha because of her fair complexion or red hair.

Medina, and return to your house in which God's Messenger ordered you to stay." "I will," she said. He sent with her seventy women from the 'Abd al-Qays dressed as men, and they brought her to Medina.

'Alī distributed the stipends equally among the troops, giving no preference to anyone over anyone else. He gave to the clients<sup>1290</sup> as he gave to the pure Arabs. When he was questioned about that, he said, "I have read what is between the two covers (of the Qur'ān) but have found the offspring of Ishmael to have not even this much preference over the offspring of Isaac"—and he took a twig from the ground and put it between his two fingers.

2:214 When 'Alī had finished fighting the people of the Camel, he dispatched Ja'da b. | Hubayra b. Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī<sup>1291</sup> to Khurāsān. Māhawayh,<sup>1292</sup> the marzubān<sup>1293</sup> of Marw, came to him;<sup>1294</sup> so he wrote him a document, conveying to him his conditions and ordering him to deliver the tax payments (*kharāj*) that he had imposed on him. Māhawayh brought him money in accordance with the previous tax assignment.

'Alī left Basra for Kufa, arriving there in Rajab of the year 36.<sup>1295</sup>

Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī was governor of Hamadhān. When 'Alī dismissed him, he said to 'Alī, "Send me to Mu'āwiya, for most of those with him are my kin, and perhaps I can get them all to obey you." Al-Ashtar said to 'Alī, "Commander of the Faithful, do not send him, for his inclination is the same as theirs." 'Alī said: "Let him go: if he acts in good faith, he will be one who has delivered his charge; if he cheats, upon him will be the sin of one who has been entrusted but did not deliver the charge, one who has been trusted but betrayed

1290 Arabic *mawālī*, pl. of *mawlā*: either freed slaves or converts to Islam, in any case socially inferior to pure Arabs. Converts normally became clients of an Arab family upon conversion. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and P. Crone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mawlā*.

1291 Ja'da b. Hubayra b. Abī Wahb al-Ashja'ī al-Makhzūmī was a Kufan. His mother was Umm Hānī' bt. Abī Ṭālib, and hence 'Alī was his maternal uncle. Later, Ja'da was involved in the rebellion of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 463, 464; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 408–409; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 211; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:95 (§ 1616); Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 1:285; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 1:236, 257.

1292 Both mss read Māhūnah; emended by Houtsma.

1293 *Marzubān* (Middle Persian, *marzpān*; New Persian, *marzbān*): the military governor of a late Sasanian frontier district. See the article by J. H. Kramers in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Marzpān*, and Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 532.

1294 The reference of the pronoun is unclear; the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3249, makes it clear that Māhawayh came to 'Alī.

1295 That is, between December 24, 656 and January 22, 657.

the trust. Woe to them! To whom do they incline and abandon me? By God, I only want them to uphold the truth, while the other<sup>1296</sup> only wants them to uphold falsehood.”

Jarīr came to Mu‘āwiya while the latter was sitting with the people around him. He handed him ‘Alī’s letter and Mu‘āwiya read it. Then Jarīr stood up and said:

People of Syria! Truly, he who does not benefit from little does not benefit from much. Such a fierce battle has taken place in Basra that if a scourge like it is repeated,<sup>1297</sup> there will be no survival for Islam. Therefore fear God, people of Syria, and view ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya charitably.<sup>1298</sup> Look to yourselves, and let no one be more attentive to yourselves than you.

Then he fell silent. Mu‘āwiya was quiet and did not speak. Then Mu‘āwiya said, “Give me time to think, Jarīr.”<sup>1299</sup> That night, Mu‘āwiya sent a message asking ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ to come to him. Mu‘āwiya wrote to him:

You have received word of what has taken place between ‘Alī and Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and ‘Ā’isha. | Marwān has now joined us, together with the fugitives of the people of Basra. Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh has come to me concerning the oath of allegiance to ‘Alī. I have attached myself entirely to you, until you come to me. Come then with God’s blessing!

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When ‘Amr received the letter, he summoned his two sons, ‘Abdallāh<sup>1300</sup> and Muḥammad,<sup>1301</sup> and consulted them. ‘Abdallāh said: “Sir, God’s Messenger died pleased with you, and Abū Bakr and ‘Umar died pleased with you. If you corrupt

1296 That is, Mu‘āwiya.

1297 Reading with the correction by a second hand in M: *in yashfa’ al-balā’ bi-mithlihā*, in place of the original hand and ed. Leiden, *lan yashfa’ al-balā’ bi-mithlihā* (whose scourge will not be repeated).

1298 Reading *wa-raw fi ‘Alī wa-Mu‘āwiya khayran*, as emended by the Leiden editor. Both mss have *wa-ra’aw* (they saw), which may be a misspelling, rather than a true variant.

1299 Arabic *abli’nī rīqī*, literally, “let me swallow my spittle.”

1300 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Āṣ had converted to Islam before his father and was known for his piety. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/2, 8, VI/2, 189; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 159, 195, 218; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 286; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 1:283.

1301 On Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. ‘Āṣ, who participated in the conquest of Egypt and fought with his father on Mu‘āwiya’s side at Ṣiffīn, see Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 286; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

your religion now for the sake of a little worldly gain that you obtain with Mu‘āwiya, both of you will lie down in hellfire tomorrow.” Then ‘Amr asked Muḥammad, “What is your opinion?” He said: “Seize the matter quickly! Be a head in it before you become a tail!” ‘Amr then recited:

My night has become long because of worries that come at night  
and fear of the one who unveils the faces of time’s vicissitudes.<sup>1302</sup>  
The son of Hind<sup>1303</sup> has asked me to visit him,  
and that is a thing in which there are calamities.  
Jarīr brought to him from ‘Alī a momentous affair  
that made his life bitter with every emaciated person.<sup>1304</sup>  
If (Jarīr) obtains his desire from him (Mu‘āwiya),  
there will be no hope of stopping him (‘Alī);  
But if he does not attain his desire from him,  
he (‘Alī) will be humbled with true humiliation.<sup>1305</sup>  
So, by God, I do not know, and like this  
I will remain; and however he steers me, he is my leader.  
Shall I deceive him?—but in deceit there is infamy.  
Or shall I give him from my soul the counsel of a loving friend?  
Or shall I stay in my house? In that there is rest  
for an old man who fears death at every sunrise.  
‘Abdallāh has said words to which my soul  
inclines—provided I am not detained by obstacles,  
But his brother Muḥammad disagreed with him about it,  
and I am one of hard mettle in the face of what I am bound to  
defend.

When ‘Abdallāh heard his poem, he said, “The old man has pissed on his heels<sup>1306</sup> and sold his religion to gain the world!”

1302 Reading *al-‘awā’iq* (unpointed in the MSS). Ed. Leiden: *al-‘awātiq* (ancient things).

1303 That is, Mu‘āwiya.

1304 Arabic *ma‘ kulli dāniqī*. The translation, “with every emaciated person,” is uncertain. If the preposition *ma‘* could be interpreted to indicate similitude, then the meaning would be: his life was made bitter like that of an emaciated person. *Dāniq* also means a coin of very small value, but this meaning does not fit here.

1305 Proper nouns have been added in the translation to avoid confusion.

1306 The metaphor, not attested in the dictionaries, apparently means “has become senile.”

In the morning, ‘Amr summoned his client Wardān<sup>1307</sup> and said to him, “Saddle up, Wardān!” Then he said, “Unsaddle, Wardān!” Wardān unsaddled and saddled three times. Finally, Wardān said, “You have become confused, Abū ‘Abdallāh; but if you wish, I will tell you what is in your heart.” ‘Amr said, “Out with it!” | Wardān said: “This world and the next have jostled in your heart. You said to yourself that ‘Alī has the next world without this one and that Mu‘āwiya has this world without the next—and nothing in this world can substitute for the next—and so you do not know which to choose.” “Bravo!” said ‘Amr, “You have missed nothing of what is in my heart. So what should I do, Wardān?” Wardān said: “The right thing is to stay at home: if the people of religion prevail, you will live in their religion’s forgiveness; if the people of this world prevail, you will be indispensable to them.” ‘Amr said: “Now? when the Arabs have already celebrated me for my going to Mu‘āwiya? Saddle up, Wardān!” Then he recited:

God fight against Wardān and his sharpness!

By your life, Wardān has uncovered what is inside my breast.

So ‘Amr went to Mu‘āwiya and discussed the situation with him. He said to Mu‘āwiya, “As for ‘Alī, the Arabs, by God, do not consider you his equal in anything, and no other member of the Quraysh has his luck in war—unless you judge him unjustly.” Mu‘āwiya said, “You have spoken the truth; but we will fight him for what is in our possession and attach the killing of ‘Uthmān to him.” “Shame!” said ‘Amr. “You and I are the people least entitled to mention ‘Uthmān.” Mu‘āwiya said, “And why, pray tell?” ‘Amr said: “As for you, you let him down when you had the Syrian troops with you, so that he finally sought help from Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajalī,<sup>1308</sup> who went to him. As for me, I manifestly abandoned him and fled to Palestine.” Mu‘āwiya said: “Let us not talk about that! Stretch out your hand and give me your oath of

1307 Wardān al-Rūmī was a captive from Armenia or Isfahan. He participated in the conquest of Egypt, was put in charge of its land tax (*kharāj*), and later fought at Šiffin on ‘Amr’s side. He was killed fighting the Byzantines in Egypt in 53/672–673. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq‘at Šiffin*, 36, 374, 388; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 201; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 162; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 217, 222; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 287; Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2589, 3257, 3328, 2:213, 215; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 62:428.

1308 Yazīd b. Asad b. Kurz al-Bajalī al-Qasrī participated in the conquests of Syria, where he took up residence. He fought at Šiffin on the side of Mu‘āwiya. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq‘at Šiffin*, index; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 143; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 254; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2985, 3265, 2:137, 139, 1621; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 65:100.

allegiance!" 'Amr said: "No, by God's life! I will not give you my religion until I get something from your worldly gain." Mu'āwiya said, "You shall have Egypt to sustain you." Marwān b. al-Ḥakam became angry and said, "Why am I am not being consulted?" Mu'āwiya said: "Be silent! Counsel is only being taken for<sup>1309</sup> you." Then Mu'āwiya said to 'Amr, "Abū 'Abdallāh, stay with us tonight"—for he feared that 'Amr would stir up the troops against him. 'Amr stayed, saying:

Mu'āwiya, I will not give you my religion unless I obtain  
some worldly gain from you in return. So consider carefully what you  
do!

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If you give me Egypt, what a profitable deal it will be!—  
one whereby you acquire an elder who can do both harm and benefit.  
Religion and this world are not the same; but I  
will take with my head covered<sup>1310</sup> what I am given.  
But shall I give you this?—surely I  
delude myself, for the deceiver may be deceived.  
Shall I give you a thing in which there is power for dominion,  
while for it I remain—if the shoe slips—deceived,  
And you hold back Egypt from me when it is not coveted?  
Lo, the dust of the temperate one will some day be kindled.<sup>1311</sup>

Mu'āwiya wrote 'Amr a document stipulating that Egypt should be his, brought witnesses to witness it, and sealed the document. 'Amr swore allegiance to Mu'āwiya, and they pledged loyalty to each other.

Mu'āwiya used stratagems against Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, 'Alī's governor of Egypt; he entered into correspondence with him, hoping to win him over.<sup>1312</sup> Qays b. Sa'd wrote to Mu'āwiya:

From Qays b. Sa'd to Mu'āwiya b. Ṣakhr: You are nothing but one of Mecca's  
idols. You entered Islam unwillingly and exited from it willingly.

Mu'āwiya wrote to Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ:

1309 That is, for your benefit; reading *laka* with M; ed. Leiden, *bi-ka* (about you).

1310 That is, with my honor intact, unlike one whose head is uncovered, i.e., shamed.

1311 The meaning of this hemistich, *wa-inna tharā l-qanū'i yawman la-mūla'ū*, is unclear, and *tharā* is unpointed in both MSS. One possibility is: an acquiescing person, like myself, may at some future point turn around and rebel.

1312 For accounts of Mu'āwiya's machinations, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3238 ff.

The people who most properly ought to aid<sup>1313</sup> ‘Uthmān are the people of the *shūrā* from the Quraysh, those who established his right and selected him over others.<sup>1314</sup> Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr have come to his aid—they are your partners in the matter and your peers in Islam—and the Mother of the Faithful also hastened to it. So do not loathe what has pleased them, and do not reject what they have accepted.

Sa’d wrote back to him:

‘Umar included in the *shūrā* only those for whom the caliphate was permissible. None of us was more deserving of it than his colleague except by our unanimously agreeing on him. ‘Alī, however, had what we had, while we did not have what he had. As for Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, if they had stayed in their houses, it would have been better for them. And may God forgive the Mother of the Faithful!

When ‘Alī received word that Mu‘āwiya had prepared for war and that the | 2:218  
Syrians were all on his side, he marched out with the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. When he arrived in al-Madā’in, the *dihqāns* met him with presents, but he refused them. They asked, “Why do you turn us down, Commander of the Faithful?” He said: “We are wealthier than you. It is we<sup>1315</sup> who ought rather to bestow gifts on you.” Then he proceeded to the Jazīra. Clans from the tribes of Taghlib and al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ met him, and a large host of them went with him. Then he went to al-Raqqā, but most of its people were partisans of ‘Uthmān who had fled from Kufa to Mu‘āwiya, and they shut their gates and fortified themselves—their chief was Simāk b. Makhrama al-Asadī.<sup>1316</sup> They shut the gate to him, whereupon al-Ashtar Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha’ī went to them and said, “Open up, by God, or I will put you to the sword!” So they opened up, and the Commander of the Faithful spent the day there.

1313 That is, by avenging his death. Arabic *naṣara* means both to aid someone during his life and to avenge him after his death.

1314 Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ had been a member of the *shūrā* that elected ‘Uthmān.

1315 Reading with M, *naḥnu*; ed. Leiden (following C) reads *bi-ḥaqq* (in truth).

1316 Simāk b. Makhrama al-Asadī al-Hālikī was a Companion of the Prophet and a poet who took up residence in Kufa and participated in the conquest of Iran. When ‘Alī entered Kufa, he fled to the Jazīra and later visited Mu‘āwiya. He died in al-Raqqā. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 284; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2650–2651, 2653, 2656, 2659–2660; al-Sahmī, *Ta’rīkh Jurjān*, 45, 46; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2:652; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 72:294.

‘Alī then crossed to the eastern side of the Euphrates and made his way to Ṣif-  
fīn.<sup>1317</sup> Mu‘āwiya had reached the water first and a broad space to encamp.<sup>1318</sup>  
When ‘Alī and his supporters arrived, they could not reach the water. The peo-  
ple implored Mu‘āwiya and said, “Do not make the people die of thirst—among  
them there are male and female slaves and hired men.” But Mu‘āwiya refused  
and said, “May God allow neither me nor Abū Sufyān to drink from the basin  
of God’s Messenger<sup>1319</sup> if they ever drink from it!” ‘Alī dispatched al-Ashtar<sup>1320</sup>  
with the cavalry and al-Ash’ath b. Qays with the infantry—Mu‘āwiya’s cav-  
alry was led by Abū l-A‘war al-Sulamī.<sup>1321</sup> ‘Alī’s supporters fought him until the  
horses’ hoofs stood in the Euphrates, and they captured the watering place. The  
person who stood guard by it was ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, al-Ashtar’s brother.<sup>1322</sup>  
When ‘Alī seized the watering place, Mu‘āwiya’s supporters said, | “Now that ‘Alī  
has seized the water, we have no way to sustain ourselves.” ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ said  
to Mu‘āwiya, “‘Alī will not hold it lawful to do to you and your supporters what  
you held lawful to do to him and his supporters.” And ‘Alī did make the water  
available. This took place in Dhū l-Ḥijja of the year 36.<sup>1323</sup>

‘Alī then sent to Mu‘āwiya, calling on him and asking him to go back and not  
divide the community through bloodshed, but Mu‘āwiya insisted on fighting,  
and so the war took place at Ṣiffīn in the year 37.<sup>1324</sup> It lasted forty days.

1317 For a summary of the events and a list of the historical sources for the battle, see the article by M. Lecker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣiffīn.

1318 Reading with M, *wa-sa‘at al-munākh*; ed. Leiden, *wa-wasa‘ahu l-munākh* (and the camping place was spacious for him).

1319 This is the basin (*ḥawḍ*) at which it is said that the Prophet will meet his community on the Day of the Judgment. It is not mentioned in the Qur’ān, but there is an account of it in the ḥadīth literature. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥawḍ.

1320 The MSS and ed. Leiden add *wa-l-Ash’ath* (and al-Ash’ath), but it is clear from the following phrase that al-Ash’ath b. Qays led the infantry, not the cavalry.

1321 On Abū l-A‘war ‘Amr b. Sufyān al-Sulamī, see the article by Abdulhadi Alajmi in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū l-A‘war al-Sulamī; and Wadad al-Qāḍī, “Population Census and Land Surveys under the Umayyads,” esp. 354–357 and n. 49.

1322 ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha‘ī was a Kufan supporter of ‘Alī. Later, it was in his house that Ḥujr b. ‘Adī hid when he was sought by Ziyād in 51/671–672, and he was one of those who asked Ziyād to give Ḥujr safe conduct. In 66/685–686, al-Mukhtār appointed him governor over Armenia. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:124, 126, 634.

1323 That is, between May 21 and June 19, 657.

1324 According to more detailed reports, after the fighting to reach water in Dhū l-Ḥijja, the last month of 36, a truce was observed during Muḥarram, the first month of 37 (a sacred month). Fighting resumed at the start of the next month, Ṣafar, which began on July 19, 657. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3272–3274, 3281.



On ‘Alī’s side in the battle of Šiffin there were seventy veterans of Badr, seven hundred men who had sworn allegiance under the Tree,<sup>1325</sup> and four hundred men from the rest of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. Mu‘āwiya had none of the Anṣār on his side except al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr<sup>1326</sup> and Maslama b. Mukhallad.<sup>1327</sup>

‘Alī’s supporters fought with great determination. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir stood up and called out among the people, and a large group of men gathered around him. “By God,” he said, “even if they should drive us back all the way to the palm trees of Hajar,<sup>1328</sup> we would still know that we are in the right and they are in the wrong.” Then he said, “Come! Is there anyone who wishes to go to Paradise?” Some men followed him. He struck blows with his sword around Mu‘āwiya’s tent and fought the enemy bravely. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir was killed, and the fighting was intense that evening. The men called out: “The Companion of God’s Messenger has been killed—as God’s Messenger said, ‘The band of transgressors will kill ‘Ammār.’”<sup>1329</sup>

‘Alī’s supporters advanced and overwhelmed Mu‘āwiya’s supporters so completely that they were upon him. Mu‘āwiya called for his horse to make for safety. ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ said to him, “Where to?” He said: “You see what has happened! What do you think?” He said: “There remains only one stratagem: that you raise the copies of the Qur’ān and summon ‘Alī’s supporters to what is in them. Thus you will stop them, blunt their edge, and sap their strength.” Mu‘āwiya said, “As you wish!” So Mu‘āwiya’s supporters raised the copies of the Qur’ān and called on the people to make what was in them the arbiter, saying, | “We call you to the Book of God.” ‘Alī said, “This is a trick; they are men without Qur’ān!” However, al-Ash’ath b. Qays al-Kindī objected—Mu‘āwiya had won him over, writing to him and inviting him to himself. And so he said, “They have summoned the people to what is right.” ‘Alī said, “They have only deceived you;

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1325 This was the oath of allegiance that those accompanying the Prophet swore under an acacia tree at al-Ḥudaybiya sometime during Dhū l-Qa‘da of the year 6 (between March 13 and April 11, 628), in connection with the agreement not to attempt to enter Mecca to perform the pilgrimage that year, but to return in the following year. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1530, 1543–1545.

1326 Al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī (d. 65/684–685), reportedly the first child of the Anṣār born after the Hijra, was close to the Umayyads, serving as a governor of Kufa for Mu‘āwiya and of Ḥimṣ for Mu‘āwiya and Yazīd I. Later, he sided with the Zubayrids and was expelled from Ḥimṣ and killed by its people. See the article by K. V. Zetterstéen in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr.

1327 On Maslama b. Mukhallad see the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maslama b. Mukhallad.

1328 Hajar was the main city in al-Baḥrayn. See Yāqūt, 5:393.

1329 For the ḥadīth, see al-Bukhārī, “Ṣalāt,” 63 (= 1.8.438); Muslim, “Fitan,” 70, 72, 73 (= 41,6966, 6968, 6970); cf. Wensinck, *Index*, s.v. *baghā*.

they want to divert you from themselves.” Al-Ash‘ath said, “If you do not agree to their proposal, by God, I will abandon you!” The Yemenis sided with al-Ash‘ath, and so al-Ash‘ath said, “By God, you agree to what they have proposed, or we will hand you over to them altogether!” Al-Ashtar and al-Ash‘ath exchanged such harsh words over the matter that fighting almost broke out between them, and ‘Alī became afraid that his supporters would disperse. When he realized what he was facing, he agreed to arbitration.<sup>1330</sup>

‘Alī said, “I think that I should send ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās.”<sup>1331</sup> Al-Ash‘ath said: “Mu‘āwiya will send ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. Let two people from Muḍar not arbitrate between us!”<sup>1332</sup> Instead, you should send Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, for he has not been party to any aspect of this war.” ‘Alī said, “Abū Mūsā is an enemy: he induced the people in Kufa to abandon me and forbade them to go out with me.” They said, “We will accept no one else.”

‘Alī therefore sent Abū Mūsā, although he knew of the latter’s hostility to him and his way of thinking<sup>1333</sup> regarding the dispute between the two men. Mu‘āwiya sent ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. They drew up two documents about the issue: one from ‘Alī in the hand of his scribe ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi‘,<sup>1334</sup> and one from Mu‘āwiya in the hand of his scribe ‘Umayr b. ‘Abbād al-Kinānī. They argued about giving precedence to ‘Alī’s name and about styling ‘Alī commander of the faithful.<sup>1335</sup> Abū l-A‘war al-Sulamī said, “We will not give precedence to ‘Alī.” ‘Alī’s supporters said, “We will not change his name or write it without the title of commander of the faithful.” They argued about it vigorously until they came to blows. Al-Ash‘ath said, “Erase this name!”<sup>1336</sup> Al-Ashtar said to him: “By God, you one-eyed man,<sup>1337</sup> I am on the verge of sating | my sword with you! I have

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1330 Arabic *ḥukūma*. The arbitration between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya came to be known as the *taḥkīm*. For a summary of the events and a bibliography, see the article by Maktar Djebli in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Taḥkīm*.

1331 That is, as representative in the arbitration.

1332 That is, men both of whom are from the tribes of north Arabian descent (Muḍar); al-Ash‘ath was from the tribes of south Arabian descent (the Yemenis), as was Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī.

1333 Reading with M, *wa-madhhabihī*; ed. Leiden, *wa-mudāhanatihi* (and his hypocrisy).

1334 The MSS and ed. Leiden edition read ‘*Abdallāh* b. Abī Rāfi‘, but other sources call him ‘*Ubaydallāh* b. Abī Rāfi‘. A former client of the Prophet, he was ‘Alī’s scribe and treasurer. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 200; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 145; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1779, 3474, 2:837, 3:2344, 2372.

1335 That is, in the text of the documents.

1336 That is, the title ‘Commander of the Faithful.’

1337 Al-Ash‘ath had lost one eye at the battle of al-Yarmūk during the conquest of Syria. See al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Burṣān*, 362.

killed people who were no more evil than you. I know that you are up to nothing but discord and seek nothing but this world in preference to the next.”

When they disagreed, ‘Alī said: “God is great! On the day of al-Ḥudaybiya, the Messenger of God wrote for Suhayl b. ‘Amr,<sup>1338</sup> *This is that whereon God’s Messenger has made peace.* ... Suhayl, however, said, ‘If we knew that you are God’s Messenger, we would not have fought you.’ God’s Messenger therefore erased his name with his own hand and commanded me to write, *From Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh* ... And he said, ‘My name and my father’s name do not do away with my prophethood.’ And thus did the prophets write, as did God’s Messenger, [just up to] their fathers.<sup>1339</sup> My name and my father’s name do not do away with my office.” ‘Alī therefore commanded them to write, *From ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.* ...

And he<sup>1340</sup> wrote the document of the issue, which was binding upon the two parties: they would agree to that in accordance with what the Book of God made obligatory. He stipulated in the two documents that the two arbitrators should judge by what was in the Book of God from its beginning to its end, not going beyond it and not deviating from it to whim or trickery. He bound them by the strictest of pacts and covenants: if they went beyond the Book of God, from its beginning to its end, in their judgment, their decision would be null and void.

‘Alī sent ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās with four hundred of his supporters, and Mu‘āwiya sent four hundred of his supporters; they met in Dūmat al-Jandal<sup>1341</sup> in the month of Rabī‘ 1 of the year 38.<sup>1342</sup> ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ deceived Abū Mūsā. He suggested Mu‘āwiya to him (for the caliphate) and said, “He is the one in charge

1338 See above, ed. Leiden, 2:54–55, for al-Ya‘qūbī’s account of the negotiations at al-Ḥudaybiya in 6/628 and the controversy over the title to be given to Muḥammad in the treaty document; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1545–1549.

1339 Arabic *ilā l-ābā’*, i.e., not going further in the genealogical line to the grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. The word *ilā* is missing here, but has been supplied by the editor from the parallel text below.

1340 It is unclear who is the subject throughout this paragraph; the use of the passive is unlikely in this context.

1341 The agreement stipulated that the arbitrators should meet in a place “equidistant between the people of Kufa and those of Syria” (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3337). Dūmat al-Jandal (modern al-Jawf), an oasis at the head of the Wādī al-Sirḥān, was situated on the most direct route between Medina and Damascus, about 15 days’ journey on foot from the former and about 7 days’ journey from the latter. See the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *Er<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal.

1342 That is, between August 7 and September 5, 658.

of avenging ‘Uthmān, and he has prominence among the Quraysh”—but he did not receive an answer to his liking from Abū Mūsā. He then said, “How about my son ‘Abdallāh?” Abū Mūsā said, “He is not up to it.” ‘Amr said, “How about ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar?” Abū Mūsā said: “If the *sunna* of ‘Umar is alive today, it has lived on through him.”<sup>1343</sup> ‘Amr said, “Then you depose ‘Alī and I will depose Mu‘āwiya, and the Muslims will choose.”

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‘Amr allowed Abū Mūsā to precede him to the pulpit. When ‘Abdallāh b. | ‘Abbās saw him, he went over to ‘Abdallāh b. Qays,<sup>1344</sup> stood near him, and said, “If ‘Amr has disagreed with you about something, let him go before you, for he is treacherous.”<sup>1345</sup> Abū Mūsā said, “No, we have agreed on something.” Then he ascended the pulpit and deposed ‘Alī. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ then ascended and said, “Mu‘āwiya remains as firmly fixed as this ring of mine remains firmly fixed on my hand.”<sup>1346</sup> Abū Mūsā cried out to him: “You have committed treachery, you hypocrite! Your likeness is *as the likeness of [the dog: if you attack it it lolls its tongue out, and if you leave it it lolls its tongue out.]*”<sup>1347</sup> ‘Amr said: “As for you, your likeness is *as the likeness of [an ass carrying books.]*”<sup>1348</sup>

The people called out to each other: “The arbitrators, by God, have judged by other than what is in the Book. The terms binding them were other than

1343 Reading with M, *idhā taḥyā sunnat ‘Umar al-āna ḥayyat bihi*. In C, the basis of ed. Leiden, the word *ḥayyat* was unclear. Houtsma read it as *ḥaythu* (noting that the reading was uncertain), and printed, *idhā yaḥyā* (or, *yuhyī*) *sunnat ‘Umar al-āna ḥaythu bihi*, which would mean (the syntax is almost unintelligible), “If he is alive, the *sunna* of ‘Umar is where he is.” In any case, what Abū Mūsā means is unclear, other than that ‘Amr, interpreting it as a rejection of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, goes on to suggest a fourth possibility, which he deliberately keeps vague: the Muslims will choose. The parallel sources do not solve the problem. Some versions suggest that Abū Mūsā himself proposed ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar; others, like al-Ya‘qūbī, have him rejecting ‘Amr’s suggestion of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3356 and 3358.

1344 That is, Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī.

1345 Arabic *fa-innahu ḡhādīr*, as emended by Houtsma in ed. Leiden. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3358, *fa-inna ‘Amran rajulun ḡhādīr* (‘Amr is a treacherous man). C and M read *‘adl*, (just, fair), which does not fit the context, unless one takes *‘adl* in the technical sense of “legally competent to testify.”

1346 Reading the two verbs in the text as *thabata*, not the orthographically identical *thabattu* (“I have confirmed”—i.e. “I have set Mu‘āwiya as firmly in place as I have set this ring of mine firmly in place on my hand”), since the text makes no reference to ‘Amr actually placing his ring on his hand while making his statement.

1347 Qur’ān 7:176.

1348 The bracketed words, which have fallen out of the MSS, were restored by Houtsma on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3359.

1349 Qur’ān 62:5.

this.” They started beating each other with whips, and some pulled each others’ hair. Then they separated. The Khārijites<sup>1350</sup> proclaimed: “The arbitrators have committed unbelief. Judgment belongs to God alone.”<sup>1351</sup> It is said that the first person to proclaim this was ‘Urwa b. Udayya al-Tamīmī,<sup>1352</sup> even before the arbitrators met. The arbitration took place in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 38.<sup>1353</sup>

Ibn al-Kalbī said: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥuṣayn b. Suwayd told me [that he had received a report from his grandfather, Suwayd b. Ghafala,]<sup>1354</sup> who said: “While I was walking with Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī on the bank of the Euphrates—he was ‘Umar’s governor at the time—he related an anecdote to me. He said: “The Children of Israel continued to be taken up and down over one land after another by dissensions, until finally they appointed as arbitrators two erring persons who led their followers astray.” I said, ‘Abū Mūsā, how would it be if you were one of the two arbitrators?’ He said to me: “Then may God leave me no place to ascend to in heaven and no place to flee to on earth, if I am that man!”” Suwayd said: “Sometimes tribulation is tied to speech.”<sup>1355</sup> I met him after the arbitration and said, ‘When God decrees something, there is no contending with Him!’”

‘Alī returned to Kufa. When he arrived there he rose and delivered a speech. Having praised God | and extolled Him, he said:

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- 1350 Khārijites (Arabic *khawārij*; singular, *khārijī*): literally, “those who have gone out,” that is, have left the community—obviously not a self-designation. They came to be seen as the origin or prototype of a number of later movements that rejected rule either by ‘Alī and his descendants (Shī‘ism) or by the Umayyads and later the ‘Abbāsids (Sunni Islam). See the article by G. Levi Della Vida in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khāridjites.
- 1351 Arabic *lā ḥukma illā li-llāh*. The statement, which became the Khārijites’ slogan, is based on the phrase *in il-ḥukmu illā li-llāh*, which occurs in Qur’ān 6:57 and 12:40.
- 1352 ‘Urwa b. Udayya al-Tamīmī, a Basran Khārijite, was famous for his piety. In 58/677–678, Ziyād captured him, cut off his hands and feet, and killed him. See Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 410; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 386, 387; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I:3338–3339, 2:185–186; al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā’ir*, 3:13.
- 1353 That is, between January 31 and March 1, 659.
- 1354 On the basis of al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:141 (§1697), the chain of transmission should end with Suwayd b. Ghafala, the grandfather of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who is the speaker of the report. The words, “from his grandfather Suwayd b. Ghafala,” must have fallen out, although the MSS show no lacuna. Suwayd b. Ghafala participated in the early conquests, fought on ‘Alī’s side at Ṣiffīn, and died in 80, 81 or 82/699, 700 or 701 (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:278–279).
- 1355 The proverb, “Tribulation is tied to speech” (*al-balā’u muwakkalun bi-l-manṭiq*), means that sometimes the very mention of a misfortune causes it to take place.

People! Tribulations begin when passions are followed and judgments are innovated; in them some men exalt others, and God's judgment is disobeyed. If the truth were made pure and acted upon, it would not be hidden from anyone endowed with intellect. Instead, a handful is taken from here, and a handful from there, and they get mixed together and acted upon. At that point, the devil captures his friends, and only *those unto whom kindness has gone forth before from Us* are saved.<sup>1356</sup>

The Khārijites went to a village half a farsakh from Kufa called Ḥarūrā',<sup>1357</sup> after which they were called the Ḥarūriyya. Their leaders were 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī,<sup>1358</sup> Ibn al-Kawwā',<sup>1359</sup> and Shabath b. Rib'ī.<sup>1360</sup> They began to proclaim, "Judgment belongs to God alone." When 'Alī received word of this, he said: "A true saying by which falsehood has been intended!"

Then they broke out in revolt; they were 8,000—others say 12,000. 'Alī sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās to them. He talked to them, and they advanced arguments against him. 'Alī went out to them and said, "Do you accuse me of ignorance?" They said, "No." He said, "Then will you carry out my decisions?" They said, "Yes."

1356 Qur'ān 21:101.

1357 The village (or district) of Ḥarūrā' stood on the bank of the Euphrates or one of its canals in the first Islamic century; the course of the river later shifted. See the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥarūrā'.

1358 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī al-Bajalī fought under Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ in Iraq and under 'Alī in Kufa until he seceded from his army after the arbitration. He was killed at the Battle of al-Nahrawān on 9 Šafar 38 (17 July 658). See the article by Keith Lewinstein in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb.

1359 Ibn al-Kawwā' 'Abdallāh b. [Abī] Awfā 'Amr al-Yashkurī was among the Qur'ān reciters who criticized 'Uthmān and were therefore expelled by him from Kufa to Mu'āwiya in Syria in order to frighten them. There, Mu'āwiya was impressed by him, and he and his colleagues were returned to Kufa. He was the commander in charge of the prayer of the early Khārijites. He later visited Mu'āwiya and played an indirect role in dismissing 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir from the governorship of Basra. He died in 86/705–706. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Šiffīn*, 295, 502; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 292; al-Jāhiz, *Burṣān*, 54; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index, s.v. Ibn al-Kawwā'; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 27:96, 24:84.

1360 Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Tamīmī al-Riyāḥī (the MSS have "Shabīb," which is an error corrected by Houtsma) had a checkered career. At the time of the Ridda, he had supported Sajāh, the prophetess, but then returned to Islam. He rebelled against 'Uthmān, then fought on 'Alī's side until the arbitration and later returned to his fold. He supported the rebellion of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, but then turned against him. He died in Kufa in 80/699–700 or 90/709–710. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Šiffīn*, index; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:150; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 192, 195; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 100, 285; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 405; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index.

He said, “Then return to your Kufa so that we can debate matters.” So all of them returned. Then they began to rise up and proclaim, “Judgment belongs to God alone.” And ‘Alī would say, “It is God’s judgment about you that I await.”

Having left Kufa, the Khārijites attacked ‘Abdallāh b. Khabbāb b. al-Aratt<sup>1361</sup> and killed him and his companions. ‘Alī went out to them and implored them by God (to desist). Then he sent ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās to them and said: “Ibn ‘Abbās, say to these Khārijites: ‘What do you hold against the Commander of the Faithful? Hasn’t he ruled you properly, upholding justice among you and not failing to give you any of your rights?’” | ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās proclaimed this to them. One group of them said, “By God, we will not comply with his request.” The other group said: “By God, we will indeed comply with his request, but then we will dispute with him! Yes, Ibn ‘Abbās, we hold against ‘Alī issues all of which are grave. If we disputed with him about only one of them, we should defeat him. He erased his name from the office of Commander of the Faithful on the day he wrote to Mu‘āwīya. We broke away from him at the battle of Ṣiffin, but he did not strike us with his sword until we should return to God.<sup>1362</sup> He left judgment to the two arbitrators and claimed that he was a trustee (*waṣī*), but he squandered the bequest (*waṣīyya*).<sup>1363</sup> And now you come to us, Ibn ‘Abbās, in a fine, beautiful garment, summoning us to the like of what he summons us to!”

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Ibn ‘Abbās said (to ‘Alī): “Commander of the Faithful, you have heard what these men have to say. You are the person most entitled to reply.” ‘Alī said: “May you defeat them with proofs,<sup>1364</sup> by the One who has split the grain<sup>1365</sup> and created the breath of life! Say to them, ‘Are you not satisfied with what is in the Book of God and what is in it regarding the good example of God’s Messenger?’”<sup>1366</sup> The Khārijites said, “Yes.”<sup>1367</sup> Ibn ‘Abbās said: “‘Alī is even

1361 ‘Abdallāh b. Khabbāb b. al-Aratt al-Tamīmī, the son of a Companion of the Prophet, was killed, together with his pregnant wife, by the Khārijites in 37/657–658 or 38/658–659. It was because of this murder that ‘Alī deemed it lawful to kill the Khārijites. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 197; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3373–3375.

1362 Cf. Qur’ān 49:9: “If two parties of the believers fight, put things right between them; then, if one of them is insolent against the other, fight the insolent one till it reverts to God’s commandment.”

1363 This refers to the belief of ‘Alī and his supporters that the Prophet had appointed him as his successor.

1364 Translating the past tense (*hajajtahum*) as a precative perfect. Another possibility: “You have defeated them with proofs ...”

1365 Cf. Qur’ān 6:95.

1366 Cf. Qur’ān 33:21: “You have had a good example in God’s Messenger for whosoever hopes for God and the Last Day, and remembers God oft.”

1367 The report oscillates between narrating the actual encounter between Ibn ‘Abbās and

more satisfied with that. The scribe of God's Messenger wrote on the day of al-Ḥudaybiya, when he wrote to Suhayl b. 'Amr and Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb and to the polytheists on their side: *From Muḥammad, God's Messenger ...* They wrote back to him: *If we knew that you are God's Messenger, we would not have fought you! So write to us, 'From Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh ...,' so that we can respond.* So God's Messenger erased his name with his own hand and said, 'My name and my father's name do not do away with my prophethood and my office.' And he wrote: *From Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh ...* And thus did the prophets write, as did God's Messenger, just up to their fathers. So in God's Messenger there is a good example.

"As for your saying that I did not strike you with my sword at the battle of Ṣiffīn, so that you might return to God's command, God, may He be exalted and glorified, says: *And cast not yourselves by your own hands into destruction.*<sup>1368</sup> You had a large force, whereas I and my family were few in number.

2:225 "As for your saying that I allowed the two arbitrators to pass judgment, God, may He be exalted and glorified, allowed for arbitration over a rabbit | [sold] for one quarter of a dirham. He said: *As shall be judged by two men of equity among you.*<sup>1369</sup> If the two arbitrators judged in accordance with the Book of God, I could not depart from their judgment.

"As for your saying that I was a trustee but squandered the bequest, God, may He be glorified and exalted, says: *It is the duty of all men towards God to come to the House a pilgrim, if he is able to make his way there. As for the unbeliever, God is All-sufficient nor needs any being.*<sup>1370</sup> Do you think that this House, if no one performed the pilgrimage to it, would have committed unbelief? It is not this House, if it were abandoned by *him who is able to make his way there*, that would have committed unbelief; it is *you* who have disbelieved by leaving me, not I who have disbelieved by leaving you."

On that day, 2,000 of the Khārijites returned, while 4,000 stayed put. Fighting broke out between them about midday and continued for the space of two hours of the day. They were killed to the last man; Dhū l-Thudayya<sup>1371</sup> was

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the Khārijites and providing an exposition of 'Alī's counterarguments to the Khārijites' grievances against him.

1368 Qur'ān 2:195.

1369 Qur'ān 5:95.

1370 Qur'ān 3:97.

1371 Dhū l-Thudayya (Possessor of the Small Breast) received his nickname because of a lump of flesh on his shoulder covered with black hair which looked like the breast of a woman. During the Prophet's lifetime, Dhū l-Thudayya was known for his piety. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3383–3384; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 1:484 (no. 2446).



among the slain. Fewer than ten of them got away, while fewer than ten of ‘Alī’s followers were killed. The battle of al-Nahrawān took place in the year 39.<sup>1372</sup>

When ‘Alī arrived in Kufa, he rose and delivered a speech. Having praised and extolled God and recalled His bounties, and having blessed Muḥammad and mentioned how God had preferred him above others, he said:

People, I have gouged out the eye of sedition when there was no one but I who dared to do it. Had I not been among you, neither the violators, nor the perfidious, nor the renegades, would have been fought.

Then he said:

Ask of me before you lose me, for I shall be killed shortly; for its<sup>1373</sup> most wretched one will not be restrained from dyeing it with the blood of its most lofty one. By Him who split the sea and created the breath of life, if you ask me about anything between you and the Day of Judgment, or about a group<sup>1374</sup> that leads one hundred people astray or one hundred people to guidance, I will inform you about its rallier, leader, and driver until the Day of Judgment. As for the Qur’ān, no one knows it thoroughly except one | who has savored its taste, one who by knowledge of it has recognized his own ignorance, one who has become cognizant of his actions, one who has become aware of his own deafness, one who through it has attained his refuge, and one who will live if he dies and by it achieves God’s approval. Seek it then from its people,<sup>1375</sup> for they are in the house of life, the abode of the Qur’ān, and the residence of the angels. The people of knowledge are they whose actions inform you about their knowledge, and

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1372 Al-Nahrawān was a town and a canal system in the lower Diyālā region east of the Tigris in Iraq. See the article by M. Morony in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nahrawān. Al-Ya‘qūbī’s date of 39 would place the Battle of al-Nahrawān between 29 May 659 and 16 May 660. Al-Ṭabarī, following Abū Mikhnaḥ, places the battle in the year 37 (19 June 657 to 8 June 658), but at *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3387, he notes that “most of the specialists in historical traditions” place it in the year 38 (9 June 658 to 28 May 659). M. Morony in his article in *EI*<sup>2</sup> accepts the date of 9 Šafar 38 (July 17, 658).

1373 That is, the most wretched man in the Muslim community (*umma*).

1374 Reading with M, *fi’a*. Houtsma in ed. Leiden emended to *fitna* (trial, civil strife), citing Qur’ān 7:154/155. However, the version of ‘Alī’s speech in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s commentary agrees with M. See Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ naḥj al-balāgha*, 7:46.

1375 That is, those who know the Qur’ān well, like its reciters (*qurrā’*) and interpreters (*mufasssīrūn*).

whose exterior informs you about their interior. They are the ones who do not go against the truth and do not disagree about it. A true judgment about them has been made by God: in that there is *a remembrance unto the mindful*.<sup>1376</sup>

As for you, after my death you will encounter humiliation on all sides, a sword that slays, and evil treatment that the oppressors will make their habit against you and that will break your ranks, make your eyes weep, and bring poverty into your houses. Soon you will remember what I am telling you. May God remove only the evildoers.<sup>1377</sup>

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān dispatched 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ as governor of Egypt in accordance with the stipulation he had given him. He arrived there in the year 38<sup>1378</sup> with a large army of Syrians. At the head of the troops of Damascus was Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajalī; at the head of the troops of Palestine was Sumayr al-Khath'amī;<sup>1379</sup> at the head of the troops of Jordan was Abū l-A'war al-Sulamī; and Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī was at the head of the rebels.<sup>1380</sup> Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr met them at a place called al-Musannāt<sup>1381</sup> and fought them with great ferocity—'Amr used to say, "I never saw anything like the battle of al-

1376 Qur'ān 11:114.

1377 Cf. Qur'ān 11:44 and 23:23.

1378 That is, between 9 June 658 and 28 May 659.

1379 Houtsma read the name, undotted in the MSS, as Shumayr. Naṣr b. Muzāhim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 128, calls him Sumayr b. Ka'b b. Ubayy al-Ḥimyarī (certainly an error for al-Khath'amī) and lists him among Mu'āwiya's leaders of his Palestinian troops at Ṣiffīn. Al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt*, 29, calls him only "a man from the Khath'am." He is probably the same Sumayr b. Ka'b mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2158, as participating in the conquest of Fiḥl (Pella), Jordan, in 13/634.

1380 That is, the leader of the Egyptians in rebellion against the governor appointed by 'Alī. The Arabic is *khārīja* (people who go out, rebel). It may have the sense that their "going out" was more akin to neutrality than to the open rebellion of the Khārījites (*khawārij*) who opposed 'Alī after the arbitration. Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī and Maslama b. Mukhallad al-Anṣārī were leaders of the 'Uthmāniyya (partisans of 'Uthmān) in Egypt. They were "rebels" insofar as they had refused to acknowledge the authority of 'Alī's governor Qays b. Sa'd or of his successor Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and had gone apart to an encampment at Kharbitā. Now, however, they actively join forces with the Syrians.

1381 The exact location is unknown. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3406; al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt*, 29–31, 89; and the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. The battle seems to have had such an impact on the people of Egypt that the year in which it took place was called "the year of al-Musannāt." See Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 122.

Musannāt.” Muḥammad had incurred criticism from the Yemeni tribes; ‘Amr subsequently won over the Yemenis, and they left Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr on his own. He fought for a time, and then he went out and entered [the ruins of]<sup>1382</sup> the house of some people. Ibn Ḥudayj al-Kindī followed him; he took him, killed him, put him inside the carcass of a donkey, and burned him with fire in an alley which is known as Zuqāq al-Jawf.<sup>1383</sup>

When ‘Alī received word of the weakness of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the Yemenis’ support for Mu‘āwiya and ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, he said, “Muḥammad has not been approached by someone who will not fight.” | He dispatched Mālīk b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar to Egypt before news of the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr reached him, and he wrote to the Egyptians:

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I have sent you one of God’s swords, neither glancing off when striking, nor dull of edge. If he calls you to fight hasten to fight, and if he orders you to stay back stay back, for he advances or retreats only at my command, and I have preferred that you, rather than I, should have him.

When Mu‘āwiya received word that ‘Alī had dispatched al-Ashtar, he became very concerned, for he knew that the Yemenis would hasten to al-Ashtar more than to anyone else, and so he had him poisoned stealthily. When al-Ashtar reached al-Qulzum,<sup>1384</sup> two stations from al-Fuṣṭāt, he stopped at the house of a certain townsman named [...].<sup>1385</sup> The man served him and attended to his needs; then he brought him a bowl of honey in which he had put the poison and had him drink it. Al-Ashtar died in al-Qulzum, and his grave is there. His killing and that of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr took place in the year 38.<sup>1386</sup>

When ‘Alī received word of the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and al-Ashtar, he became extremely anguished. Grieving for al-Ashtar, he said: “For one like you, O Mālīk, let mourning women mourn—and where is one like

1382 The word *kharāba* (ruins) is not in M.

1383 Thus in M; ed. Leiden, *al-Ḥawf*. Zuqāq al-Jawf would mean “Lane of the Belly,” referring to the belly of the ass in which the body of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was burnt.

1384 Ancient Clysma, modern Suez.

1385 The MSS have no name and no sign of a lacuna. In al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3393, he is identified as al-Jāyastār, “one of the people who pay (or collect) the *kharāj* tax” (*raḥul min ahl al-kharāj*); see G. R. Hawting’s comment in his translation, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xvii, 145, n. 598. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:353, similarly, has “the chief of the *kharāj* people” (*al-muqaddam ‘alā ahl al-kharāj*), that is, of the non-Muslims.

1386 That is, between 9 June 658 and 28 May 659.

Mālik to be found?" Remembering Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, he grieved for him, saying: "Truly he was a son to me, and a brother to my children and nephews."<sup>1387</sup>

Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nājī<sup>1388</sup> revolted with a company of his supporters. They drew their swords in Kufa and killed some people. When the people pursued them, al-Khirrīt and his supporters left Kufa. They seized the treasury of every town they passed, until they reached the coast of Oman.

2:228 'Alī had sent out al-Ḥulw b. 'Awf al-Azdī<sup>1389</sup> as governor of Oman. | The Banū Nājiya attacked him, killed him, and apostatized from Islam. 'Alī dispatched Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī<sup>1390</sup> to the province. He killed al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and his supporters and took the Banū Nājiya captive. Maṣqala b. Hubayra al-Shaybānī<sup>1391</sup> then bought them, but he sent only part of the money and then ran away to Mu'āwiya.<sup>1392</sup> So 'Alī ordered Maṣqala's house to be demolished, and decreed the manumission of the Banū Nājiya. They used to claim that they were descendants of Sāma b. Lu'ayy.<sup>1393</sup>

1387 'Alī's statement refers to the fact that Asmā' bt. 'Umays, the mother of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, also married 'Alī and before him his brother Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Asmā', to which can be added the biography in al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi*, 9:53.

1388 On al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nājī, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nādī.

1389 Al-Ḥulw (sic MSS, but Houtsma questions the reading) is otherwise unknown.

1390 Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī was a Kufan in charge of 'Alī's police. For a discussion of the episode, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nādī.

1391 Maṣqala b. Hubayra al-Shaybānī was an Iraqi notable who served as deputy governor of Ardashīr Khurra under 'Alī, but his defaulting on paying for the Banū Nājiya (or his manumitting Christian captives from the same tribe) angered 'Alī and made him burn down his house. Maṣqala then attached himself to Mu'āwiya. Later, he was one of the witnesses against Ḥujr b. 'Adī. Mu'āwiya appointed him governor of Ṭabaristān in 54/673–674, where he was killed. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 192, 223; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 403; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:269. See also the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nādī.

1392 The longer version in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3439, explains Maṣqala's action. Pitying the women and children, Maṣqala obtained an agreement from Ma'qil, their captor, to free them if he, Maṣqala, would pay a certain sum as *ṣadaqa* (alms to be paid to the treasury, that is, to 'Alī) to buy their freedom. This is the sense in which Maṣqala "bought" them. However, he fulfilled only part of the agreement before fleeing to Mu'āwiya. 'Alī punished Maṣqala, but confirmed the manumission of the Banū Nājiya.

1393 Sāma b. Lu'ayy was the eponym of a sub-branch of the Quraysh and the purported ancestor of the Nājiya b. Jarm tribe. See Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:4, and 2:509.

Mu'āwiya sent out al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr. He raided Mālik b. Ka'b al-Arḥabī,<sup>1394</sup> who was 'Alī's deputy (*ʿāmil*) in charge of the garrison of 'Ayn al-Tamr.<sup>1395</sup> 'Alī called upon the people of Kufa and said:

People of Kufa, answer the call of your brother Mālik b. Ka'b, for al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr has descended on him with an army that is not big; perhaps God will cut off a party of the wrongdoers.<sup>1396</sup>

When the people were slow to respond and did not set out, 'Alī ascended the pulpit and spoke words so soft as to be inaudible, so that the people thought he was praying to God. Then he raised his voice and said:

People of Kufa, whenever a band of Syrians comes, will everyone close his door and hide in his house like a lizard or a vile hyena in its den? Fie on you! How I have suffered from you! One day I speak softly to you, another [I call loudly]; but there are neither brothers when I speak softly, nor real men<sup>1397</sup> when I call loudly.

After 'Alī had reentered his house, 'Adī b. Ḥātim rose and said, "By God, this is disgraceful abandonment!" Then he went to 'Alī and said: "Commander of the Faithful, I have one thousand men from the Ṭayyi' who will not disobey me. If you want me to march out with them, I will." 'Alī said: "May God reward you well, Abū Ṭarīf. I would not expose a single tribe to the sword of the Syrians. But | go out to al-Nukhayla."<sup>1398</sup> 'Adī went out, and the troops followed him. He marched along the bank of the Euphrates and raided the border areas<sup>1399</sup> close to Syria.

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1394 Mālik b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī al-Arḥabī was a Kufan notable who had participated in the conquest of al-Madā'in and was one of the witnesses to the document of the arbitration. 'Alī sent him on various missions to fight his enemies, notably 'Amr b. al-Āṣ in Egypt and Muslim b. 'Uqba al-Murri at Dūmat al-Jandal. He fended off an attack by Mu'āwiya's army against his post in 'Ayn al-Tamr. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2433, 2916, 3337; 3410–3411, 3441, 3444–3445; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, 56:493.

1395 'Ayn al-Tamr was a small town in Iraq on the edge of the desert between al-Anbār and Kufa, about 80 miles west of Karbalā'. See the article by Saleh A. El-Ali in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ayn al-Tamr.

1396 Cf. Qur'ān 3:127: "that He (sc. God) might cut off a part of the unbelievers."

1397 Arabic *aḥrār*, literally 'free men.'

1398 Al-Nukhayla was a town in Iraq near Kufa, on the road to Syria. See the article by E. Honigsmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nukhayla.

1399 Following M, *adānī*; ed. Leiden (following C) reads the singular *adnā*.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays<sup>1400</sup> raided al-Quṭquṭāna.<sup>1401</sup> When ‘Alī received word of his approach and that he had killed Ibn ‘Umays,<sup>1402</sup> he rose and delivered a speech, saying:

People of Kufa, go out to an army of yours, part of which has been hit, and to the good man Ibn ‘Umays, so that you defend your womenfolk and fight your enemy!

When they responded weakly, he said:

People of Iraq, I wish I had one Syrian for every eight of you! Woe to them! They have fought on the side of their patron for (a claim to) a right.<sup>1403</sup> Woe to you! Go out with me, and then desert me if you change your minds! By God, I desire martyrdom—it hovers over my head. Also, it would be a great relief for me to stop cajoling you as one cajoles young girls with injured hymens<sup>1404</sup> or women with collapsed hymens.<sup>1405</sup> whenever they<sup>1406</sup> get stitched from one side, they get ripped apart from another.

Ḥujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī<sup>1407</sup> went up to him and said:

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- 1400 On al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri, see the article by A. Dietrich in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihri. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3447, al-Ḍaḥḥāk was raiding on behalf of Mu‘āwiya with 3,000 men and orders to attack anyone who recognized ‘Alī’s authority.
- 1401 Al-Quṭquṭāna was near Kufa in the direction of the desert in al-Ṭaff. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:374.
- 1402 ‘Umays is unpointed in the manuscripts, and Houtsma read it erroneously as ‘Umaysh. ‘Amr b. ‘Umays b. Mas‘ūd al-Dhuhli is known mainly for the episode reported here. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafi, *al-Ghārāt*, 292–294, 300; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3447; Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:38, and 2:186.
- 1403 Reading with M, *qātalū ma‘a naṣīrihim ‘alā ḥaqq*. Ed Leiden, based on C, has *qātalū ma‘a taṣabburihim ‘alā jawr* (despite their endurance of tyranny), but this requires emending the manuscript’s *ḥaqq* and supplying dots for the unpointed and ambiguous *taṣabburihim*.
- 1404 That is, from over-riding camels. This is the meaning of *al-bikār al-‘amida*, which is the reading that appears in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 6:102. The manuscripts of al-Ya‘qūbī have *al-bikār al-‘id*, which Houtsma emended to *al-ghumra*, making the meaning more opaque.
- 1405 Again this is the reading of Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 6:102: *al-thiyāb al-mutadā‘iya*. The MSS of al-Ya‘qūbī have the similar *al-thiyāb al-mutahattika*.
- 1406 That is, the hymens.
- 1407 Ḥujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī (d. 51/671–672) was a Kufan who fought for ‘Alī at the Battle of the

Commander of the Faithful, may God not allow to come near Paradise any of us<sup>1408</sup> who does not love to be near you. Hold to God's custom with you, for the truth will be victorious, and martyrdom is the best garland. Send sincere people with me, and with your competence be a backing<sup>1409</sup> for me; and God is a backing for a person and his family. Truly, the devil does not depart from most people's hearts until their souls depart from their bodies.

‘Alī rejoiced. He praised Ḥujr gratefully and said, “May God not | deprive you 2:230 of martyrdom, for I know that you are one of its men.” ‘Alī sat in the mosque and summoned the people; 4,000 responded. Ḥujr set out with them in pursuit of the enemy. He marched swiftly and encountered them at Tadmur<sup>1410</sup> in the district of Ḥimṣ. He fought them and drove them back until they reached al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Nightfall kept them apart; then, during the night, al-Ḍaḥḥāk beat a hasty retreat. Ḥujr b. ‘Adī and those with him launched raids in those lands for two days and two nights.

Sufyān b. ‘Awf then raided al-Anbār<sup>1411</sup> and killed Ashras b. Ḥassān al-Bakrī.<sup>1412</sup> ‘Alī sent Sa‘īd b. Qays<sup>1413</sup> in pursuit of him. When Sufyān became aware of Sa‘īd, he turned back. Sa‘īd pursued him as far as ‘Ānāt<sup>1414</sup> but could not overtake him.

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Camel and at Ṣiffīn. Later, after the abdication of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, Ḥujr was the moving spirit behind the Kufans' movements against the Umayyads. The Umayyad governor Ziyād sent him to Mu‘āwiya to be tried, and he was killed, together with a number of his companions. Al-Ya‘qūbī's narrative of this episode will be given below, ed. Leiden, 2:273 ff. See the article by Wilferd Madelung in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ḥujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī.

1408 Reading with M, *minnā*; ed. Leiden (following C) reads *minnī* (of me), which does not make sense.

1409 Arabic *kun lī fi‘atan*, that is, reserve troops.

1410 The town of Tadmur (Palmyra) is in the Syrian desert about 90 miles east of Ḥimṣ. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tadmur.

1411 Al-Anbār is a town on the left bank of the Euphrates, 38 miles east of Baghdad. See the article by M. Streck and A. A. Duri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Anbār.

1412 Ashras b. Ḥassān al-Bakrī was ‘Alī's chief of the garrison which was attacked by Sufyān b. ‘Awf on behalf of Mu‘āwiya in 39/659–660. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 320, 323, 324, 337; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 1:3445–3446.

1413 Sa‘īd b. Qays b. Murra al-Hamdānī al-Sabī‘ī had participated in the conquest of Nihāwand and was governor over al-Rayy and Hamadhān for a time under ‘Uthmān. He was sent by ‘Alī to ask Mu‘āwiya for his oath of allegiance, and fought on ‘Alī's side in the battles of Ṣiffīn and al-Nahrawān. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, index; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta‘rīkh*, 195; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, index.

1414 ‘Āna (frequently ‘Ānāt, especially in poetry) is a town in the Jazīra on the right bank

Mu'āwiya sent out 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ada b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī<sup>1415</sup> with a detachment of cavalry and ordered him to head for Medina and Mecca; he marched out with a force of 1,700. When the news reached 'Alī, he dispatched al-Musayyab b. Najaba al-Fazārī<sup>1416</sup> and said to him: "Musayyab, you are a person whose godliness, fortitude, and sincere advice I trust. Head to those people and leave your mark on them though they are your kin." Al-Musayyab said to him, "Commander of the Faithful, I am fortunate to have been among your trusted ones." He departed with 2,000 men from the Hamdān, Ṭayyī', and other tribes. He marched swiftly and sent his vanguard ahead. They met 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ada and fought him. Al-Musayyab overtook them and fought them until he was on the point of capturing [Ibn] Mas'ada. But Ibn Mas'ada kept eluding him: he retreated and fortified himself in Taymā',<sup>1417</sup> Al-Musayyab surrounded the fortress and besieged Ibn Mas'ada and his forces for three days. Ibn Mas'ada then cried out to al-Musayyab: "Musayyab, we are your kin. Let kinship move you!" Al-Musayyab made way for him and his forces and moved away<sup>1418</sup> from the fortress. When night fell, | they went out under cover of darkness and eventually reached Syria. In the morning, al-Musayyab came to the fortress and found no one there. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shabīb<sup>1419</sup> therefore said, "By God, you have acted hypocritically in their affair, Musayyab, and have cheated the Commander of the Faithful." When al-Musayyab came [to] 'Alī, 'Alī said to him, "Musayyab, you were among my sincerest advisers, but then you did what you did!" 'Alī imprisoned him for a few days, but then he released him and put him in charge of collecting the alms (*ṣadaqa*) in Kufa.

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of the Euphrates between al-Raqqā and Hīt. See the article by S. H. Longrigg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Āna.

- 1415 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ada fought on Mu'āwiya's side at Šiffin. He led campaigns against the Byzantines, later participated in the battle of the Ḥarra, fought Ibn al-Zubayr, and gave his oath of allegiance to Marwān I in 65/684–685. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 209; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 290, 409; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index.
- 1416 Al-Musayyab b. Najaba al-Fazārī had participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyya and in the conquests of Syria. A partisan of 'Alī, he was later killed with the Tawwābūn at 'Ayn al-Wardā in 65/684–685. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:150; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 262; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 277, 530; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 220; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:193.
- 1417 Taymā' was an ancient oasis settlement of northwestern Arabia, now in Saudi Arabia. See the article by F. Buhl and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Taymā'.
- 1418 Reading with M, *tanahhā*; ed. Leiden (following C) reads *wa-najā* (and he got away safely).
- 1419 On 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shabīb al-Fazārī, see Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 194; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I:3411, 3447; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 34:431.



Mu‘āwiya sent out Busr b. Abī Arṭāt<sup>1420</sup>—or, as some say, b. Arṭāt—al-‘Āmirī of the Banū ‘Āmir b. Lu‘ayy with 3,000 men and said to him: “Proceed until you pass by Medina. Drive away its people, frighten whomever you meet, and plunder the possessions of everyone you encounter who has possessions and who has not yet entered into obedience to us. Make the people of Medina believe that you intend to kill them and that you will accept no exculpation or excuse from them. Then proceed until you enter Mecca, but harm no one there. Terrify the people between Mecca and Medina and make them take to their heels. Then proceed to Ṣan‘ā’, for we have partisans (*shī‘a*) there—a letter from them has indeed come to me.”

Busr set out. Whenever he passed by a tribe of Bedouins, he did what Mu‘āwiya had ordered him to do, until he reached Medina, whose governor was Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. Abū Ayyūb withdrew from the city. Busr entered it, ascended the pulpit, and said:

People of Medina! The likeness of your evil is as that of *a city that was secure, contented, its provision coming to it easefully from every place, then it became unthankful for the blessings of God; so God let it taste the garment of hunger and of fear, for the things that they were doing.*<sup>1421</sup> Truly, God has applied this similitude to you and has made you deserving of it—may your faces be disfigured!

And he went on reviling them until he descended.<sup>1422</sup>

Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī<sup>1423</sup> went to Umm Salama, the Prophet’s wife, and said, “I am afraid I may be killed, but this oath of allegiance is wrong.” She said, “Then pledge allegiance, | for prudent dissimulation (*taqiyya*) made the People of the Cave<sup>1424</sup> wear crosses and attend festivals with their people.” 2:232

1420 On this Mu‘āwiya supporter who became notorious for his brutality, see the article by Isaac Hasson in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Busr b. Abī Arṭāt.

1421 Qur’ān 16:112.

1422 At this point, the text of al-Ya‘qūbī adds *qāla*, “He said.” Houtsma interpreted it as the remnant of a missing *isnād* (chain of transmission). The next section therefore may have come from another source, but this is far from certain, as *qāla* sometimes must be taken to mean, “The narrator continued, saying.” To avoid confusion, it has been omitted from the translation.

1423 On Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr al-Salamī al-Anṣārī, one of the seventy men from the Aws and Khazraj of Medina who pledged allegiance to the Prophet at ‘Aqaba before the hijra, see the article by M. J. Kister in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djābir b. ‘Abd Allāh.

1424 This refers to a group of pious youths mentioned in Qur’ān 18:9–26 who entered a

Busr demolished some houses in Medina, proceeded to Mecca, and then went on until he reached Yemen, whose governor for 'Alī was 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās.

When a report of this reached 'Alī, he rose and delivered a speech:

People! The beginning of your decline was the disappearance from among you of the people of intellect and judgment, those who tell the truth when they speak and who do what they say. I have called on you again and again, in secret and in public, by day and by night, but my call has only increased you in flight.<sup>1425</sup> Exhortation is of no use with you, nor is the summons to right guidance and wisdom. By God, I know well what would settle things for you, but therein would be my ruin. So give me a little time; for, by God, there has come to you one who will make you grieve and afflict you, but whom God will afflict by you. To the humiliation of Islam and destruction of religion, the son of Abū Sufyān summons the base and wicked and they answer, while I summon you and you do not accept<sup>1426</sup> and take fright. Now Busr has gone to Yemen, and before that he was in Mecca and Medina.

Jāriya b. Qudāma al-Sa'dī<sup>1427</sup> rose and said: "Commander of the Faithful, may God not deprive us of your nearness or make us see your departure. How excellently you conduct yourself!<sup>1428</sup> What an excellent imam, by God, you are!

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cave to escape persecution for their faith and whom God miraculously caused to sleep until the persecution had ended. The details mentioned here—wearing crosses and attending festivals—are extra-Qur'anic. Umm Salama's advice to pretend to accept Mu'āwiya's caliphate as legitimate, even to the point of swearing an oath of allegiance to save one's life, is an example of a principle developed in Islamic law (especially, but not exclusively, among Shī'ites) called *taqiyya* (prudent dissimulation). See the article by R. Strothmann and Moktar Djebli in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Taqiyya*.

1425 'Alī's words echo those of Noah in Qur'ān 71:5–6: "My Lord, I have called my people by night and by day, but my calling has only increased them in flight."

1426 Following the apparent reading of M: *wa-antum lā taqbalūn*. Ed. Leiden (following C) can be read as *wa-antum lā taṣluḥūn* (and you are no good) or as *wa-antum lā tuṣlahūn* (and you are not set right).

1427 Jāriya b. Qudāma b. Zuhayr al-Tamīmī al-Sa'dī was a Companion of the Prophet, a notable among his tribe, and a partisan of 'Alī, on whose side he fought at the Battle of the Camel, Šiffin, and al-Nahrawān. Later he was reconciled to Mu'āwiya. See the article by M. J. Kister in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djāriya b. Qudāma*.

1428 Arabic *nī'ma l-adabu adabuka*. Literally, "How excellent is your *adab*!" The term *adab* combines the ideas of discipline, knowledge, and proper behavior.

I am the one to deal with those people. Dispatch me to them!” ‘Alī said, “Get ready, for I know you to be a man both in hardship and in ease, blessed and fortunate in mind.” Then Wahb b. Mas‘ūd al-Khath‘amī<sup>1429</sup> rose and said, “I will answer the call, Commander of the Faithful.” ‘Alī said, “Answer the call, and may God bless you!”

Jāriya set out with 2,000 men, and Wahb b. Mas‘ūd with 2,000. ‘Alī ordered them to pursue Busr wherever he was until they overtook him; when they came together, the commander of the forces should be Jāriya. Jāriya set out | from Basra and Wahb from Kufa. They met in the Ḥijāz. Busr hurried from al-Ṭā’if and reached Yemen. By that time, ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abbās had withdrawn from Yemen, leaving ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī<sup>1430</sup> behind as his deputy. Busr attacked him, killing him and his son Mālik b. ‘Abdallāh. ‘Ubaydallāh had left his two sons, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Qutham, with Juwayriya bt. Qārīz al-Kināniyya<sup>1431</sup>—she was their mother—and left with her a man from the Banū Kināna. When Busr reached her, he called for ‘Ubaydallāh’s sons to kill them. The man from the Banū Kināna stood up, drew his sword, and said: “By God, I will be killed before them! Otherwise, what excuse would I have in the sight of God and men?” The man fought with his sword until he was killed. Women from the Banū Kināna came out and said: “Busr, men may be killed—but children? By God, even pagan times (*jāhilīyya*) would not kill them! By God, an authority (*sultān*) that maintains its strength only by killing children and banishing mercy is an evil authority!” Busr said, “By God, I have a mind to put you women to the sword!” Then he brought the two children forward and slaughtered them. Their mother, lamenting them, said:<sup>1432</sup>

2:233

1429 On Wahb b. Mas‘ūd al-Khath‘amī, see Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 430; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3452.

1430 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī was a Companion of the Prophet whose name was changed by the Prophet from ‘Abd al-Ḥajar to ‘Abdallāh. He called on his people not to apostatize after the Prophet’s death. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 423, 431; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3452; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 2:338 (no. 4800).

1431 This is also her name in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:211 (§ 1812); it is Umm Ḥakīm bt. Qārīz in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Cairo, 15:47 (Beirut, 16:204). In Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 420, 421, her name is given as Umm Ḥakīm Juwayriya bt. Khālīd b. Qārīz al-Kināniyya.

1432 *Aghānī*, loc. cit., clarifies the circumstances of the poem and adds two more verses. After her sons were killed, their mother, Umm Ḥakīm, lost her mind from grief. “She would neither understand nor listen to anyone who told her that they had been killed. She kept circulating at the pilgrimage seasons, asking people for news about her sons by means of these verses.”

O who has heard news of my two dear children?

They were my hearing and my heart, and now my heart is wrenched away.

O who has heard news of my two dear children?

They were the marrow of my bones, and now my marrow has perished.

O who has heard news of my two dear children?

They were like two pearls that the shell opens to reveal.

2:234

I was told about Busr, but I did not believe what they claimed, their words and the lie that they uttered:

That he brought down on my sons' jugular veins

a sharp, whetted blade, and thus was the deed committed.

Who will guide a woman who is distracted, bereaved,

to two boys who lost their way when their father departed?

Then Busr gathered the people of Najrān and said: "You Christians! By Him beside whom there is no god, if I receive word concerning you of anything that I dislike, I will multiply the slain among you!" He then marched toward Jayshān,<sup>1433</sup> whose people were partisans (*shī'a*) of 'Alī. He fought them and defeated them, spreading much killing among them. Then he returned to Ṣan'ā'.

Jāriya b. Qudāma al-Sa'dī marched until he reached Najrān. He pursued Busr, but Busr escaped into the countryside and did not stand up to him. Jāriya killed a number of his men; then he followed them, killing and taking prisoners all the way to Mecca. Busr went on until he entered the Ḥijāz, turning aside for nothing.

Jāriya b. Qudāma demanded the oath of allegiance from the people of Mecca. They said: "'Alī has perished;<sup>1434</sup> to whom shall we swear allegiance?" He said, "To whomever 'Alī's supporters swore allegiance after his death." When they were sluggish about it, he said to them, "By God, you shall swear allegiance even if you do it with your backsides!" So they swore allegiance. Jāriya then entered Medina, whose people had settled on Abū Hurayra. Jāriya led them in the prayer—Abū Hurayra fled from him. Jāriya said, "People of Medina, swear

1433 Jayshān is in Yemen. Yāqūt, 2:200, lists the place but gives no location. There is a modern town called Jayshān in Abyan governorate of southern Yemen, southeast of Ṣan'ā'.

1434 Al-Ya'qūbī postpones the narrative of 'Alī's death, which took place on 17 Ramaḍān 40 (January 24, 661), during Jāriya's expedition to pursue Busr, until ed. Leiden, 2:251 ff.

allegiance to al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī!” So they swore allegiance. Then he left for Kufa, and the people of Medina brought back Abū Hurayra.

Ghiyāth<sup>1435</sup> said, on the authority of Fiṭr b. Khalīfa:<sup>1436</sup> I was informed by Abū Khālīd al-Wālibī,<sup>1437</sup> who said: I read | ‘Alī’s commission to Jāriya b. Qudāma: 2:235

I commend to you, Jāriya, the fear of God, for all good is comprehended in it.<sup>1438</sup> Travel with God’s help, and meet your enemy to whom I have sent you. Fight only those who fight you, and do not dispatch a wounded man. Do not commandeer a mount, even if you and your companions have to walk. Do not give yourself preference at watering holes over the owners of the watering holes, and drink only from their surplus and with their approval. Revile no Muslim man or woman, lest you bring upon yourself that for which you chastise others. Wrong no man or woman who has a pact. Remember God, slackening neither by day nor by night. Mount your foot soldiers; share your possessions; march energetically; oust the enemy from wherever he is; kill him when he is facing you, and turn him away exasperated and humbled. Shed blood for the right, and spare it for the right. Accept the repentance of anyone who repents. Send me your news at all times and in every situation. The truth! The truth! For a liar does not make a sound decision.<sup>1439</sup>

He<sup>1440</sup> said: Abū l-Kanūd<sup>1441</sup> reported that Jāriya went in pursuit of Busr. He turned aside to no city, stopping for nothing until he reached Yemen and

1435 Ghiyāth, one of Ya‘qūbī’s informants, cannot be further identified.

1436 Fiṭr b. Khalīfa Abū Bakr al-Ḥannāṭ (d. 155/771–772) was a Kufan with Shī‘ī sympathies. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:253; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta‘rīkh*, 426; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 1:3181, 3216; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, 3:20.

1437 Abū Khālīd al-Wālibī (d. 100/718–719)—his name is given as Kankar or Hurmuz—was a client of the Banū Wāliba of the tribe of Asad. A Kufan, he is said to have supported the claims of ‘Alī’s son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, and later the Imamate of ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Abidīn. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:159; Abū Zur‘a al-Dimashqī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 1:294; al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār*, 111; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 100; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 12:83. See also al-Qāḍī, *al-Kaysānīyya*, 276–278, 287, 341.

1438 Reading with M, *jimā’*; ed. Leiden, following C, reads *jamū’* (that which collects).

1439 Arabic *lā ra’ya li-l-kadhūb*, literally, “The liar has no *ra’y* (sound judgment or opinion).”

1440 That is, the narrator, although it is not clear whom al-Ya‘qūbī is citing.

1441 Abū l-Kanūd—his name was Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ubayd al-Wā‘ilī—was a supporter of ‘Alī. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 271 (and n. 6), 431, 434; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 53, 65.

Najrān, where he killed those whom he killed—Busr fled from him. He<sup>1442</sup> went on a burning spree, and was therefore nicknamed *Muḥarriq*, “Burner.”

‘Alī wrote to his governors prodding them to go out to fight. He wrote to al-Ash’ath b. Qays, his governor in Azerbaijan:

God’s granting you wealth has only beguiled you about yourself and emboldened you against your people.<sup>1443</sup> From of old you have been feeding on His provision while deviating from His commandments, enjoying your share of goods while destroying your good deeds—until this very day. When my messenger comes to you with this letter of mine, come, and bring what you have of the Muslims’ money, God willing.

When al-Ash’ath read his letter, he went to him.

‘Alī wrote to Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī:<sup>1444</sup>

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You have been slow | in bringing your *kharāj* revenue. I do not know what led you to do it, but I commend to you the fear of God, and I warn you not to annul your reward and render your *jihād* of no account by betraying the Muslims. Fear God! Raise yourself above forbidden things, and do not give me reason to find fault with you, so that I have no choice but to punish you. Have the Muslims invoke God’s protection.<sup>1445</sup> Do no wrong to those with whom we have a pact. Seek the next world in what God has given you, but do not forget your share of this world. *Do good, as God has been good to you, and seek not to work corruption in the earth; surely God loves not the workers of corruption.*<sup>1446</sup>

1442 That is, Jāriya.

1443 Reading with M, *wa jarra’aka ‘alā nafarika*. Ed. Leiden reads the unpointed text of C as *wa jarra’aka ‘alā āakhirika* (and emboldened you about your end)—apparently referring to al-Ash’ath’s misplaced confidence in his reward in the next world.

1444 Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī al-Hamdānī, a Kufan notable who participated in the conquest of Hamadhān, became governor of Kufa under ‘Uthmān. He was among the rebels against ‘Uthmān, headed ‘Alī’s police, and became his governor over Iṣfahān, al-Rayy, and Hamadhān. He fought on ‘Alī’s side in the Battle of the Camel and at Ṣiffin. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq’at Ṣiffin*, index; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:164; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 406, 407; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

1445 Reading *a’widh*, with M and C (undotted in both cases). Houtsma emended to *a’ziz* (strengthen the Muslims).

1446 Qur’ān 28:77.

'Alī wrote to Sa'd b. Mas'ūd,<sup>1447</sup> al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd's<sup>1448</sup> paternal uncle, who was in charge of al-Madā'in:

You have rendered your *kharāj*, obeyed your Lord, and satisfied your imam as a pious, God-fearing, and noble person does. Therefore may God forgive your sins, accept your efforts, and grant you a good return.<sup>1449</sup>

'Alī wrote to 'Umar b. Abī Salama al-Makhzūmī,<sup>1450</sup> the son of Umm Salama, the Prophet's wife, who was his governor over al-Baḥrayn:

I have appointed al-Nu'mān b. al-'Ajlān<sup>1451</sup> over al-Baḥrayn without blame to you; so come to me under no cloud of suspicion, and give up to him what you have been in charge of. I have decided to go out against the iniquitous Syrians and the rest of the factions,<sup>1452</sup> and I want you to be there with me when I encounter them, for you are among those whose support I seek in upholding religion and supporting right guidance. May God make you and us to be among those who act and judge in accordance with the truth.

'Umar came and was present with 'Alī (at the fighting); then he returned and followed 'Alī to Kufa. He stayed with him there for one year and part of another.

When 'Alī received word that al-Nu'mān b. al-'Ajlān had embezzled the money of al-Baḥrayn, he wrote to him:

1447 Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī was a Companion of the Prophet. He had been instrumental in dismissing 'Ammār b. Yāsir from the governorship of Kufa under 'Uthmān, and was appointed by 'Alī over al-Madā'in. He fought on 'Alī's side at al-Nahrawān and Šiffīn. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Šiffīn*, 11, 117; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫh*, index; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 2:37 (no. 3202).

1448 Al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī (d. 14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687) later led a Shī'ite rebellion against the Umayyads in Kufa in 66–67/685–687. He was killed by the Zubayrids. See the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd.

1449 That is, a reward in the next world.

1450 On 'Umar b. Abī Salama 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl al-Makhzūmī (d. 83/702–703) see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 45:70.

1451 On al-Nu'mān (M, C, *al-Walīd*, corrected by Houtsma) b. al-'Ajlān al-Zuraqī, see Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'riḫh*, 200; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫh*, 1:3101.

1452 Arabic *al-aḥzāb* (the factions/confederates) is a Qur'ānic term originally applied to the enemies of the Prophet at the Battle of the Trench in the year 5/626–627. Sura 33 of the Qur'ān, which bears their name, mentions them in verses 20–27.

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Anyone who makes light of his trust, who luxuriates<sup>1453</sup> in | treason, and who does not keep himself and his religion unblemished has harmed himself in this world; and what he is on the brink of encountering later is more bitter, more lasting, more painful, and more lengthy. So fear God! You are from a righteous clan; therefore live up to the good reputation you enjoy. Reconsider—if what has reached me about you is true—and do not reverse my opinion of you. Pay up the whole of your *kharāj*, and then write to me, so that my judgment and command may come to you, God willing.

When al-Nu‘mān received ‘Alī’s letter and realized that ‘Alī knew, he carried off the money and joined Mu‘āwiya.

‘Alī wrote to Maṣqala b. Hubayra—he had received word that the latter was distributing and giving away the money of Ardashīr Khurra,<sup>1454</sup> of which he was in charge:

I have received word regarding you concerning a matter that I have found too grave to believe: that you are distributing, as one distributes walnuts, the booty (*fay*) of the Muslims among your kin, any petitioners who visit you, the “confederates,”<sup>1455</sup> and poets who speak lies. By Him who split the grain<sup>1456</sup> and created the breath of life, I will investigate exhaustively, and if I find it to be true, you will surely find yourself in disesteem in my sight. So do not be among *the greatest losers in their works, those whose striving goes astray in the present life, while they think that they are doing good deeds*.<sup>1457</sup>

Maṣqala wrote back to him:

I have received the letter of the Commander of the Faithful. Let him inquire: if it is true, let him swiftly dismiss me from office, having first punished me by way of example. I will free every slave I own and bear respon-

1453 Reading with M and C, *rata’ā*; Houtsma emended to *raghiba* (desires).

1454 Ardashīr Khurra was a province in southeastern Iran whose capital in early Islamic times was Gūr (later renamed Fīrūzābād). See the article by L. Lockhart in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fīrūzābād.

1455 See note 1452, above.

1456 Cf. Qur’ān 6:95.

1457 Qur’ān 18:103–104.



sibility for the wars between Rabī‘a and Muḍar,<sup>1458</sup> if I have squandered from my province one dinar, one dirham, or anything else from the time I took office until the letter of the Commander of the Faithful came to me. Know that I would rather be dismissed from office than be suspected.

When ‘Alī read his letter, he said, “I think that Abū l-Faḍl is only speaking the truth.”

‘Alī dispatched one of his supporters to prod one of his governors, but the governor scorned him; | so ‘Alī wrote to him:

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You have reviled and scolded my messenger. I have received word that you strut and swagger,<sup>1459</sup> pomade your hair, and dine on delicacies. On the pulpit you speak the speech of the righteous, but when you descend you do the deeds of those who reject God’s prohibitions. If this is so, you have harmed yourself and exposed yourself to my chastisement. Woe to you! God says:<sup>1460</sup> “Majesty and pride are My garment; whoever would wrest them from Me incurs My wrath.” Rather, you must avoid the extravagant use of oil,<sup>1461</sup> because God’s Messenger has ordered that. What has led you to cause people to testify that your actions are at variance with your words?—and from the pulpit, where witnesses against you are many, and God’s abhorrence of you is great! How can you hope, as you reel in the luxuries you have collected from widows and orphans, that God will grant you the reward of the righteous? What would you lose, may your mother be bereaved of you, if you fasted for God’s sake a few days and if you gave a part of your food as alms, for this is the way of the prophets and

1458 Rabī‘a and Muḍar were Arab tribal groupings whose wars with each other were proverbial.

1459 Arabic *tabakhtaru* (for *tatabakhtaru*), following Houtsma’s reading of the word, which is unpointed in the MSS. The verb *tabakhtara* is applied to “one who fumigates himself with perfume, and walks with an elegant and a proud and self-conceited gait, with an affected inclining of his body from side to side” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:158).

1460 Reading with M, *wayḥaka innā Allāha yaqūlu*. The word *Allāh* was omitted by the copyist of C, giving the reading *wayḥaka an taqūla* (woe to you, that you should say ...). However, the next statement (*al-‘aẓamatu wa-l-kibriyā’u ridā’i fa-man nāza‘anihumā sakhīṭtu ‘alayhi*) is a *ḥadiṭh qudsī*, so God must be the implied speaker. See Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. ‘*aẓama*.

1461 Arabic *mā ‘alayka an taddahina rafīhan*. The Prophet is said to have forbidden *irfāh*, explained in the dictionaries as “smearing oneself with oils,” although living in luxury or eating a wide range of foods and dishes are also mentioned. See al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā’iq*, 2:71; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, 2:247.

the manner of the righteous? Reform yourself, repent of your sins, and perform your obligations toward God! Peace.

‘Alī wrote to Qays b. Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda, who was in charge of Azerbaijan:

Set about collecting your *kharāj* justly. Do good to your soldiers by fairness. Teach those who are with you some of what God has taught you. ‘Abdallāh b. Shubayl al-Aḥmasī<sup>1462</sup> has asked me to write to you to urge you to take care of him. I have found him to be gentle and unassuming; so relax your curtain and open your door. Seek the truth: if what he desires agrees with it, then how happy he will be!<sup>1463</sup> *And follow not caprice, lest it lead you astray from the way of God. Surely those who go astray from the way of God—there awaits them a terrible chastisement, for that they have forgotten the Day of Reckoning.*<sup>1464</sup>

2:239 Ghiyāth<sup>1465</sup> said: When ‘Alī decided to fight Mu‘āwiya, he wrote | again to Qays.<sup>1466</sup>

Appoint ‘Abdallāh b. Shubayl al-Aḥmasī as your deputy, and come to me; for the chief persons of the Muslims have agreed, and their aggregate have acquiesced. Come quickly; for we set out,<sup>1467</sup> God willing, on the first day of the month against those who have rejected God’s prohibitions. I have delayed only because of you. May God decree beneficence to us and to you in all our affair.

‘Alī wrote to Sahl b. Ḥunayf, who was in charge of Medina:

1462 ‘Abdallāh b. Shubayl b. ‘Awf al-Aḥmasī participated in the conquest of Azerbaijan and concluded a peace a settlement with its inhabitants in 24/644–645 or 26/646–647. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 160; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 327; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2805–2886.

1463 Following M: *fa-in wāfaqa l-ḥaqqā mā yuḥibbu fa-mā asarrahu*. Houtsma’s conjectural emendation of the corrupt reading of C was *fa-in wāfaqa l-ḥaqqā mā yaḥbū asarrahu* (if what he gives agrees with the truth, he will reveal it), which makes little sense.

1464 Qur’ān 38:26.

1465 One of al-Ya’qūbī’s sources. See note 1435, above.

1466 That is, Qays b. Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda. The translation follows Houtsma’s emendation, moving the word *ayḍan* (again, also). In its original position in the MSS, the sentence runs: “When ‘Alī decided to fight Mu‘āwiya again, he wrote to Qays”—that is, when he decided to fight Mu‘āwiya a second time, after Ṣiffin.

1467 Reading with M, *fa-innā shākhīṣūna*, rather than Houtsma’s emendation of the unpointed text of C, *fa-ana sa-aḥḍuranna*, (and I shall surely come).

I have received word that some men of Medina have gone out to Mu‘ā-wiya. Stop anyone you overtake, but do not be distressed about anyone who eludes you. Away with them, *for they shall meet with perdition*.<sup>1468</sup> When the graves are flung about,<sup>1469</sup> and the opponents assemble,<sup>1470</sup> *there will appear to them from God that they never reckoned with*.<sup>1471</sup> Your messenger has come to me asking for permission. Do come, may God forgive us and you; and leave no gap,<sup>1472</sup> God willing.

‘Alī wrote to ‘Umar b. Maslama al-Arḥabī.<sup>1473</sup>

The *dihqāns* in your district have complained about your harshness. I investigated their affair and did not see something good. Therefore, let your station be between two things: a garment of leniency with a border of forcefulness, with neither excess nor deficiency. They<sup>1474</sup> have made us prosper while they submitted; so take what is yours from them as they submit. Take no friend other than God,<sup>1475</sup> for God, may He be glorified and exalted, said: *Take not for your intimates outside yourselves; such men spare nothing to ruin you*.<sup>1476</sup> He, may He be exalted and glorified, also said about the People of the Book: *Take not Jews and Christians as friends*.<sup>1477</sup> And He, may He be praised and exalted, said: *Whoso of you makes them his friends is one of them*.<sup>1478</sup> So give them leisure to attend to their tax payments<sup>1479</sup> and fight those beyond them,<sup>1480</sup> and beware of spilling their blood! Peace.

1468 Cf. Qur’ān 19:59.

1469 Cf. Qur’ān 78:4; referring to the Day of Judgment.

1470 This is another sign of the Day of Judgment; cf. Qur’ān 3:44.

1471 Qur’ān 39:47.

1472 Arabic *lā tadhar khalalan*, probably meaning that he should appoint a deputy in his absence.

1473 ‘Umar b. Maslama al-Arḥabī was the messenger whom ‘Alī sent together with Ibn al-Ash’ath to Mu‘āwiya seeking a peace settlement. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 396.

1474 That is, the indigenous non-Muslim *dhimmi* population, who were the primary tax-payers.

1475 Cf. Qur’ān 4:89.

1476 Qur’ān 3:118.

1477 Qur’ān 5:51.

1478 Ibid.

1479 Reading with M, *wa-farrighhum li-kharājihim*, rather than ed. Leiden’s *wa-qarri’hum bi-kharājihim* (chide them by means of their *kharāj*-tax).

1480 Reading with M, *wa-qātil man warā’ahum*. Ed. Leiden’s *wa-qābil fī warā’ihim* (stand opposite beyond them) yields little sense.

2:240 ‘Alī wrote to Qaraḏa b. Ka‘b al-Anṣārī:

Some *dhimmīs*<sup>1481</sup> in your district have mentioned a canal in their land which has become obliterated and gone dry, and they have productive land in it for the Muslims.<sup>1482</sup> So look into it, you and they; then rebuild and repair the canal. By my life, we would rather have them build than depart, or that they should be unable or fall short in doing what must be done to keep the land productive. Peace.

‘Alī wrote to al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd,<sup>1483</sup> who was in charge of Iṣṭakhr:

Your father’s righteousness has deceived me about you.<sup>1484</sup> And there you are, still being led by your whims—you yourself know best that that is how you are.<sup>1485</sup> I have received word that you frequently leave your district and go out to have fun and enjoy yourself,<sup>1486</sup> hunting game and playing with dogs. I swear, if this is true, the thong of your sandal and the camel of your family<sup>1487</sup> are better than you! So, once you have viewed my letter, come to me. Peace.

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- 1481 Arabic *ahl al-dhimma*, or less formally *dhimmī*: A member of a non-Muslim community accorded tolerance and protection in return for the payment of a tax (*jizya*) and acceptance of inferior status. See the article by Yohanan Friedman in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Dhimma*.
- 1482 Arabic *wa fīhi lahum ‘imāra ‘alā l-muslimīn*. The meaning is unclear. The idea seems to be that these non-Muslims had land in the district that was irrigated from the canal and from whose harvest they paid taxes to the Muslims.
- 1483 Al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd al-‘Abdī, a Basran notable, fought on ‘Alī’s side in the Battle of the Camel and became governor of Iṣṭakhr. After ‘Alī’s death, he made his peace with Mu‘āwiya and was appointed by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād as governor of Qandābil in Sind, where he died in 61/680–681 or 62/681–682. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 236; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 358, 434; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 339; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 231, 232, 305; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 60:281.
- 1484 Al-Mundhir’s father had been a Companion of the Prophet.
- 1485 Reading with M, *wa-anta adrā dhālika bika*, Houtsma emended by omitting *wa-anta* and reading *azrā* (“It has brought shame on you,” or “How shameful it is for you!”).
- 1486 Reading with M, *mutanazzihan*, instead of ed. Leiden, *bi-minbarihā* (in its capital city). The word is unpunctuated in the MSS.
- 1487 Emending on the basis of the parallel in *Nahj al-balāgha*: *la-shis’u na’lika wa-jamalu ahlīka*. The text has been corrupted in the MSS. Houtsma emended to *la-nuthībannaka fī laka wa jāhīlu ahlīka* (We will surely repay you your deeds! The ignorant one of your family is ...).

When al-Mundhir arrived, ‘Alī dismissed him from office and fined him 30,000 (dirhams). Then he dropped the fine on account of Ṣaṣa’a b. Ṣūḥān, after making al-Mundhir swear an oath about it; so he swore. This took place because ‘Alī went to visit Ṣaṣa’a when the latter was ill. When ‘Alī saw Ṣaṣa’a, he said, “By God, I have always known you to be ready to help<sup>1488</sup> and never a burden.” Ṣaṣa’a said, “By God, Commander of the Faithful, you are very knowledgeable, and in your breast it<sup>1489</sup> is great!” ‘Alī said to him, “Let the fact that your imam has visited you not make you haughty towards your people.” Ṣaṣa’a said, “No, by God, Commander of the Faithful; rather, it is a favor from God to me [that] the family of the Prophet of the Lord of the Worlds and the cousin of the Messenger of God has visited me.”<sup>1490</sup>

Ghiyāth said:<sup>1491</sup> Ṣaṣa’a then said to ‘Alī: “Commander of the Faithful, see how al-Jārūd’s daughter cries her eyes out every day because you have imprisoned her brother al-Mundhir. Let him out, and I will guarantee whatever he owes in stipends of | the Rabī’a.” ‘Alī said to him: “And why should you guarantee them when he has claimed to us that he has not taken them? Let him swear, and we will let him out.” Ṣaṣa’a said to him, “By God, I think he will swear.” ‘Alī said, “By God, I also believe that.” Then ‘Alī said: “Lo, he is constantly looking at his sides, swaggering in his robes, and spitting<sup>1492</sup> on his shoelaces! Let him swear afterward or let things stand.” Al-Mundhir swore, and ‘Alī set him free.

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‘Alī wrote to Ziyād, who was his governor over Fārs:

My messenger has told me of an amazing thing. He claimed that you told him secretly that the Kurds had attacked you and had made you short of a great deal of the *kharāj* revenue and that you said to him, “Do not inform the Commander of the Faithful about it.” Ziyād, I swear by God that you

1488 Reading with M, *ḥasanu l-ma’ūna*; ed. Leiden, following C, reads *ḥasanu l-mu’na* (good of provisions).

1489 That is, your knowledge; following M, *wa-innahu*. Houtsma emended to *wa-abahun* (and in your breast there is a great splendor).

1490 Reading with M, as corrected in the margin, *‘ādanī ahlu nabīyyi rabbi l-‘ālamīna wa-bnu ‘ammi rasūli llāh*. Ed. Leiden, following C, reads *‘ādanī ahlu l-bayti wa-bnu ‘ammi rasūli rabbi l-‘ālamīn* (a member of the family and a cousin of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds has visited me). In either case, the reference is to ‘Alī’s being a member of the Prophet’s household by marriage to Muḥammad’s daughter Fāṭima and by consanguinity as a cousin.

1491 One of al-Ya’qūbī’s sources. See note 1435, above.

1492 Reading *taffāl* with M and *Nahj al-balāgha*. That is, to remove the dust. Houtsma emended to *nazzār* (looking).

are a liar! If you do not send your *kharāj*, I will attack you with such great force as will leave you with little wealth and a heavy back—unless you deliver the *kharāj* of which you have fallen short.

‘Alī wrote to Ka‘b b. Mālīk:<sup>1493</sup>

Appoint a deputy over your district, and set out with a group of your companions until you pass through the land of the district of the Sawād.<sup>1494</sup> Inquire about my governors and investigate their conduct between the Tigris and al-‘Udhayb.<sup>1495</sup> Then return to the Bihqubādh districts,<sup>1496</sup> and take charge of their supplementary imposts.<sup>1497</sup> Act in obedience to God in that whereof He has put you in charge. Know that all a man’s actions are stored up for him and that he will be rewarded in accordance with them. So do good—may God do good to us and you—and tell me the truth about what you have done. Peace.

He<sup>1498</sup> said: Abū Maryam al-Qurashī al-Makkī<sup>1499</sup> came to ‘Alī; he was a friend of his. When ‘Alī saw him, he said, “What brings you, Abū Maryam?” He said: “By God, I have not come for anything I need, but it has been a long time, and I wished to see you. Though all the people of the earth should gather | against

1493 Ka‘b b. Mālīk is probably Ka‘b b. Mālīk b. Jābir al-Nahdī, who fought on ‘Alī’s side at Šiffīn. See Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, 1:334, 2:364. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 202, mentions a Ka‘b b. Mālīk who died in 40/660–661, which could very well be al-Nahdī. Curiously, no one with this name is mentioned in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim’s *Waq‘at Šiffīn*.

1494 The translation follows Houtsma’s emendation (*arḍ kūrat al-sawād*). The phrase has been mixed up in the MSS: M has *arḍ al-sawād kūra* and C has *arḍ al-kūra al-sawād*.

1495 Al-‘Udhayb was an oasis six miles from al-Qādisiyya on the edge of the Sawād. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:92.

1496 Bihqubādh consisted of three districts (upper, middle, and lower) of Iraq irrigated by the eastern branch of the Euphrates. See the article by M. Streck and S. H. Longrigg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bihqubādh.

1497 Arabic *ma‘ūna*, literally, “assistance.” Originally these were extraordinary contributions, imposed when the public treasury was exhausted. However, the word could be extended to cover all sorts of taxes beyond the normal *kharāj* and *jizya*, to payments made from these imposts, and to forces (often police forces) supported by such imposts. The exact meaning here is therefore ambiguous. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:192, and the article by P. Crone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ma‘ūna.

1498 That is, the narrator: possibly, but not certainly, Ghiyāth.

1499 On Abū Maryam al-Qurashī al-Makkī, see Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 44 (where an abbreviated version of this report appears).

you, you would stay on the right path.” ‘Alī said: “Abū Maryam, by God I am indeed your friend, as you know. But I have been afflicted with the worst of God’s creatures, [*and they shall not be helped,*] *save him upon whom God has mercy.*<sup>1500</sup> They call me, and I deny them; then I answer them, but they scatter from me. This world is a test for the righteous—may God make us and you to be among them. Had I not heard my beloved’s<sup>1501</sup> saying, I should have been even more frustrated. I heard him say, “Trouble and tribulation come more swiftly to one who loves God and loves me than a torrent comes to its channel.”

Abū l-Aswad al-Du‘alī,<sup>1502</sup> who was the deputy of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās over Basra, wrote to ‘Alī informing him that ‘Abdallāh had taken 10,000 dirhams from the treasury. ‘Alī wrote to ‘Abdallāh ordering him to return them, but ‘Abdallāh refused. ‘Alī then wrote swearing to him by God that he should surely return them. When ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās returned them—or most of them—‘Alī wrote to him:

Men become happy about getting what they could not have missed, and unhappy about missing what they would not have gotten. Therefore, do not be too happy about what comes to you of this world, and do not be too distressed about what you miss of it. Set your mind on what comes after death. Peace.

Ibn ‘Abbās used to say, “I was never as admonished by any words as I was by the words of the Commander of the Faithful.”

Kumayl b. Ziyād<sup>1503</sup> said: ‘Alī took me by the hand and led me out toward the cemetery. When he reached the desert, he sighed three times and said: “Kumayl, hearts are vessels, and the best of them are the most retentive.”<sup>1504</sup> Remember from me what I say to you. People are of three kinds: | a learned man

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1500 Qur’ān 44:42. The quotation has been expanded to make the sense clear.

1501 That is, the Prophet’s.

1502 On Abū l-Aswad al-Du‘alī (d. 69/688), a Companion of the Prophet, supporter of ‘Alī, and judge at Basra, see the article by Monique Bernards in *ER*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū l-Aswad al-Du‘alī.

1503 Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha‘ī al-Ṣuhbānī was a Kufan notable who fought on ‘Alī’s side at Ṣiffīn. Later, he participated in the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash‘ath and was killed by al-Ḥajjāj in 82/701–702 or 83/702–703. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:134; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 288; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 89–90; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 56; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dīnashiq*, 50:247.

1504 The Arabic involves a pun, as *aw‘ā* means both “most capacious,” in the physical sense, and “most retentive,” in the sense of having the best memory.

who serves the Lord; a learner on the way to salvation; and a foolish multitude, followers of every croaker, who have not sought the light of knowledge or taken refuge in a secure corner. Kumayl, knowledge is better than money: knowledge protects you, while you protect money; knowledge rules, while money is ruled; the keepers of money die while still alive, while the learned survive for all time: their persons are lost, but their likenesses are present in hearts. Behold, here"—he pointed to his chest—"is abundant knowledge, if I only could find carriers for it! Either I find someone quick-witted, not deficient in intellect, who uses the tool of religion to seek this world and makes use of God's proofs to overpower His friends and of God's bounties to overcome His creatures; or I find someone who is led by the carriers of the truth, but without discernment in him,<sup>1505</sup> and so doubt pierces his heart at the first occurrence of confusion. O neither this one nor that one—nor one who is insatiably lustful, easily driven by desire, or enamored of amassing and hoarding! These are not guardians of religion in any way; they are more like grazing livestock. O God, no! The earth shall not lack one to speak the truth,<sup>1506</sup> who is [either] visible [and well known], or remote<sup>1507</sup> and obscure, lest the proofs and signs of God, may He be glorified and exalted, should become of no effect.<sup>1508</sup> They are few in number, but great in weightiness: through them knowledge attacks the essences of things,<sup>1509</sup> and they touch the comfort of certainty. They find soft what those who live in luxury find rough, and they find congenial what the ignorant find distressing. They accompany the world with bodies whose souls are suspended from the highest place. | Kumayl, they are God's friends among His creatures and the callers to His religion; through them, God preserves His proofs, so that they may entrust them to their peers and sow them in the hearts of their likes. How I long to see them!"

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- 1505 Reading *aḥnā'īhi* with *Nahj al-balāgha*. The MSS have an unpunctuated word that looks like *ijābatihi* (his response); Houtsma emended it to *ihyā'īhi* (his enlivening).
- 1506 Following the reading of the MSS *qā'il*. Houtsma emended to *qā'im* (one to stand up), later a technical term for the Imam in Shī'ī theology. See the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qā'im Āl Muḥammad*.
- 1507 Accepting the MSS *jānib* (partially undotted), instead of Houtsma's emendation *khā'ib* (unsuccessful). Another reading, attested in *Nahj al-balāgha* and elsewhere, is *khā'if* (fearful).
- 1508 Reading *tabṭula* (the initial letter is undotted in M), in place of Houtsma's *yabṭula* (grammatically suspect) or *yubṭila*, which the meaning does not permit.
- 1509 Reading with M, *'alā ḥaqā'iq al-umūr*; C and ed. Leiden read *ḥattā ḥaqā'iq al-umūr* (until [it reaches] the essences of things).



‘Alī said: “If the carriers of knowledge had carried it for its own sake, God, His angels, and those of God’s creatures who obey Him would have loved them. But they have carried knowledge in order to seek the world, and so God has thwarted them and they have become contemptible in the sight of the people.”

He said: “The value of each person lies in what he can do well.”

He said: “O people! Place your hope in nothing but your Lord, and fear nothing but your sins. Let the one who does not know not be ashamed to learn, and let the one who knows not be ashamed to teach; and know that patience is to faith what the head is to the body.”

He said: “Whoever desires honor without a clan, offspring without multitude, and wealth without money, let him move from the ignominy of disobedience to the honor of obedience.”

He said: “How many people have been lured to destruction by benevolence! How many people have been beguiled because their faults have been veiled from sight! How many people have been tempted by good things said about them! No temptation is as great as granting indulgence to a person. Have you not heard the saying of God, may He be glorified and exalted: *We grant them indulgence only that they may increase in sin*”?<sup>1510</sup>

He said: “Whoever longs for Paradise will give up desires; whoever fears Hellfire will turn from forbidden things; whoever renounces the world will find misfortunes easy to bear; and whoever expects death will hasten to do good deeds.”

He delivered a sermon. He recited the saying of God, may He be glorified and exalted: *Surely it is We who bring the dead to life and write down what they have forwarded and what they have left behind; everything We have numbered in a clear register*.<sup>1511</sup> Then he said:

This command comes down from heaven like the dropping of rain to each soul, bringing whatever loss God has decreed for it in life, family, [or] fortune. Therefore, if anyone among you is afflicted with loss in his family | and fortune, but finds his brother spared, let it not be a temptation for him. So long as a Muslim person does not commit baseness,<sup>1512</sup> submitting to it while it humiliates him, which when it is mentioned spurs base persons<sup>1513</sup> against him, he is like the successful player at *maysir*: he awaits

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<sup>1510</sup> Qur’ān 3:178.

<sup>1511</sup> Qur’ān 36:12.

<sup>1512</sup> Reading with M, *danā’a*. Houtsma emended the word, unclear in C, to *dunyāhu* (his world).

<sup>1513</sup> Reading with M, *li’ām al-nās*. Houtsma read C as *li-ya’lama* (so that he would suffer).

the first win of his arrows that brings him gain and drives away loss. Likewise, the person who is free of betrayal and lying watches every day and every night for one of *the two good things*:<sup>1514</sup> either *God's summoner*<sup>1515</sup>—*and what God has in store is better*<sup>1516</sup> for him—or *a victory from God*,<sup>1517</sup> so that he will have family and wealth, possessing both honor and religion. *Wealth and sons*<sup>1518</sup> are the portion of the present world, and good works are the portion of the next; but God unites them for some people.

‘Alī said: “Whoever does no wrong to people when he deals with them, speaks no lies to them when he talks to them, and does not fail them when he makes promises to them is someone whom it is forbidden to slander, whose manliness is perfect, whose justice is manifest, and toward whom kindness is a duty.”

‘Alī went out one day and said: “Seeker of knowledge, there are three marks of a learned man: knowledge of God, of what God likes, and of what God dislikes. There are three marks of a doer: prayer, alms (*zakāt*), and piety. There are three marks of a pretentious man: he disputes with those above him, says what he does not know, and undertakes what he cannot attain. There are three marks of an unjust man: he wrongs those above him by disobedience, those below him by oppressing them, and he supports the unjust. There are three marks of a sinner:<sup>1519</sup> he is sluggish when he is alone, he becomes active when there is someone who sees him, and he likes to be praised about all his affairs. There are three marks of an envious man: he slanders when he is absent, he ingratiates himself when he is present, and he gloats over misfortune. There are three marks of a hypocrite: his tongue contradicts his heart, his word his deed, and his outward appearance his inner reality. There are three marks of an extravagant man: he eats what | is not his, drinks what is not his, and wears what is not his. There are three marks of a slothful man: he is dilatory to the point of neglect, neglectful to the point of dereliction, and derelict to the point of sin. Those

1514 Cf. Qur’ān 9:52.

1515 That is, death. The expression is from Qur’ān 46:31.

1516 Cf. Qur’ān 3:198.

1517 Cf. Qur’ān 48:1.

1518 Cf. Qur’ān 18:46.

1519 Reading with M, *wa li-l-āthim*, preceded by a full stop. The reading in C, *wa l-āthim*, led Houtsma to consider the word part of the previous sentence (hence “oppressors and the sinner”), despite the problems this creates: the first word is in the plural and the second in the singular, and the following sentence lacks a subject. Houtsma therefore added [*wa li-l-murāṭ*] (of the dissimulator), a conjecture based on the meaning of the sentence.

before you have perished only because of pretentiousness. Therefore let no one among you pretend to discuss God's religion by saying what he does not know; for God, may He be glorified and exalted, forgives a mistake if you have exercised your judgment to the utmost."

‘Alī said to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, "There are three things which, if you learn them and act on them, will spare you the need to acquire anything else; but if you abandon them, nothing else will be of use to you." ‘Umar said, "What are they?" ‘Alī said, "Punishing the near and the far; judging according to God's Book in contentment and discontent; and dividing things justly between the red and the black."<sup>1520</sup> ‘Umar said: "You have spoken eloquently and briefly."

Upon hearing a man disparage the world, ‘Alī said:<sup>1521</sup> "The world is an abode of truth for one who is truthful to it, an abode of health for one who understands it, and an abode of riches for one who gets his provisions from it. It is the place where the lovers of God prostrate themselves, where His revelation descended, where His angels pray, and where His friends conduct commerce: in it they have earned mercy, and through it they have gained Paradise as profit. Who, then, can disparage it, when it has declared its own leaving, proclaimed its own departure, and announced its own passing and that of its inhabitants? By its tribulation it has provided a parable of true tribulation, and by its joy it has awakened a desire for true joy; it has given misfortune in the evening, and well-being in the morning, and this in order to alarm and deter, warn and frighten. Some men have disparaged it on the morrow of remorse; others have praised it. It reminded them, and they remembered; it spoke to them, and they believed. Therefore, O disparager of the world, beguiled by its guiles, | when did it earn your disparagement? Yea, when did it beguile you? Was it with the beds of your fathers in decay, or the residences of your mothers in the ground? How often have you nursed with your hands and tended with your palms one for whom you desired recovery and for whom you consulted physicians, yet your doctoring did not benefit him, and your own health did not cause him to regain health? The world gave him as a parable of yourself, and by his death it exemplified your own death, at a time when your weeping will be of no avail, and your loved ones of no use."

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‘Alī delivered a speech and said: "What makes me fear for you most are two traits: following caprice<sup>1522</sup> and having extended hopes.<sup>1523</sup> [As for having

1520 That is, people of all colors and races.

1521 Parallels in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:172–173 (§1745–1746), al-Jāhiz, *Bayān*, 2:190–191.

1522 Cf. Qur’ān 4:135, "Then follow not caprice, so as to swerve ..."

1523 Cf. Qur’ān 15:3, "Perchance the unbelievers will wish that they had surrendered: leave

extended hopes,] it causes one to forget the hereafter; as for following caprice, it turns one away from the truth. Anyone who wakes up in the morning feeling safe in his heart, healthy in his body, and secure in his daily food, it is as if he has been given possession of the world. Almighty God says:<sup>1524</sup> ‘By My might, My glory, My beauty, My splendor, My sublimity, and My exaltedness in My place, whenever a servant prefers My desire to his own, I set his concern on the hereafter and make his wealth to be in his heart; heaven and earth guarantee his sustenance, and the world comes to him submissively.’”

‘Alī said: “He who knows people is singled out<sup>1525</sup> for tribulation; he who is ignorant of them lives with them.”

He said: “There will come upon people a time in which only the scheming will have power, only the profligate will be considered elegant, and only the equitable will be regarded as weak. They will take the *ḥaḡ*<sup>1526</sup> land as spoils, the alms contribution (*ṣadaqa*) as a debt, worship as an imposition on people, charity to relatives as a bestowal of favors, and knowledge as a lucrative trade. At that time women will have power, female slaves will be advisors, and boys will become commanders.”

2:248 He said: “Only<sup>1527</sup> an authority in which the believer works, the unbeliever has enjoyment, | and the book reaches its appointed term is good.”

He offered a man condolences<sup>1528</sup> and said, “If you manifest violent grief, kinship is worthy of it; but if you endure patiently, you<sup>1529</sup> will be rewarded for it; otherwise, you will endure unwillingly and be burdened with sin.”

‘Alī was asked, “What is the distance between heaven and earth?” He said, “The appeal of someone wronged.”

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them to eat, and to take their joy, and to be bemused by hope; certainly they will soon know!”

1524 This is a *ḥadīth qudsī*, not a Qur’ānic text.

1525 Reading *khuṣṣa* with M; in C the word looks more like *ḥuṣīra* (is beleaguered), which is how Houtsma read it.

1526 *Fay’* referred to the revenue of land held by the Muslim community as a whole and reserved to the benefit of the community as a whole, rather than divided as booty among individuals. See the article by Andrew Marsham in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Fay’*.

1527 Reading with M, *lā taṣluḥu l-nāsa illā imāratun* ... C and ed. Leiden following it omit the word *illā* (except), yielding the opposite sense: “An authority in which the believer works ... is not good.”

1528 Reading with M, *wa-‘azzā*. Ed. Leiden, following C, reads *wa-ghazā* (he raided), which does not fit the context.

1529 Reading *kunta* (you will be) as suggested by Landberg, *Critica Arabica* 1:48, rather than ed. Leiden *ka’annī* (it seems to me).

He was asked, “How wide is the world?” He said, “The sun’s journey for one day until nightfall.”

He said during the Battle of the Camel: “Death is a swift pursuer: someone who stays put cannot thwart it, and someone who flees cannot escape it. Advance and do not fall back! There is no escaping death: if you are not killed you will die, and surely the most noble way to die is to be killed. By the One who holds my soul in His hand, a thousand blows of the sword are easier than dying in bed.”

A man said to ‘Alī, “Counsel me.” ‘Alī said, “I counsel you to fear God, avoid anger, give up desires, and set aside two hours of the day: from dawn until sunrise and from late afternoon until sunset; and do not be pleased with what you know, but with what you do in the world.”<sup>1530</sup>

A man who had committed a crime was brought to ‘Alī, and he saw some people running after him. He said, “No welcome to faces that are seen only at some misfortune!”

Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥawṭ al-Rānī<sup>1531</sup> said, “I think that Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and ‘Ā’isha have agreed on an error.” ‘Alī said: “You have confused things, Ḥārith. Right and wrong are not identified by people; rather, know the right and you will know its people, and know the wrong and you will know who committed it.”

‘Alī saw a man begging<sup>1532</sup> on the eve of ‘Arafa.<sup>1533</sup> He said to him: “Woe to you! On this day do you petition someone other than God?”

‘Alī is related to have said, “Young people, fortify your honor with good conduct, and your religion with knowledge.”

When returning from prayer, ‘Alī would turn his face to the people and say: “Be | lamps of guidance, and not guideposts of error. Loathe such joking as is displeasing to God. Do not let censure be displeasing to you in matters that please God. Teach people the good by the expressions of your tongues, summon them to it by your deeds, and cling to truthfulness and piety.”

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‘Alī said: “Reticence is forbearance; silence is safety; keeping secrets is happiness.”

1530 The sentence ends with *fiḥā* (in it). The easiest solution is to take it as referring to the world (*al-dunyā*).

1531 Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥawṭ al-Rānī carried the banner of the Bakr b. Wā’il in the Battle of the Camel while fighting on ‘Alī’s side. He was killed in the battle, together with his son and five of his brothers. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3202–3203, where his name is given as al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān b. Khūṭ al-Dhuhli.

1532 Reading with M, *yas’aluh*; C and ed. Leiden read *yas’aluhu* (begging from him).

1533 That is, at the climax of the pilgrimage. Mount ‘Arafāt (or ‘Arafa) is where the pilgrims assemble on the ninth day of the month of Dhū l-Ḥijja.

Some people gathered with him and discussed beneficence (*al-ma'rūf*). He said: "Beneficence is one of the best treasures and one of the most thriving of crops. Let not the ingratitude of those who are ungrateful or the disavowal of those who disavow cause you to renounce it. For your thanks from those who received none of it will be greater than from the people who received it.<sup>1534</sup> So do not seek from others what you have conferred upon yourself. Beneficence becomes perfect only through three things: downplaying it, concealing it, and hastening it: for if you downplay it you have magnified it; and if you conceal it you have perfected it; and if you hasten it you have made it a delight."

A group of people from the Maghrib<sup>1535</sup> came to him. He said to them, "Is there among you one who has made himself<sup>1536</sup> so famous that [...] is not known except by him?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Are there among you people in the middle, who shrink<sup>1537</sup> from evil things and do good ones?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Those are the best of Muḥammad's community; they are the middle saddle cushion: the one too high is brought down to them, and the one too short is raised to them."

He is related to have said: "Animals have been made unaware<sup>1538</sup> of everything except four things: that God, may He be glorified and exalted, is their creator and provider; that the male copulates with the female; that they flee from death; and that they seek sustenance."

ʿAlī said, "Six people are not to be greeted: the Jew, the Christian, the Magian, the poet who slanders chaste women, people who jest by abusing mothers, and people who sit at a table where wine is served."

1534 The sense is unclear; the MSS may be corrupt.

1535 Reading with M, *al-maghrib*; C and ed. Leiden read *al-gharb* (the West). The two forms may be synonyms, both meaning the West, not necessarily referring to the lands of the Maghrib (North Africa) in the modern sense.

1536 Arabic *naḥsahu* ('himself' or 'his self, soul'). The sense is problematic. One might also translate, "... that only (it) is known in him." The pronoun in *bihi* (by/in it/him) is masculine and cannot refer to *naḥs*, which is feminine. Two solutions suggest themselves. *Naḥs* may be an error; the original text may have had some other word, "who has made his [...] so famous that [...] is not known except by/in him"—i.e., that he has become a byword for x, whatever x may be. The same result can be obtained if one assumes that a word has fallen out before *naḥs*.

1537 Reading *yaḏba'ūna* as suggested by Landberg, *Critica* 1:48. Houtsma's reading (*yušība-nūna*) is certainly incorrect. The word is partially pointed in the MSS.

1538 Reading with M, *abhama*; Houtsma emended to *ulhima* (have been inspired), which does not fit the sense.

‘Alī said, “The leaders<sup>1539</sup> of the community are from Quraysh: the good among them rule over the good, and the bad over the bad.”

‘Alī decided against a man in a certain case. The man said, “Commander of the Faithful, you have decided | against me in a case that has brought about the ruin of my fortune and the destruction of my family!” ‘Alī became so angry that the anger showed on his face. Then he said, “Qanbar,<sup>1540</sup> summon the people to prayer in congregation!” So the people gathered, and ‘Alī ascended the pulpit. Having praised and extolled God, he said: 2:250

My responsibility is pledged for [(the truth of) what I say],<sup>1541</sup> and I am answerable for it for all those to whom the warnings have been made clear: that no people’s crops wither if they fear God and that no root<sup>1542</sup> thirsts when there is fear of God. All good lies in him who knows his own measure; it is sufficient ignorance for a man that he know not his measure. Among the most hateful of God’s creatures to God is the servant whom God has entrusted to his own soul.<sup>1543</sup> Such a person, deviating from the straight way and enamored of innovative talk, has immersed himself blindly among people like himself, deceived by the darkness of sedition. In it he became intent on fasting and praying, and thus is a temptation for those who follow him.<sup>1544</sup> A certain sort of people call him learned, although he has spent not one whole day enriching himself with learning: he started early, but then he mistook a little of it for a lot—for better than what was really a lot. Finally, having drunk his fill of brackish water and stuffed himself<sup>1545</sup> uselessly, he took his seat among the people as judge, guaranteeing that he can clarify what others find obscure. If he

1539 Literally, the Imams.

1540 ‘Alī’s client (*mawlā*) Qanbar Abū Yazīd was his chamberlain. See below, ed. Leiden, 2:253.

1541 The added phrase (*bimā aqūlu*), which clarifies the meaning, is from Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 1:227; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:982, s.v. *dhimma*, where the tradition is explained.

1542 Arabic *sinkhu aṣlin*, literally, “root of a root” (*sinkh* and *aṣl* are synonyms), is either for emphasis (“not a single root”) or a case of a marginal gloss (*aṣl* as a gloss of the uncommon word *sinkh*) being copied into the text.

1543 Arabic *wakkalahu ilā nafsīhi*, literally, “has entrusted to his own *naḥs* (soul),” in the sense of abandoning him to his own instincts. *Naḥs* can have the sinister connotation of “appetitive soul,” the soul that commands evil; cf. Qur’ān 12:53.

1544 Reading with M, *ba’dahu*. The word was miscopied in C, giving *bid’ahu* (his innovation), which Houtsma emended to *tabi’ahu* (have followed him).

1545 Reading with M, *iktanaza*; C and ed. Leiden read *akthara* (he did a lot).

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makes an analogy between one thing and another, he does not accuse himself of lying; and if something is ambiguous to him, he conceals it from himself, lest it be said that he does not know. By God, he is neither trustworthy to deliver what has reached him nor | worthy of the good for which he has been praised. He is a key of darkness,<sup>1546</sup> a stumbler in ignorance. He neither excuses himself from what he does not know, that he might be safe, nor does he have a whiff of an insight about knowledge. He scatters reports as the wind scatters hay. Blood cries out because of him; inheritances weep on account of him; by his judgments forbidden sexual relations are made licit, and by his approval licit sexual relations are forbidden. Whither are you being led astray? Nay, where are you going, away from the family of your Prophet?<sup>1547</sup> Our origin is from the loins of the People of the Ship:<sup>1548</sup> as those who were saved were saved in it, so will be saved in this one those who will be saved; and woe has been pledged to whoever lags back from them. I am among you like the cave to the People of the Cave.<sup>1549</sup> I am among you the gate called *Ḥiṭṭa*:<sup>1550</sup> whoever enters through it shall be saved; whoever lags behind shall perish. I am a proof from the possessor of proof, who said at the Pilgrimage of Farewell:<sup>1551</sup> "I leave among you that which if you cling to it you will never go astray after I am gone: God's Book and my relations, the members of my family."<sup>1552</sup>

ʿAlī made extraordinary judgments: he burned some people, suffocated others with smoke, cut off some of the fingers of the hand because of theft, and pulled down a house on two people whom he found fornicating.

1546 Following ed. Leiden, *ʿashawāt*; M reads *ghashawāt* (veils).

1547 Perhaps echoing Qurʾān 81:26, "Where then are you going?"

1548 Arabic *aṣḥāb al-safīna*, referring to the passengers on Noah's ark.

1549 That is, the cave in which the pious youths mentioned in Qurʾān 18:9–26 took shelter.

1550 This refers to the story of the Children of Israel in Qurʾān 2:58–59 and 7:161–162. The Children of Israel were brought by God to a town where they could live and eat, and were ordered to say *ḥiṭṭa* (Unburdening!) to enter the gate, so that God would forgive their sins. When they substituted another word, God punished them.

1551 The Arabic involves a play on words: "I am a proof (*ḥujja*) from the possessor of proof (*min dhī l-ḥujja*) at the Pilgrimage (*ḥijja*) of Farewell." "Possessor of proof" refers to the Prophet, who was sent to mankind as God's proof of the true faith. The Pilgrimage of Farewell was the last pilgrimage that he led before his death.

1552 There are several versions of this ḥadīth. See Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1873–1874 ("Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba," nos. 36, 37); Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:14, 17, 26, 59, 4:367, 5:182; al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawā'id*, 9:163.



He used to say: “Make your houses conceal you, and repentance will follow you. Whoever shows his hostility to the truth will perish. God has chastised this community with the whip and the sword; there is no partiality for anyone from the imam.”

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muljam al-Murādī<sup>1553</sup> came to Kufa ten nights remaining in Sha‘bān of the year 40.<sup>1554</sup> When ‘Alī received word of his arrival, he said: “Has he indeed shown up? No one else has remained for me to deal with; this is his time.” Ibn Muljam lodged with al-Ash‘ath b. Qays al-Kindī and stayed with him for a month sharpening his sword.

Those who set out were three persons: | one of them to Mu‘āwiya in Syria, another to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in Egypt, and another to ‘Alī—Ibn Muljam was the latter. Mu‘āwiya’s man struck Mu‘āwiya, but the blow fell on his buttock, and Mu‘āwiya hurried into his house. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ’s man struck Khārija b. Ḥudhāfa,<sup>1555</sup> ‘Amr’s deputy, at the morning prayer—‘Amr had stayed away because of illness. So the Khārijite said, ‘I wanted ‘Amr but God wanted Khārija!’<sup>1556</sup>

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‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muljam waited for ‘Alī at the door of the mosque. When ‘Alī went out in the darkness, some geese that had been in the house followed him and clung to his garment. So ‘Alī said, “Honkers that will be followed by wailers!” He put his head through the door of the passageway of the mosque,<sup>1557</sup> and Ibn Muljam struck him on his head. ‘Alī fell and cried out, “Get him!” The people hurried to Ibn Muljam, but whenever someone approached him, Ibn Muljam struck at him with his sword. Qutham b. al-‘Abbās hurried to him, picked him up, and threw him to the ground. Ibn Muljam cried out, “‘Alī, get your dog away from me!” He was brought to ‘Alī, who said, “Ibn Muljam?” He

1553 M adds, *la‘anahu Allāh* (may God curse him). ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muljam al-Murādī, ‘Alī’s assassin, fought on ‘Alī’s side at Šiffin, but then, with the other Khārijites, abandoned him after the arbitration. See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Muljam (especially good on the sources that emphasize ‘Alī’s foreknowledge of his impending assassination); and the article by Najam I. Haider in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ibn Muljam.

1554 20 Sha‘bān 40 = December 29, 660.

1555 Khārija b. Ḥudhāfa was the judge in Egypt under ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and possibly his chief of police. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 138; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 142; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2813, 2960, 3465; al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt*, 10, 15, 31, 32.

1556 The saying became proverbial. See Abū l-Maḥāsīn al-‘Abdarī al-Shaybī, *Timthāl al-amthāl*, 165 (and n. 6).

1557 Arabic *bāb khawkhāt al-masjid*. This seems to be the meaning. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., records the meaning of *khawkha* as “a passage between any two houses, not having a door, or gate,” but another possible meaning, also given by Lane, is “a wicket, or small door in a large door.”

said, "Yes." 'Alī said: "Ḥasan,<sup>1558</sup> do as you like with your opponent: fill his belly, but tighten his fetter. If I die, make him join me, so that I may dispute with him before my Lord; if I live, either pardon or retaliation."

'Alī survived for two days. He died the eve of Friday, the first night of the last ten nights of Ramaḍān of the year 40, corresponding to Kānūn 11 (January) in the months of the non-Arabs;<sup>1559</sup> he was sixty-three years old. His son al-Ḥasan washed him with his own hands, prayed over him, and said the *takbīr*<sup>1560</sup> over him seven times; and he said, "The *takbīr* shall not be said over anyone after him." He was buried in Kufa in a place called al-Ghariyyān.<sup>1561</sup> His caliphate had lasted four years and ten months.

2:253 'Alī had fourteen sons: al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Muḥassin who died young (their mother was Fāṭima, the daughter of God's Messenger); Muḥammad the elder (his mother was | Khawla bt. Ja'far al-Ḥanafīyya); 'Ubaydallāh and Abū Bakr, neither of whom had offspring (their mother was Laylā bt. Mas'ūd al-Ḥanzaliyya from the Banū Tamīm); al-'Abbās and Ja'far, who were killed at al-Ṭaff;<sup>1562</sup> 'Uthmān and 'Abdallāh (their mother was Umm al-Banīn bt. Ḥarām al-Kilābiyya); 'Umar (his mother was Umm Ḥabīb bt. Rabī'a al-Bakriyya); Muḥammad the younger, who had no offspring (his mother was Umāma bt. Abī l-Āṣ); and 'Uthmān the younger and Yaḥyā (their mother was Asmā' bt. 'Umayy al-Khath'amiyya).

'Alī had eighteen daughters, three of them from Fāṭima, and the rest from several free women and various slave women.

'Alī's chief of police was Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī, and his chamberlain (*hājib*) was Qanbar, his client (*mawlā*).

When 'Alī died, al-Ḥasan rose and delivered a speech. Having praised and extolled God and blessed the Prophet, he said:

1558 That is, addressing his son, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī.

1559 The first day of the last ten days of Ramaḍān is either Ramaḍān 20 or 21. Both these days fall in January 661 (27 and 28 January, respectively), but they are a Wednesday and a Thursday.

1560 The *takbīr* is the formula *Allāhu akbar* (God is most great).

1561 This is the (correct) reading of M; ed. Leiden (following C) has *al-Gharī*, in the singular. Al-Ghariyyān were two structures with a rich pre-Islamic history located outside Kufa. See Yāqūt, 4:196–200, s.v. al-Ghariyyān.

1562 Al-Ṭaff is a high desert area west of Kufa along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates. Karbalā', where al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed, lies in it. See the article by J. H. Kramers in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ṭaff.

Lo, there has passed away in this night a man whom no earlier men ever overtook and whose like none who come later will ever witness—one who used to fight with Gabriel on his right and Michael on his left. By God, he died in the night in which Moses the son of ‘Imrān died, in which Jesus the son on Mary was lifted up, and in which the Qur’ān was sent down. He has bequeathed neither yellow ones nor white ones,<sup>1563</sup> except 700 dirhams left over from his stipend (*‘aṭā’*), with which he intended to buy a servant for his family.

Al-Qa’qā’ b. Zurāra<sup>1564</sup> stood at ‘Alī’s grave and said: “May God’s favor be upon you, Commander of the Faithful, for, by God, | your life was a key to the good. If the people had accepted you, they would have eaten from above them and from under their feet; but they were ungrateful for the blessing and preferred this world to the next.” 2:254

During ‘Alī’s caliphate, ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās led the pilgrimage in the year 36;<sup>1565</sup> Qutham b. al-‘Abbās—others say ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās—in the year 37;<sup>1566</sup> ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-‘Abbās in the year 38;<sup>1567</sup> and Shayba b. ‘Uthmān<sup>1568</sup> in the year 39.<sup>1569</sup>

‘Alī’s companions who transmitted knowledge from him were: al-Ḥārith al-‘Awar;<sup>1570</sup> Abū l-Ṭufayl ‘Āmir b. Wāthila;<sup>1571</sup> Ḥabba al-‘Uranī;<sup>1572</sup> Rushayd al-

1563 That is, neither gold dinars nor silver dirhams.

1564 Al-Qa’qā’ b. Zurāra al-Tamīmī was a Companion of the Prophet and a member of the delegation of Tamīm to him in 9/630–631. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v., al-Ḳa’ḳā’.

1565 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 36 = May 21, 657.

1566 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 37 = May 10, 658.

1567 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 38 = April 30, 659.

1568 Shayba b. ‘Uthmān Abū Ṣafiyya al-‘Abdarī (d. 59/678–679), ‘Uthmān’s cousin, was appointed as keeper of the Ka’ba by the Prophet. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:331; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 226, 251; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif*, 70; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1661, 3448; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 23:249.

1569 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 39 = April 18, 660.

1570 Al-Ḥārith al-‘Awar b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ka’b al-Hamdānī was a learned Kufan associate of ‘Alī. He died in Kufa in the days of Ibn al-Zubayr. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:116; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2524; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 38; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 36:90 (in the biography of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:145.

1571 Abū l-Ṭufayl ‘Āmir b. Wāthila al-Laythī (d. 100/718–719 or 110/728–729) was a Companion of the Prophet and an associate of ‘Alī. He later supported the revolt of al-Mukhtār. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:338 and 6:42; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 262, 325; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 92; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif*, 341; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* (Beirut) 4:114; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 26:113; al-Qāḍī, *Kaysānīyya*, 309–311 (and index).

1572 Ḥabba b. Juwayn al-Bajalī al-‘Uranī (d. c. 76) was a Kufan associate of ‘Alī. See Naṣr

Hajarī;<sup>1573</sup> Ḥuwayza b. Mushir;<sup>1574</sup> al-Aṣḥab b. Nubāta;<sup>1575</sup> Mītham al-Tammār;<sup>1576</sup> and al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī.

### The Caliphate of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī

The people assembled and swore allegiance to al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī went out to the congregational mosque and delivered a long speech.

He called for ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muljam. Abd al-Raḥmān said, “What is it that your father commanded you to do?” Al-Ḥasan said: “He commanded me to kill no one but his killer. I was to fill your belly and make you comfortable: if he lived, I was either to pardon or to retaliate; if he died, I was to make you join him.” Ibn Muljam said, “Your father indeed spoke the truth and judged in accordance with it whether angry or pleased.” Al-Ḥasan struck him with the sword. Ibn Muljam protected himself from him<sup>1577</sup> with his hand, and his hand was severed. Then al-Ḥasan killed him.

After his father’s death, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī waited two months—others say four months—and dispatched ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-‘Abbās with 12,000 men to fight Mu‘āwiya, and, along with him, Qays b. Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda al-Anṣārī. He ordered ‘Ubaydallāh to carry out the commands and decisions of Qays b. Sa’d. |  
2:255 ‘Ubaydallāh headed toward the Jazīra.

When news of ‘Alī’s murder reached Mu‘āwiya, he set out and reached Mosul eighteen days after ‘Alī’s murder, and the two armies met. Mu‘āwiya sent Qays b. Sa’d an offer of 1,000,000 dirhams on condition that he either join him [or] depart. Qays b. Sa’d sent back the money and said, “Would you beguile me from my religion?” Mu‘āwiya is also said to have offered ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abbās

b. Muzāḥim, *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, 143, 147; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:123; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 279; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 624; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

1573 Rushayd al-Hajarī al-Fārisī was a client of the Anṣār. A strong supporter of ‘Alī, he was killed by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. See al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 41, 73; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 2:176.

1574 The reading of the name is uncertain.

1575 Al-Aṣḥab b. Nubāta al-Mujāshī‘ī al-Tamīmī, an associate of ‘Alī, headed his police. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 200; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2514, 3249; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 2:319, 320; al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār*, 96; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 34.

1576 Mītham al-Tammār was a slave whom ‘Alī bought and manumitted. He became a strong partisan of ‘Alī and was imprisoned by Ziyād together with al-Mukhtār. He was crucified in Mecca by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād after Mu‘āwiya’s death. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 285, 286; al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār*, 74; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 3:504 (no. 7472).

1577 Reading *fa-ttaqāhu*; M and C read *fa-ltaqāhu* (he met him, or it [that is, the sword]).

1,000,000 dirhams: ʿUbaydallāh went over to him with 8,000 of his men, but Qays continued to fight him.

Muʿāwiya infiltrated men into al-Ḥasan's army to spread rumors that Qays b. Sa'd had made peace with Muʿāwiya and had joined him, and he infiltrated men into Qays's army to spread rumors that al-Ḥasan had made peace with Muʿāwiya and had accepted his terms.

Muʿāwiya sent al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam<sup>1578</sup> to al-Ḥasan. They came to him while he was encamped at al-Madāʾin amid his tents. Then they came out of his quarters, saying so that people could hear them, "God has prevented bloodshed and calmed strife through the descendant of God's Messenger: he has agreed to peace." The soldiers became excited, and the people did not doubt their truthfulness. They rose up against al-Ḥasan and pillaged his tents and their contents. Al-Ḥasan mounted a horse of his and went to Muḥlim Sābāt,<sup>1579</sup> where al-Jarrāḥ b. Sinān al-Asadī<sup>1580</sup> was lying in wait for him. Al-Jarrāḥ wounded him in the thigh with a short sword, but al-Ḥasan grabbed al-Jarrāḥ's beard and twisted it and broke his neck.

Al-Ḥasan was carried to al-Madāʾin in critical condition, having lost much blood. The people scattered from him. Muʿāwiya came to Iraq and took control, while al-Ḥasan was in grave condition. When al-Ḥasan realized he had no power and that | his supporters had broken away from him and would not defend him, he made peace with Muʿāwiya. He ascended the pulpit, praised and extolled God, and said:

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People, God guided you through the first of us and has spared your lives through the last of us. I have made peace with Muʿāwiya. *I know not; haply it is a trial for you and an enjoyment for a time.*<sup>1581</sup>

1578 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam (full name: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAqil ʿUthmān al-Thaqafī) was Muʿāwiya's maternal nephew. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:380; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 219, 224, 266; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:128, 138, 157, 181–182, 184–185, 188, 784, 791, 1044, 3:2366.

1579 Muḥlim Sābāt is near al-Madāʾin. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 5:152.

1580 Al-Jarrāḥ b. Sinān al-Asadī had rebelled against Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ during the conquest of Nihāwand in 21/641–642. Many believed that it was Sa'd's invoking God against him that led to his violent death during the days of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, as stated in the text here. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2606.

1581 Qurʾān 21:111.

### The Days of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams became ruler.<sup>1582</sup> His mother was Hind bt. 'Utba b. Rabī'a b. 'Abd Shams.<sup>1583</sup> Allegiance was sworn to him in Kufa in Dhū l-Qa'da of the year 40.<sup>1584</sup> The Sun was in Aries, 2°; the Moon in Taurus, 15°; Saturn in Scorpio, 29°; Jupiter in Taurus, 29° 50'; Mars in Taurus, 16°; Venus in Taurus, 4°; and Mercury in Pisces, 16°.

He came to Kufa and ascended the pulpit. Having praised and extolled God, he said:

Whenever a community disagreed after the death of its prophet, wrong defeated right in it—except for what has happened in this Community, for right in it has defeated wrong.

Then he descended.

People were brought to Mu'āwiya to pledge allegiance to him. One would be brought and would say, "By God, Mu'āwiya, I pledge allegiance to you although I loathe you." Mu'āwiya would say, "Pledge allegiance, for God has set much good in what is loathed."<sup>1585</sup> Another would come<sup>1586</sup> and would say, "I take refuge with God from the evil of your soul."<sup>1587</sup>

When Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda came to him, Mu'āwiya said to him, "Pledge allegiance, Qays!" Qays said, "How I hate a day like this, Mu'āwiya!" Mu'āwiya said: "Stop it!—may God have mercy on you." Qays said, "Once I was eager to separate | your soul from your body, Son of Abū Sufyān, but God insisted on what *He* wanted." Mu'āwiya said, "God's command cannot be turned back."

<sup>1582</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī's choice of word, *malaka* (became king) is significantly different from the term *ustukhlifa* (was made caliph) used in connection with the succession of 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī. He uses the same term (*malaka*) for the Umayyads generally, with the exception of the pious 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who *waliya* (took over, came to power), ed. Leiden, 2:361. For Muslim discomfort with the title *malik* (king), see the anecdote related by al-Ya'qūbī below, ed. Leiden, 2:257, and the notice at ed. Leiden, 2:276. With the 'Abbāsids, al-Ya'qūbī generally usually uses the formula *būyī'a* (allegiance was sworn to him) along with the date.

<sup>1583</sup> For Hind, see below, n. 1608.

<sup>1584</sup> Dhū l-Qa'da 40 A.H. = March 8 – April 6, 661.

<sup>1585</sup> An echo of Qur'an 4:19: "It is possible you may be averse to a thing, and God set in it much good."

<sup>1586</sup> Reading with M, *wa-ya'ti*; Ms. ed. Leiden (following C) reads *wa ya'bā* (and would refuse).

<sup>1587</sup> Echoing Qur'an 113 and 114.

Qays then turned his face to the people and said: "People! You have replaced good with evil. You have substituted humiliation for honor, and disbelief for belief. After being ruled by the Commander of the Faithful, the noblest of the Muslims, the cousin of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds, you have come to be ruled by the Released One, son of the Released One,<sup>1588</sup> who will humiliate you and tyrannize you. How can your souls be ignorant of this? Or has God sealed your hearts,<sup>1589</sup> so that you have no sense?" Mu'āwiya knelt down on his knees, took Qays's hand and said, "I adjure you!" He then clasped Qays's palm and called out to the people, "Qays has pledged allegiance!" However, Qays said: "You have been lied to! By God, I have not sworn allegiance." Mu'āwiya would have everyone who pledged allegiance to him swear oaths; he was the first [caliph] to make people swear oaths to their allegiance to him.

Sa'd b. Mālik<sup>1590</sup> came into his presence and said, "Peace be upon you, O King!" Mu'āwiya became angry and said, "Why didn't you say, 'Peace be upon you, Commander of the Faithful?'" Sa'd said, "That would have been appropriate if we had made you commander, but you are only a usurper."

Farwa b. Nawfal al-Ashja'i,<sup>1591</sup> who had withdrawn together with a group of Khārijites to Shahrazūr, revolted in the year 40.<sup>1592</sup> When he received word of 'Alī's murder and Mu'āwiya's victory, he set out with 1,500 men and reached al-Nukhayla.<sup>1593</sup> Mu'āwiya sent some cavalry against him, but Farwa routed them. Mu'āwiya then charged the Kufans to go out and fight the Khārijites, and they did so out of fear of him. When they met the Khārijites, Farwa b. Nawfal said to

1588 Arabic *al-ṭaliq ibn al-ṭaliq*. *Ṭaliq* (pl. *ṭulaqā'*) originally referred to an emancipated slave. The Meccans who accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca in 6/630 received this name. Having been conquered by the Muslims, they were prisoners of war and could be enslaved. The Prophet magnanimously liberated them en masse. Hurling this name at Mu'āwiya was intended to recall his father's and his own late conversion to Islam. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṭulaqā'*.

1589 Cf. Qur'ān 9:93, "God has set a seal on their hearts, so they know not."

1590 This is Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

1591 Farwa b. Nawfal al-Ashja'i was a Kufan who seceded from 'Alī's army with 500 of his associates at Šiffin, went with them to al-Daskara in 37/657–658, and did not fight in the battle of al-Nahrawān. See al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh*, 7:27; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 210; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3310, 3370, 2:10.

1592 40 A.H. = May 17, 660 – May 6, 661.

1593 Al-Nukhayla is a town in Iraq which is mainly known from the accounts of the battle of al-Qādisiyya. It seems that two different places of this name had later to be distinguished. The one connected with the events during the period of 'Alī and Mu'āwiya is near Kufa on the road to Syria. See the article by E. Honigsmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nukhayla.

the Kufans, "Leave us alone, for Mu'āwiya is our enemy and yours." However, the Kufans fought them fiercely until Farwa was killed, and thus Mu'āwiya's fears were put to rest.

2:258 Mu'āwiya returned to Syria in the year 41.<sup>1594</sup> He received word that the Byzantine emperor had marched out with many troops and a mighty host. Since Mu'āwiya feared being distracted from | the planning and consolidation that he needed to do, he sent to him, and he made peace with him on payment of 100,000 dinars.<sup>1595</sup> Mu'āwiya was the first to make a peace settlement with the Byzantines; his peace with them took place at the beginning of the year 42.<sup>1596</sup> When Mu'āwiya had affairs under control, he made the commanders of Syria lead summer campaigns, and they took captives from the land of the Byzantines year after year; we have mentioned their names in the places dedicated to summer campaigns.<sup>1597</sup> The Byzantine ruler sued for peace on condition that he would double the amount of money, but Mu'āwiya did not accept his offer.<sup>1598</sup>

Mu'āwiya appointed 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz over Basra. When the latter arrived in Basra, he dispatched 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura to Khurāsān. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and along with him 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī, attacked Balkh and Kābul. He conquered Balkh after a fierce battle; then he advanced to Kābul and besieged it for several nights. Then the gate-keeper of the city came to him, and Abd al-Raḥmān gave him something, so that he opened the gate, and a battle took place in the city. Its people asked for a peace settlement, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān made one with them. He then departed, leaving Ibn Khāzim in Khurāsān.

Mu'āwiya appointed 'Abdallāh b. Darrāj,<sup>1599</sup> his client, over the *kharāj* of Iraq.<sup>1600</sup> Then he wrote to him:

1594 41 A.H. = May 7, 661 – April 25, 662.

1595 The Arabic pronouns are ambiguous, but it is almost certain that it was the Byzantine emperor who paid Mu'āwiya the money.

1596 42 A.H. = April 26, 662 – April 14, 663.

1597 See the section of al-Ya'qūbī's history below, ed. Leiden 2:285–286.

1598 Again the pronouns in the Arabic text are ambiguous, but it is almost certain that it was the Byzantine emperor who made the request specifying the amount of money he would pay.

1599 'Abdallāh (or 'Abd al-Raḥmān) b. Darrāj was Mu'āwiya's secretary and a fiscal director in Kufa during the governorship of al-Mughira b. Shu'ba. He was killed by Ibn al-Zubayr. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 290, 293; idem., *Ansāb*, 5b:123, 5:363; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:837; al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā'*, 24; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 34:340.

1600 Apparently meaning Kufa, as al-Ya'qūbī will soon mention Mu'āwiya's sending a second letter to his agent in Basra with similar instructions to be applied to "the land of Basra."



Bring to me of its income what I can make use of.

Ibn Darrāj wrote to tell him that the *dihqāns* had informed him that Kisrā and his family had crown lands (*ṣawāfī*) whose income they levied for themselves and which were not treated as land subject to the *kharāj* tax.<sup>1601</sup> Mu'āwiya wrote to him, saying:

Make an inventory of these crown lands, designate them as such, and build dams<sup>1602</sup> on them.

Ibn Darrāj gathered the *dihqāns* and questioned them. They said, "The register is in Ḥulwān."<sup>1603</sup> He sent and it was brought to him. He computed all that had belonged to Kisrā and his family, built dams on it, and designated<sup>1604</sup> it as belonging to Mu'āwiya. Its revenue amounted to 50,000,000 dirhams from the land of Kufa and its Sawād.

Mu'āwiya wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakra<sup>1605</sup> to do the same thing in the land | of Basra.

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Mu'āwiya also ordered that he should be brought gifts at Nayrūz and Mihra-jān.<sup>1606</sup> So 1,000,000 (dirhams)<sup>1607</sup> would be sent to him at Nayrūz and other occasions, and 10,000,000 (dirhams) at Mihrajān.

1601 On Mu'āwiya's administration of former Sasanian state lands (*ṣawāfī*), see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 68–70.

1602 Arabic *musannayāt*. This is the reading of C (but undotted and ambiguous) as read by Houtsma. The word is common in the primary and secondary literature (see Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Population Census and Land Surveys Under the Umayyads 41–132/661–750"). However, M reads *musabbabāt* (see al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, for the term), which would translate, "impose assessments on them."

1603 Ḥulwān is an ancient city in Iraq situated near the entrance to the Paytak pass through the Zagros range, on the Khurāsān highway, 33 km southeast of Qasr-i Shīrīn. According to some sources, the Sasanian king Qavādh (d. 531 CE) established a land survey office in it, and the registers were kept there until after the Muslim conquest. See the article by L. Lockhart in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥulwān.

1604 Thus ed. Leiden, following C (*istaṣfāhu*); M reads *istaḍāfahu* (he added it).

1605 Tradition has it that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakra al-Thaqafī, the nephew of Ziyād, was the first Muslim to be born in Basra. He fought in the Battle of the Camel on the side of 'Ā'isha and was Ziyād's secretary in charge of correspondence. He died in 96/714–715. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7:138; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 289; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1014, 3105, 3229, 2:22, 24, 458; al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, 4:319; idem, *Ta'rikh*, 410; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 18:128.

1606 Nayrūz or Nawrūz is the Persian New Year, at the vernal equinox; Mihrajān is the feast of the autumnal equinox.

1607 Thus M; the figure has dropped out of C.

Ziyād b. ‘Ubayd was ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’s governor over Fārs. When Mu‘āwiya came to power, he wrote to Ziyād, threatening and menacing him. Ziyād rose and delivered the following speech:

The son of the liver-eater,<sup>1608</sup> the cave of hypocrisy, and the remnant of the factions<sup>1609</sup> has written, threatening and menacing me. But between me and him is the son<sup>1610</sup> of the daughter of God’s Messenger, with 90,000<sup>1611</sup> men who have put the pommels of their swords under their chins, none of whom will turn away until he dies. By God, if he gets to me, he will find me to be a swordsman who will leave a bitter taste in his mouth!

Mu‘āwiya sent [to him] al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba, who brought him back (to Mu‘āwiya’s fold). Mu‘āwiya then claimed Ziyād, attaching him to Abū Sufyān,<sup>1612</sup> and appointed him governor over Basra.

Ziyād produced four witnesses. One of them testified that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib informed him that they had been sitting at ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb’s when Ziyād arrived bringing a message from Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī. Ziyād spoke in a way that impressed ‘Umar, whereupon ‘Umar asked Ziyād, “Would you have said this to the people from the pulpit?” Ziyād said, “They are easier for me to address than you, Commander of the Faithful.” Abū Sufyān said, “By God, he is indeed

1608 The liver-eater is Mu‘āwiya’s mother, Hind bt. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Abd Shams, who reportedly chewed the liver of Ḥamza, the Prophet’s uncle, after his death at the battle of Uḥud in the year 3/625; see Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra* (trans. Guillaume), 385. For Hind, who died after Abū Bakr, see the article by Fr. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hind bint ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a.

1609 For “the factions” (*al-aḥzāb*), see above, n. 1452.

1610 Following the reading of both MSS (*inna ibn*). Ziyād is referring to ‘Alī’s son al-Ḥasan. Houtsma emended the text to *ibnā* (the two sons), as in the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:15. However, the parallel in al-Ṭabarī adds *ibnā ‘amm*, (sons of the paternal uncle, i.e., nephews) and explicitly identifies the persons as al-Ḥasan and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās. If one accepts Houtsma’s emendation, Ziyād would be referring to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. The problem then is that the former had been abandoned by his followers and had renounced the caliphate, while the latter had as yet shown no signs of dissent to Mu‘āwiya, and would not be killed until almost two decades later.

1611 Following Houtsma’s emendation on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:15. M and C read 70,000. The words for 70 (*sab‘īn*) and 90 (*tis‘īn*) are almost identical in the absence of pointing.

1612 That is, he claimed that Ziyād was the son of Abū Sufyān, hence that he was Mu‘āwiya’s half-brother. Because of Ziyād’s uncertain paternity, the name Ziyād b. Abihi (Ziyād Son of His Father) was often given to him. Parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:191–194 (§1777–1783). See the article by I. Hasson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ziyād b. Abihi.

my son, and I it was who put him into his mother's womb!" I<sup>1613</sup> said [to Abū Sufyān], "So what prevents you from claiming him?" Abū Sufyān said, "Fear of this braying donkey!"<sup>1614</sup>

Another witness came forward and testified to the truth of this testimony. He said that when Ziyād al-Hamdānī<sup>1615</sup> was asked [by Ziyād] what his opinion of 'Alī was, Ziyād al-Hamdānī had said, "The same as yours, when he appointed you over Fārs and testified to you that you were the son of Abū Sufyān."

Abū Maryam al-Salūlī<sup>1616</sup> came forward and said: "I do not know about testimony to testimony,<sup>1617</sup> but I was a wine dealer in al-Ṭā'if, and Abū | Sufyān 2:260 visited me when he was returning from a trip of his. He ate and drank, and then he said: 'Abū Maryam, I've been without a woman<sup>1618</sup> for a long time. Can you find me a prostitute?' I said, 'I can find you no other than the slave woman of the Banū 'Ajlān.' Abū Sufyān said, 'Bring her to me, despite her sagging breasts and stinking crotch.' I brought her to him, and he had intercourse with her. Then he came back to me and said, 'Abū Maryam, she drew the water of my loins out so vigorously that it confirmed<sup>1619</sup> the trace of pregnancy in her eyes!' " Ziyād said to Abū Maryam, "We brought you here to testify, not to vilify!" Abū Maryam said, "I am simply stating the truth as it happened." So Mu'āwiya sent [...] <sup>1620</sup>

1613 That is, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the narrator of the episode. This would have been clearer had the episode been consistently retold as direct quotation: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib informed him, saying: "We were sitting at 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's ..."

1614 That is, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

1615 Ziyād al-Hamdānī is possibly Ziyād b. [Abī] Usāma al-Ḥirmāzī (but according to Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 202, the Ḥirmāz are from the Tamīm), who has a biography in Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 19:130, where he is counted as one of the witnesses to Mu'āwiya's claim that Ziyād was his half-brother.

1616 Abū Maryam al-Salūlī, whose name was Mālik b. Rabī'a, participated in the truce of al-Ḥudaybiya and gave his allegiance to the Prophet. He is best known in the historical tradition for his testimony in favor of Ziyād's claim to be the son of Abū Sufyān. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1:370; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 192; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:193 (§ 1781); Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 5:295; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 19:131.

1617 Retaining the MSS reading: *mā shahāda 'alā shahāda*. Houtsma emended it unnecessarily to *mā shahādat 'Alī* (What 'Alī's testimony was). Abū Maryam means that his testimony is not like the first three, a testimony to the testimony of someone else, but first-hand, direct testimony.

1618 Reading with M, *ṭālat il-ʿuzba* (my state of celibacy has been long), instead of C and ed. Leiden, *ṭālat il-ghurba* (my being away has been long).

1619 The text in C was unclear, and Houtsma could find no solution except *tuthibu ibna l-ḥabali* (she/it rewards the son of pregnancy). On the basis of M, which is also unpointed, one can read *yuthbitu athara l-ḥabali* (confirming the trace of pregnancy).

1620 There is no blank in the MSS, but clearly something is missing from the text.

[Ziyād rose up and said: “He”]<sup>1621</sup> has said what has reached you and testified to what you have heard. If what they said is true, praise be to God, who has preserved of me what people have wasted, and elevated of me what they have put down! If it is false, then Mu‘āwiya and the witnesses know better. Yet ‘Ubayd<sup>1622</sup> was never anything but a blessed, praiseworthy father.” Then he descended.

Mu‘āwiya appointed al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba over Kufa in Jumādā [...] of the year 42,<sup>1623</sup> and he remained in charge of it for a time. Then Mu‘āwiya changed his mind and appointed ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz over Kufa. When the news reached the Kufans, so many of them went out to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir that whenever al-Mughīra [asked] for any person he was told that he had gone out to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir. He even asked for his secretary and was told, “He has joined ‘Abdallāh”; whereupon al-Mughīra said to his servant, “Boy, saddle my mule and bring it here!” He set out and, having reached Damascus, went before Mu‘āwiya. When Mu‘āwiya saw him, he said: “What has brought you here, Mughīra? You have left your governorship and abandoned the city and the people of Iraq, who are the quickest people to embrace sedition.” Al-Mughīra said: “Commander of the Faithful, I have become old. My strength is failing, I can no longer do my job, and I have attained | all I need from the world. By God, only one thing grieves me, something by which I thought I could repay what is your due, something that I hoped to do before my appointed time and that God would help me well to do.” “And what is it?” asked Mu‘āwiya. Al-Mughīra said: “I called on the nobles (*ashrāf*) of Kufa to pledge allegiance to Yazīd, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, as heir apparent after the Commander of the Faithful. They were forthcoming about it, and I found them ready to do so; but I was reluctant to initiate something without the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful, and so I have come to talk to him face to face about it and to ask him to relieve me of the governorship.” Mu‘āwiya said: “Praise be to God, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān! Yazīd is indeed your nephew.”<sup>1624</sup> Someone like you does not begin a matter

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<sup>1621</sup> This is a conjectural addition based on the context.

<sup>1622</sup> ‘Ubayd was the man to whom Sumayya, Ziyād’s mother, had been given as a slave. Since he owned the bed on which Ziyād had been born, legally Ziyād was his offspring—until his acknowledgment by Mu‘āwiya. See the article by I. Hasson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ziyād b. Abīhi.

<sup>1623</sup> The MSS do not indicate whether the month was Jumādā I or Jumādā II, and the parallel sources are of no help. Jumādā I 42 = August 22 – September 20, 662; Jumādā II 42 = September 21 – October 19, 662.

<sup>1624</sup> Yazīd was not literally al-Mughīra’s nephew, since al-Mughīra was neither Mu‘āwiya’s brother nor the brother of his wife, Yazīd’s mother, Maysūn bt. Baḥdal al-Kalbiyya. However, al-Mughīra was Mu‘āwiya’s brother-in-law through his marriage to four (or

and then leave it without carrying it through to completion. We adjure you by God to go back and finish the matter!" Al-Mughīra went out from his presence and ran into his secretary.<sup>1625</sup> He said to him, "Let us go back to Kufa, for, by God, I have set Mu'āwiya's foot in a stirrup out of which nothing will take it out except bloodshed!" And he left for Kufa.

Mu'āwiya wrote to Ziyād, who was in Basra:

Al-Mughīra has called the people of Kufa to pledge allegiance to Yazīd as heir apparent after me. Al-Mughīra has no greater claim to your nephew<sup>1626</sup> than you have. So, when my letter reaches you, call upon the people in your area to do the same as al-Mughīra called upon them to do, and receive their pledge of allegiance to Yazīd.

When the letter reached [Ziyād] and he read it, he summoned one of his companions whose integrity and understanding he trusted and said to him: "I want to entrust to you something that I will not entrust to written pages. Go to Mu'āwiya and say to him: 'Commander of the Faithful, your letter about such-and-such a matter has reached me. What shall we say to the people<sup>1627</sup> if we call them to pledge allegiance to Yazīd, when he plays with dogs and monkeys, wears dyed clothes, is addicted to wine, and dances to the accompaniment of tambourines, while in their presence are al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar?'<sup>1628</sup> | Rather, you should command Yazīd to affect the morals of those men for a year or two; then perhaps we can camouflage the truth from the people.'" When the messenger reached Mu'āwiya and delivered the message to him, Mu'āwiya said: "Woe is me from the son of 'Ubayd! I have received word the camel-driver has chanted

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three) of the daughters of Abū Sufyān, Mu'āwiya's father. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 60:49; al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, 3:30.

1625 "His secretary" (*kātibahu*) is clear in the MSS. It is strange that the secretary should be mentioned here, as al-Mughīra's secretary has just been reported to have joined 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz. Either another secretary is meant, or the word should read: *ghulamīhi* (his servant), that is, the person who accompanied him on his trip to Mu'āwiya.

1626 Here "your nephew" is meant literally, since Mu'āwiya claimed that Ziyād was Abū Sufyān's son from Sumayya, making him Mu'āwiya's half-brother and thus making Yazīd his nephew.

1627 Reading with M, *fa-mā naqūlu* (or, *taqūlu*) *li-l-nās* (What shall we [or, will you] say to the people). Ed. Leiden (following C) reads *fa-mā yaqūlu al-nās* (What will the people say).

1628 That is, men worthier of the caliphate.

to him that the commander after me is to be Ziyād. By God, I will send him back to his mother Sumayya and his father ‘Ubayd!”<sup>1629</sup>

When al-Mughīra arrived in Kufa, returning from Mu‘āwiya, Shabīb b. Bajara al-Ashja‘ī the Khārijite<sup>1630</sup> had revolted. When Shabīb learned of al-Mughīra’s arrival, he fled to Mu‘āwiya and said, “I am the killer of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.” Shabīb b. Bajara had been with Ibn Muljam the night Ibn Muljam struck ‘Alī. Mu‘āwiya said to him, “I will not see you, nor you me!” Shabīb then returned to Kufa and fought al-Mughīra. Al-Mughīra sent an army against him and killed him.

Al-Mustawrid b. ‘Ullafa al-Taymī<sup>1631</sup>—from the Taym al-Ribāb—revolted in the year 43.<sup>1632</sup> Al-Mughīra sent some cavalry against him; he was killed in lower Sābāt,<sup>1633</sup> and all his companions were killed.

After him, Mu‘ādh b. Juwayn al-Ṭā‘ī Abū l-Mustawrid<sup>1634</sup> revolted. Al-Mughīra sent against him some cavalry headed by a man from the Hamdān, and they killed him.

A band of non-Arab Muslims (*mawālī*) revolted. Their commander was Abū ‘Alī,<sup>1635</sup> a Kufan who was a client of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b; it was the first time that the non-Arab Muslims (*mawālī*) revolted. Al-Mughīra sent against them a man from the Bajīla, and they met in Bādūrayā.<sup>1636</sup> The man from the Bajīla called out to them: “You non-Arabs! Here are the Arabs fighting us over religion; so what is the matter to you?” They called back: “Jābir, *we have indeed heard a*

1629 Mu‘āwiya means that Ziyād, having been claimed by Mu‘āwiya as his half-brother, has begun to nurse dreams of becoming caliph after Mu‘āwiya. Mu‘āwiya therefore threatens that he will reattach Ziyād to his real parents, Sumayya and ‘Ubayd (not Sumayya and Abū Sufyān), thereby ending his political aspirations.

1630 Shabīb b. Bajara al-Ashja‘ī was among the Khārijites who participated in the battle at al-Nahrawān. He was persuaded by Ibn Muljam to participate in stabbing ‘Alī, but was able to escape, while Ibn Muljam was captured. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 197, 209; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3458–3459; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:165 (§ 1732).

1631 Al-Mustawrid b. ‘Ullafa al-Taymī (vocalize thus, not ‘Ullifa, as in ed. Leiden; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, *Addenda et emendanda* to 2:28) was a Khārijite who escaped after the battle al-Nahrawān. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 197, 198; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 168–171; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index.

1632 43 A.H. = April 15, 663 – April 3, 664.

1633 Sābāt Kistrā is near al-Madā’in. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 3:166.

1634 Mu‘ādh b. Juwayn al-Ṭā‘ī Abū l-Mustawrid was among the Khārijites who pledged allegiance to al-Mustawrid b. ‘Ullafa as Commander of the Faithful. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 172; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:20–21, 29, 36, 181–183.

1635 Otherwise unknown.

1636 Bādūrayā was a district south-west of what became later Baghdad, separated from it by the Sarāt canal. See the article by M. Streck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bādūrayā.

wondrous Qur'ān that guides to righteousness; we have believed in it and we will not associate anyone with our Lord.<sup>1637</sup> God sent our Prophet to all people;<sup>1638</sup> He did not withhold him from anyone." So he fought them until he killed them.

Egypt and the Maghrib belonged to 'Amr b. al-Āṣ a source of revenue that Mu'āwiya stipulated for him on the day he pledged allegiance. | A copy of that document read:<sup>1639</sup> 2:263

This is what Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān has given to 'Amr b. al-Āṣ: Egypt. He has given him its people; they shall be his as long as he lives, on condition that he not break his obedience.<sup>1640</sup>

Wardān, 'Amr's client, had said to 'Amr: "[The document] takes the hair from your body."<sup>1641</sup> 'Amr set to reading the document, but he could not perceive what Wardān had perceived. When the document was sealed and the witnesses had witnessed, Wardān said to 'Amr: "Your lifespan, old man, is but a donkey's thirst."<sup>1642</sup> Why didn't you stipulate that it be for your children after you?" 'Amr asked Mu'āwiya to cancel the condition, but Mu'āwiya refused. 'Amr therefore would not send Mu'āwiya any of Egypt's revenue;<sup>1643</sup> he would distribute stipends among the troops and keep the remainder for himself.

1637 Qur'ān 72:1–2. In the Qur'ān, the words are spoken by a group of jinn, who heard the Qur'ān being recited and believed. The speakers' point is that if even the jinn could believe, *a fortiori* non-Arabs, who, after all, are human beings, could believe.

1638 Echoing Qur'ān 34:28: "We have sent thee not, except to mankind entire, good tidings to bear, and warning; but most men do not know it."

1639 Al-Ya'qūbī has mentioned this document earlier (ed. Leiden, 2:217).

1640 Reading *wa-lā yanquḍu ṭā'atan sharṭan*. The syntax is strange. The word *yanquḍu* (break) is unpointed in the MSS and Houtsma read it as *tunqīṣu* (diminish). He also emended the MSS *ṭā'a* (obedience) to *ṭā'atuhu* (his obedience).

1641 Literally, "In it is the hair of/from your body." However, the text is uncertain. The word for "hair" (*al-sha'r*) is unpointed in the manuscripts, as is the word in C that Houtsma read as *badanika* (your body). M has (*unpointed tooth letter*).*d.y.k*, perhaps to be read as *yadayka* (your hands). In any case, the meaning is that Mu'āwiya has shortchanged 'Amr, as a skillful person does when he removes hair from the body.

1642 Emending the MSS *maẓinnatu ḥimārin* (the place where a donkey is likely to be found) as suggested by the *Addenda et emendanda* of ed. Leiden, to *ẓim'u ḥimārin* (the thirst-period of an ass), as in the proverb, *mā baqiya min 'umrihi illā ẓim'u l-ḥimāri*, "There remained not of his life save a little, literally, save the period between the two drinkings of an ass, because there is no beast that bears thirst for a shorter time than the ass; for he comes to the water in summer every day twice." (Lane, *Lexicon*, 5:1923).

1643 But see below (ed. Leiden, 2:277), where 'Amr is said to have sent "very little" of the 3 million dinars due in taxes from Egypt.

‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ governed Egypt for ten years: four under ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, four less two months under ‘Uthmān, and two years and three months under Mu‘āwiya. He died when he was ninety-eight years old.

‘Amr was the Arabs’ shrewdest man in judiciousness, resoluteness, intellect, and speech: whenever ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb saw a man speaking incorrectly, he would say, “Praised be He who created you and also created ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ!”

Someone has said that he heard ‘Amr say: “A just ruler is better than a tyrannical one, but an oppressive tyrannical ruler is better than lasting sedition (*fitna*). A slip of the foot means a bone that can be set, while the slip of the tongue *leaves nothing and spares nothing*.<sup>1644</sup> Someone with no understanding is at ease.”

When ‘Amr came to die, he said to his son: “Your father wishes that he had died at the raid of Dhāt al-Salāsil.<sup>1645</sup> I have involved myself with affairs for which I do not know what excuse I shall have before God.” Then he looked at his fortune and seeing its magnitude he said: “Would that it were dung! Would that I had died thirty years ago! I made Mu‘āwiya’s worldly fortune thrive, while I spoiled my religion; I preferred my worldly life | and abandoned my afterlife; my integrity was blinded, and now my time of death has come. I seem to see Mu‘āwiya taking possession of my fortune and making my succession evil for you.”

‘Amr died on the eve of the Festival of Breaking the Fast in the year 43.<sup>1646</sup> Mu‘āwiya confirmed his son, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr, but then confiscated ‘Amr’s estate. He was the first to confiscate a governor’s estate: whenever one of his governors died, Mu‘āwiya would split his estate with his heirs. When he was questioned about it, he would say, “This is a procedure (*sunna*) that was instituted by ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.” Then Mu‘āwiya dismissed ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr from office and appointed his own brother, ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān,<sup>1647</sup> over Egypt.

<sup>1644</sup> Qur’ān 74:28.

<sup>1645</sup> A raid led by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ during the lifetime of the Prophet. See Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra* (trans. Guillaume), 668–669.

<sup>1646</sup> That is, on 30 Ramaḍān 43 (January 5, 664). The Festival of Breaking the Fast (*‘Īd al-Fiṭr*) marks the end of Ramaḍān.

<sup>1647</sup> ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān, who was born during the lifetime of the Prophet, had been appointed by ‘Umar over al-Ṭā’if. He also served as governor of Medina and led the pilgrimage several times. He was present at the killing of ‘Uthmān, fought on ‘Ā’isha’s side in the Battle of the Camel, and on Mu‘āwiya’s at Ṣiffīn. Appointed governor of Egypt by Mu‘āwiya in 43/664, he died in Alexandria in the following year. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 205, 208; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā’*, 34.



Mu'āwiya wrote to Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān:<sup>1648</sup>

There is in your area [a man] from the Companions of God's Messenger: appoint him over Khurāsān—he is al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī.<sup>1649</sup>

Ziyād appointed him over Khurāsān; he went out to it in the year 44.<sup>1650</sup> He went to Herat, and from there to al-Jūzajān, which he conquered; but they suffered so much hardship that they had to eat their mounts. Al-Muhallab<sup>1651</sup> was with al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr at the time, and al-Ḥakam knew al-Muhallab's bravery and fortitude. Then al-Ḥakam died, and Ziyād appointed al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī<sup>1652</sup> in his place. Khwārazm was conquered during this period; the one who conquered it was 'Abdallāh b. [Abī] 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī.<sup>1653</sup>

Mu'āwiya performed the pilgrimage in the year 44.<sup>1654</sup> He brought with him from Syria a pulpit which he placed by the door of the Sacred House. Thus he was the first person to put the pulpit in the Sacred Mosque.

When Mu'āwiya arrived in Medina, a group of the Banū Hāshim came to him and talked to him<sup>1655</sup> about their affairs. Mu'āwiya said: "Are you not satisfied, Banū Hāshim, that we have kept your lives intact despite your having killed

1648 It is strange that al-Ya'qūbī calls Ziyād "Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān."

1649 Al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī was a Basran. He died in 50/670–671 while still governor of Khurāsān. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii/1, 18; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 211; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 2:474; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:436.

1650 44 A.H. = April 4, 664 – March 24, 665.

1651 Al-Muhallab b. Abī Šufra al-Azdī (d. 82/702) was a distinguished general and governor, whose descendants exerted enormous influence in later Umayyad times and beyond. See the article by P. Crone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muhallab b. Abī Šufra. See also Hinds, *An Early Islamic family from Oman: Al-'Awtabī's Account of the Muhallabids*.

1652 Al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, a Companion of the Prophet and participant in the early conquests, was appointed by Mu'āwiya over Sijistān in 46/666–667, where he led several campaigns against the Turks. Ziyād dismissed him from office and then appointed him over Khurāsān at the beginning of 51/671. He invaded Balkh and died at the battle of Tustar c. 60/679–680. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index.

1653 "Abī" is missing from the MSS. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī participated in the early conquests of Iran. Later, he was among the hardliners against Ḥujr b. 'Adī and was one of the witnesses of Ziyād's letter about him to Mu'āwiya in 51/671–672. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index.

1654 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 44 = February 23, 665.

1655 Reading with M, *wa-kallamūhu*. Ed. Leiden, following C, reads *wa-kallamūhum* (and they talked to them). See also Landberg, *Critica* 1:48.

2:265 'Uthmān, so that now you say what you say? By God, you are more deserving of death<sup>1656</sup> than so-and-so and so-and-so!"—and he spoke strong words. Ibn 'Abbās said to him: "Everything you have said to us, Mu'āwiya, | comes from the evil within you. You, by God, are more deserving of having such a thing ascribed to you than we are. You killed 'Uthmān; then you set about pulling the wool over people's eyes by saying that you were seeking vengeance for his blood." Mu'āwiya was abashed. Ibn 'Abbās then said, "By God, I have never seen you tell the truth except when you are intimidated and abashed." Mu'āwiya smiled and said, "By God, how nice it was (in the past) when you did not speak to me!"<sup>1657</sup>

Then the Anṣār talked to him. He spoke harshly to them and said to them, "How are your watering-camels doing?"<sup>1658</sup> They said: "We exhausted them during the battle of Badr when we killed your brother, your grandfather, and your maternal uncle. But we are doing what God's Messenger counseled us to do." "And what did he counsel you to do?" asked Mu'āwiya. They said, "He counseled us to have patience." Mu'āwiya said, "Then be patient!"—and he set out for Syria at nightfall without fulfilling any of their wishes.

In this year, Mu'āwiya set up the *maqṣūra* inside the mosque<sup>1659</sup> and took the pulpits out to the place of prayer at the two feasts.<sup>1660</sup> He preached the sermon before the prayer.<sup>1661</sup> That was because people used to leave [the mosque] once they had finished praying so as not to hear the cursing of 'Alī. Mu'āwiya there-

1656 Reading with M, *la-antum aḥallu daman* (indeed you are more licit with regard to blood). C and ed. Leiden read *lā antum ajallu daman* (not you are more exalted in blood).

1657 "You" is in the plural. The sentence is enigmatic and the translation uncertain.

1658 This saying of Mu'āwiya's is quoted frequently. Watering-camels (*nawāḍiḥ*) are camels used for transporting irrigation water. The remark is intended to disparage the Anṣār as farmers, rather than camel raisers or warriors. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. N-Ḍ-Ḥ.

1659 The *maqṣūra* was a compartment built for the ruler near the *miḥrāb*. Al-'Askarī, *Awā'il*, 193–194, identifies Mu'āwiya as the "first to set up the *maqṣūra*," adding that that was because he "saw a dog on his pulpit (*minbar*)." He then states that others say that the first in that regard was Marwān [b. al-Ḥakam], describing it as "built with engraved stones and having small windows" and stating that Marwān had it built because a disgruntled tax-payer brushed him with his knife at prayer, whereupon he ordered the building of the *maqṣūra* and would pray in it "for fear that what happened to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb should happen to him." See the article by J. Pedersen in *Er*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Masḍjīd.

1660 Muslims would pray the special prayers of the Festival of Breaking the Fast (*Īd al-Fiṭr*) and the Festival of Sacrifice (*Īd al-Aḍḥā*), in an open-air prayer place (*muṣallā*) outside the city.

1661 Al-'Askarī, *Awā'il*, 148, 200, states that the first to do this was either 'Uthmān b. 'Affān or Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, not Mu'āwiya.

fore made the sermon precede the prayer. Mu'āwiya also granted Fadak<sup>1662</sup> to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, so as to gall the family of God's Messenger.

Mu'āwiya appointed Ibn Uthāl the Christian over the *kharāj* of Ḥimṣ—none of the caliphs before him had appointed Christians as agents. Khālīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd<sup>1663</sup> accosted Ibn Uthāl with the sword and killed him. Mu'āwiya imprisoned Khālīd for some days; then he made him pay Ibn Uthāl's blood-money, but did not retaliate against Khālīd for killing him. Ibn Uthāl had killed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd<sup>1664</sup> by slipping him a poisoned drink. Al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām<sup>1665</sup> had reproached Khālīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, saying, "You talk, while Ibn Uthāl is in Ḥimṣ, ordering and forbidding." Having killed Ibn Uthāl, Khālīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān said to al-Mundhir, "As for me, I have killed Ibn Uthāl, | but 'Amr b. Jurmūz al-Tamīmī, 2:266 who killed al-Zubayr,<sup>1666</sup> is safe and sound."

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib<sup>1667</sup> had gone to Syria to see Mu'āwiya, but Mu'āwiya shunned him and granted none of his requests.

1662 Fadak, a small town in northwestern Ḥijāz near Khaybar, was conquered by an expedition led by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the days of the Prophet (see above, ed. Leiden, 2:78). For the controversy over the disposition of its revenue, see above, ed. Leiden 2:142, and the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fadak. The "galling" in the text refers to the refusal by Abū Bakr and his successors to grant Fātima's request to be granted the revenue from Fadak after the death of her father, the Prophet, and the bitterness this created.

1663 Khālīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī was a poet whose father led the winter campaign in 46/666–667 and, upon his return to Ḥimṣ, was poisoned by Ibn Uthāl. (Mu'āwiya, jealous of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's popularity, is said to have put Ibn Uthāl up to it.) Khālīd then killed Ibn Uthāl to avenge his father's death. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:82–83, 85; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 16:163.

1664 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd, Khālīd's father, participated with his father, Khālīd b. al-Walīd, in the battle of al-Yarmūk. He resided in Ḥimṣ and fought on the side of Mu'āwiya at Ṣiffin, and the latter put him in charge of some campaigns against the Byzantines. The people of Ḥimṣ reportedly loved him and wanted to pledge obedience to him, which was the motive for Mu'āwiya's desire to get rid of him, and hence his using Ibn Uthāl to poison him and then rewarding him with heading the financial office of Ḥimṣ. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 34:324; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, 3:289.

1665 Al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām al-Asadī was a Medinan who had participated in the attempt to conquer Constantinople at the end of 'Umar's caliphate. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:135; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 363; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 221, 223; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3114, 2:132, 224, 227, 402–403, 528, 3:2552; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 60:287, 19:131.

1666 Ibn Jurmūz killed al-Zubayr, al-Mundhir's father, at the Battle of the Camel; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:213.

1667 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the full brother of 'Abdallāh b. al-

One day, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān entered Mu‘āwiya’s presence, and Mu‘āwiya asked him, “Ibn al-‘Abbās, how do you view what God has done to us and to Abū l-Ḥasan?”<sup>1668</sup> Ibn al-‘Abbās said: “A faultless deed, by God! He sped ‘Alī to a paradise that you will never attain, and He delayed your attaining a worldly gain which the Commander of the Faithful<sup>1669</sup> had already attained.” Mu‘āwiya said, “And will you indeed judge God?” Ibn al-‘Abbās said, “By that whereby He has judged Himself: *Whoso judges not according to what God has sent down—they are the wrongdoers.*”<sup>1670</sup> Mu‘āwiya said, “By God, if Abū ‘Amr<sup>1671</sup> had lived to see me, he would have witnessed the vengeance<sup>1672</sup> of the cousin.” Ibn al-‘Abbās said, “By God, if he had seen you, he would have known for certain that you abandoned him when aid would have been to his advantage, and you aided him when aiding was to your advantage.” Mu‘āwiya said, “Why are getting between the staff and its peel?”<sup>1673</sup> Ibn al-‘Abbās said: “I have only inserted myself *against* the two of them, not *for* them. So spare me what I dislike, and I will spare you the same, for I would rather that you behave nicely and that I go along<sup>1674</sup> with you than that you be nasty and that I match you.” Then he got up.

### The Death of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī

Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī died in the month of Rabī‘ 1 in the year 49.<sup>1675</sup> When he was about to die, he said to his brother al-Ḥusayn: “My brother, this is the last of three times I have been given poison to drink, but never have I been given it to drink like this time, and so I am going to die this very day. When I die, bury

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‘Abbās. He died without children in the caliphate of ‘Umar II. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 1–2.

1668 Abū l-Ḥasan is ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

1669 The Commander of the Faithful is, again, ‘Alī. The worldly gain is the caliphate, which ‘Alī attained before Mu‘āwiya.

1670 Qur’ān 5:45. The textus receptus has “... they are the unbelievers.”

1671 Abū ‘Amr is ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.

1672 Arabic *niqam*, as emended by Houtsma from the MSS unpointed *nī‘am* (bounties).

1673 Arabic *wa-mā dukhūluka bayna l-‘aṣā wa-liḥā’ihā*. The expression is proverbial for interfering between two friends or, more generally, meddling in what is not one’s concern. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 5:2068c. The implication is that he, Mu‘āwiya, is ‘Uthmān’s blood relative and Ibn al-‘Abbās is not; hence Ibn al-‘Abbās has no right to make innuendos about relations between Mu‘āwiya and ‘Uthmān.

1674 Reading *fa-ujāriya* for MSS *fa-ujāziya* (and I reward you).

1675 Rabī‘ 1 49A.H. = April 9 – May 8, 669. For more details about the alleged poisoning of al-Ḥasan, see al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:181–182 (§ 1758–1760).

me with God's Messenger, for no one is worthier to be near him than I, unless | 2:267  
you are barred from doing so, in which case do not spill even a cupping-glass  
of blood on account of it."

When al-Ḥasan was wrapped in his shrouds, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya<sup>1676</sup> said: "May God have mercy on you, Abū Muḥammad! For, by God, if your life has been dear, your death has been a blow. What a good spirit dwelt in your body, and what a good body has been enclosed in your shroud! How could it not be so, when you are the descendant of right guidance, the successor<sup>1677</sup> of the people who fear God, and the fifth of the People of the Garment?<sup>1678</sup> The hand of the truth nurtured you; you grew up in the lap of Islam; and the breasts of faith fed you.<sup>1679</sup> May you be well, dead and alive. May peace and God's mercy be upon you—though our spirits do not loathe your life,<sup>1680</sup> nor do we have any doubt about the choice you [made]."<sup>1681</sup>

Al-Ḥasan's bier then was taken out toward the grave of God's Messenger. However, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ rode out and barred it, and strife was about to break out. Some say that ʿĀʾisha rode out on a gray mule

1676 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya ("Muḥammad the son of the woman of the Banū Ḥanīfa tribe") has already been mentioned in al-Yaʿqūbī's list of ʿAlī's children (ed. Leiden, 2:252–253) as Muḥammad the elder, whose mother was Khawla bt. Jaʿfar al-Ḥanafīyya. Khawla was a woman captured in battle who came into ʿAlī's possession. Thus Muḥammad (often referred to simply as Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya) was al-Ḥasan's half-brother. See the article by Fr. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya.

1677 Reading with M, *khalaf*; C (unpointed) and ed. Leiden read *ḥilf* (alliance). Another possible reading is *ḥalīf* (ally), as in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3:183 (§1763). The "people who fear God" (*ahl al-taqwā*) refers to ʿAlī and the Prophet's family.

1678 Arabic *aṣḥāb al-kisā*, also known as *ahl al-kisā*. They are ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn; "the fifth" (*khāmis*) in the text refers to the Prophet, who spread his cloak over these four, at which time Qurʾān 33:33 was revealed, declaring the *ahl al-bayt* (family of the Prophet) to have been thoroughly purified. The incident is frequently adduced in Shīʿite literature in support of ʿAlī's imamate. See the article by Farhad Daftary in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Ahl al-Kisā*.

1679 This refers to al-Ḥasan's mother Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter.

1680 Arabic *wa-in kānat anfusunā ghayra qāliyatīn li-ḥayātika*. The meaning is unclear. It could be: "blessings to you dead, although we wish you were still alive," or: "blessings to you dead but also alive—for we do not loathe your life, although it may not have been exemplary." The latter meaning would fit the second part of the invocation (see the next footnote).

1681 This seems like a pointed reference to al-Ḥasan's peace agreement with Muʿāwiya. By saying "We do not regret how you lived, and we are sure you made the right choice (in renouncing power)," Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya is implying exactly the opposite.

and said: "It's my house, and I won't allow anyone into it."<sup>1682</sup> Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr<sup>1683</sup> came to her and said, "Aunt, we haven't washed our heads from the Battle of the Red Camel; do you want them to talk about the Battle of the Grey Mule?" So she turned back. A throng consisting of a large number of people gathered with al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī; they said, "Let us at the family of Marwān, for in our view, by God, they are only a few in our estimation."<sup>1684</sup> He said, "My brother has enjoined me not to spill a cupping-glass of blood because of him." So al-Ḥasan was buried in al-Baqī'.<sup>1685</sup> He was 47 years old.

When al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī died, Ibn 'Abbās was with Mu'āwiya. When the news of al-Ḥasan's death reached Mu'āwiya, he went to Ibn 'Abbās and said to him, "Ibn 'Abbās, al-Ḥasan has died." Ibn 'Abbās said: "*Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return*,"<sup>1686</sup> however grave the calamity and great the misfortune. By God, Mu'āwiya, if al-Ḥasan has died, | his death will not postpone your appointed time, neither will his body fill up your pit. He has passed on to a good state, while you survive in an evil state." Mu'āwiya said, "I expect he has left young children."<sup>1687</sup> Ibn 'Abbās said, "Each of us was young and then grew up."<sup>1688</sup> Mu'āwiya said: "Well, well, Ibn 'Abbās! You have become head of your family."<sup>1689</sup> Ibn 'Abbās said, "Not as long as God preserves Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn, the descendant of God's Messenger."

1682 The issue here is that Muḥammad had been buried in the place where he had died, which was 'Ā'isha's apartment; hence her ownership of the site. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1832.

1683 Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, the grandson of the first caliph, was brought up by his paternal aunt 'Ā'isha after his father was killed. Known for his piety, he later was accounted one of the "seven jurists of Medina" to whom an important role in the formation of Islamic law was attributed. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḡahā' al-Madīna al-Sab'a.

1684 The Arabic *mā hum 'indanā illā ka-akalati ra'sin* ('They are in our view nought but like the eaters of one head of cattle'), is proverbial for a small number. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. 'k-L. Note that C (and Houtsma) omit the word *illā* (except/but).

1685 That is, Baqī' al-Gharqad, the main cemetery of Medina. See the article by Werner Ende in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Baqī' al-Gharqad.

1686 Qur'ān 2:156, words normally recited on the occasion of a death.

1687 Reading with M, *innī la-aḥsabuhu qad khallafa shibyatan shīḥāran*. C's *lā aḥsabuhu* (I do not think he) led Houtsma to add *illā* (except) to the sentence to preserve the sense.

1688 Reading with M, *kullunā kāna ṣaghīran fa-kabura*. C and ed. Leiden read *kullamā kāna ṣaghīran fa-kabura* (Whenever he was young, he grew up); see Landberg, *Critica* 1:48.

1689 Arabic *sayyid qawmika* (the master of your people), in the sense of the senior member of an extended family.

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī was generous and noble, and he resembled God's Messenger in appearance and character. When he was asked what he had heard from God's Messenger, he said: "I heard him say to a man, 'Leave that which causes you disquiet, for evil is that which occasions disquiet and good is that which occasions tranquility.'<sup>1690</sup> I also recall from him that that while I was walking with him along the rugged ground<sup>1691</sup> of al-Ḍayqa,<sup>1692</sup> I picked up a date and tossed it into my mouth. God's Messenger put his finger inside my mouth, took out the date, and threw it away, saying, 'Charity (*ṣadaqa*) is not permissible for Muḥammad and Muḥammad's family.'<sup>1693</sup> I also learned from him the five prayers."

Al-Ḥasan performed the pilgrimage fifteen times on foot; he gave up all his money twice; and he gave up half his possessions as charity to God, may He be glorified and exalted, three times, even giving away one shoe and keeping the other, and giving away one slipper and keeping the other.

Muʿāwiya said to al-Ḥasan, "Abū Muḥammad, there are three traits about which I found no one who would inform me." "What are they?" asked al-Ḥasan. Muʿāwiya said, "Manliness, generosity, and courage." Al-Ḥasan said: "As for manliness, it is that one should care for his religion, manage his fortune well, be open-handed, spread greetings, and be affectionate to people. As for generosity, it is giving before being asked, volunteering benefits, and feeding during droughts. Finally, courage is defending neighbors, protecting during | 2:269  
adversity, and being patient in times of hardship."

Jābir<sup>1694</sup> said: I heard al-Ḥasan say: "The noble qualities of character are ten: truthfulness of the tongue; firmness of courage; giving to those who ask; goodness of disposition; requiting with good deeds; kindness to relatives; safeguarding neighbors; acknowledging another's rights; hospitality to guests; and, foremost among them, a sense of shame."

1690 The ḥadīth, particularly its first half, is famous; see al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣāʾir*, 7:213 (no. 652). A longer version is cited and translated in Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:1198, s.v. R-Y-B.

1691 Reading *ḥazn* with M. The word is unpointed in C and was read by Houtsma as *jurn* (basin).

1692 Al-Ḍayqa is a road between al-Tāʾif and Ḥunayn. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 3:465.

1693 There is a similar ḥadīth in al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 3:91: "Charity is not permissible for us or for our clients." Al-Ḥasan assumed that it was lawful for him to pick up a date from the road like any Muslim, since its owner would consider its loss to be charity to Muslims. The Prophet's saying distinguishes his family from the rest of the Muslims: whereas the latter may accept charity, the former may not.

1694 Possibly to be identified as Jābir b. Abdallāh al-Ansārī, who has been mentioned above at ed. Leiden, 2:231.

Al-Ḥasan was asked, “Who leads the best life?” He said, “Whoever shares his livelihood with others.” Asked who leads the worst life, he said, “Whoever does not enliven others with his livelihood.”

Al-Ḥasan said: “Forgoing one’s need is better than seeking it from those who are unworthy. Worse than calamity is bad character. Worship is the expectation of relief.”

Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī called for his sons and his brother’s sons and said: “My sons and nephews, you are young among people, but soon you will be old among other people; so acquire knowledge. Whoever of you is not capable of transmitting or memorizing knowledge, let him write it down and keep it in his home.”

A man said to al-Ḥasan, “I am afraid of death.” He said: “That is because you have set your wealth behind you. If you had set it before you, you would have been pleased to overtake it.”

Mu‘āwiya said: “There is no one who spoke in my presence for whom when he spoke I was more eager that he not stop than al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. I never heard him utter an indecent word except once. There was a dispute between al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī<sup>1695</sup> and ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān about a piece of land. Al-Ḥusayn made an offer that ‘Amr did not accept. At that point al-Ḥasan said, ‘We have nothing for him except to rub his nose in the dust.’<sup>1696</sup> That was the most indecent utterance I ever heard from him.”

One day Mu‘āwiya asked al-Ḥasan, “What must we do in our domain?” Al-Ḥasan said, “What Solomon son of David said.” Mu‘āwiya said, “And what did Solomon son of David say?” Al-Ḥasan said: “He said to a companion of his: 2:270 him? | If he performs his duties toward it, fears God in secret and in public, acts justly in anger and contentment, takes the middle road in poverty and wealth, does not take monies unlawfully, and does not consume them intemperately and prodigally, then whatever he enjoys of his worldly life that agrees with his natural disposition will not harm him.”

Al-Ḥasan said: “Whenever someone asked God’s Messenger for something, he would not turn him away except having granted it, together with some soothing words.”

1695 Reading with M, *al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī*, here and in the next sentence. C and ed. Leiden read *al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī*, which is less likely, as the incident seems to suppose the presence of three people, with al-Ḥasan speaking to al-Ḥusayn about ‘Amr in the third person.

1696 Arabic *illā mā raghamā anfahu*, used in the sense of humbling someone’s pride or forcing someone to do something against his will.



One day, al-Ḥasan passed a preacher<sup>1697</sup> telling stories at the door of the mosque of God's Messenger. "What are you?" asked al-Ḥasan. The man said, "I am a story-teller, O descendant of God's Messenger." Al-Ḥasan said: "You lie! Muḥammad is the story-teller: God, may He be glorified and exalted, said, '*Recite the story.*'"<sup>1698</sup> The man said, "Then I am a reminder." Al-Ḥasan said: "You lie! Muḥammad is the reminder: God, may He be glorified and exalted, said to him: '*Remind them! You are only a reminder.*'"<sup>1699</sup> The man said, "Then what am I?" Al-Ḥasan said, "A sham among men."

Al-Ḥasan had eight sons: Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, whose mother was Khawla bt. Manẓūr al-Fazāriyya; Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, whose mother was Umm Bashīr bt. Abī Masʿūd al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī; ʿUmar, al-Qāsim, Abū Bakr, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who were born to various slave women; Talḥa; and ʿUbaydallāh.

When al-Ḥasan died and the Shīʿa<sup>1700</sup> received word of it, they met in Kufa in the house of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad,<sup>1701</sup> and among them were the sons of Jaʿda b. Hubayra. They wrote to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, consoling him for his affliction by the death of al-Ḥasan:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī from his Shīʿa and the Shīʿa of his father, the Commander of the Faithful. Peace be upon you. We praise to you God, other than Whom there is no god. We have received word of the death of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, | 2:271  
*God's peace be upon him, the day he was born, and the day he dies, and the day he is raised up alive.*<sup>1702</sup> May God forgive his sins, accept his good deeds, and join him with His Prophet; may He multiply your reward for being afflicted by him, and through you repair the misfortune after him. We entrust him to God:<sup>1703</sup> *Surely we belong to God, and to Him*

1697 Arabic *qāṣṣ* (plural *quṣṣāṣ*), a popular story-teller or preacher, someone who commented on or fleshed out the narratives of the Qurʾān. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qāṣṣ*.

1698 Qurʾān 7:176.

1699 Qurʾān 88:21.

1700 Arabic *al-Shīʿa*: this seems to be al-Yaʿqūbī's first use of this term (literally, "party, supporters") in a technical sense. See the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shīʿa*.

1701 Sulaymān b. Ṣurad b. al-Jawn al-Khuzāʿī (d. Jumādā 165/January 685) would later lead the failed Tawwābūn rebellion (see below, ed. Leiden, 2:306, 308, 321). See the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad.

1702 Cf. Qurʾān 19:15 (where the formula refers to the John the Baptist) and 19:33 (where it refers to Jesus). "God's peace be upon him" (*salāmu llāhi ʿalayhi*), which is necessary for the sense, appears in M, but is omitted in ed. Leiden.

1703 Reading with M, *fa-ʿindahū naḥtasibuhu*. Houtsma read C as *fa-ʿinda taḥsibihi*, which

*we return.*<sup>1704</sup> How great is that with which this Community as a whole has been stricken, and you and this Shī'a in particular, with the demise of the son of the Trustee<sup>1705</sup> and the son of the Prophet's daughter: the signpost of right guidance and the light of the lands, who, it was hoped, would establish religion and restore the conduct of the righteous! Bear your affliction patiently, may God have mercy on you: *surely that is true constancy.*<sup>1706</sup> In you there is a successor to the one who was before you, and God will bring to the right way those who are guided by your guidance. We are your Shī'a, stricken by your affliction, saddened by your sorrow, happy at your happiness, proceeding in accordance with your conduct, and waiting for your command. May God cause your chest to dilate, exalt your fame,<sup>1707</sup> make great your reward, forgive your sins, and restore to you your right.<sup>1708</sup>



After the death of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, Mu'āwiya had allegiance sworn to his son Yazīd as heir apparent. Only four people failed to swear allegiance: al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar said: "Shall we pledge allegiance to one who plays with monkeys and dogs, drinks wine, and displays wantonness? What would be our excuse in God's sight?" 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr said: "One owes no obedience to a creature when it involves disobedience to a Creator. He<sup>1709</sup> has indeed corrupted our religion!"

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does not have any meaning, while Landberg, 48, replaced the pronoun in *'indahu* with the clarifying noun *Allāh*, hence *'inda llāhi naḥtasibuhu*. The expression is almost formulaic.

1704 Qur'an 2:156.

1705 Arabic *ibn al-waṣī*. M reads *ibn al-raḍī*, or, less likely, *ibn al-riḍā* (the son of the one pleasing [to God]). This is probably an orthographic confusion rather than an attempt at replacing what came to be a technical term for 'Alī in Shī'ism, *al-waṣī*, with a nontechnical one, *al-raḍī*.

1706 Qur'an 42:43.

1707 The last two sentences are a reformulation of Qur'an 94:1, 4, in which God addresses Muḥammad; they read: "Have we not caused your chest to dilate" and "And exalted your fame," respectively.

1708 If one follows the author's use of titles, one would need to insert after this paragraph and before the next a title that reads something like "Back to the Days of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān." There is no title in either MSS.

1709 It is clear that Mu'āwiya is intended, not his son.

In that year<sup>1710</sup> Mu‘āwiya performed the pilgrimage. He courted the men, but he did not force them to pledge allegiance.

Mu‘āwiya appointed his son Yazīd to lead the summer campaign; with him was Sufyān b. ‘Awf al-Ghāmīdī.<sup>1711</sup> Sufyān entered Byzantine territory before Yazīd, but the Muslims came down with fever and smallpox in | Byzantine territory. Now Umm Kulthūm bt. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir<sup>1712</sup> was the wife of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, and he loved her. So when Yazīd learned of how the troops had come down with fever and smallpox, he said:

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I care not what their hosts encountered  
of fever and smallpox at Ghadhqadhūna,<sup>1713</sup>  
So long as I am reclining on rugs in rooms  
in Dayr Murrān,<sup>1714</sup> with Umm Kulthūm next to me.

When Mu‘āwiya got word of this, he said, “I swear by God: you shall enter Byzantine territory, and let what befell them befall you!” So he made Yazīd follow that army, and he campaigned until he reached Constantinople.

Mu‘āwiya dispatched ‘Uqba b. Nāfi‘ al-Fihri to Ifriqiya. He conquered it, and he laid out and built its garrison town, al-Qayrawān;<sup>1715</sup> its site had been a wilderness of trees and grasses inhabited by lions. That was in the year 50.<sup>1716</sup> Then Mu‘āwiya replaced ‘Uqba b. Nāfi‘ al-Fihri with Dīnār Abū l-Muhājir,<sup>1717</sup> a

1710 That is, 44 A.H. (see al-Ya‘qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:284 below). The pilgrimage month (Dhū l-Ḥijja) began on February 23, 665 in that year.

1711 Both MSS read al-‘Āmirī, corrected by Houtsma in the *Addenda et emendanda* of volume I of the Leiden edition. Sufyān b. ‘Awf al-Ghāmīdī had participated in the conquests since the time of ‘Uthmān and had led several of Mu‘āwiya’s summer campaigns. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:195.

1712 She was the daughter of the famous governor of Basra and general in Khurāsān under ‘Uthmān, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz, who has been mentioned above.

1713 Ghadhqadhūna (or Khadhqadhūna) was the name of the Syrian frontier district with Byzantium. It included such towns as al-Maṣṣīṣa and Tarsus. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:188, where the two verses are cited.

1714 Dayr Murrān was a monastery near Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 2:533–534, where the two verses are cited.

1715 The text has *qayrawānahā* (its Qayrawān). The word means the place of troops, but it is also the name of the garrison town which ‘Uqba founded in what is today Tunisia and which developed into an important military, political, and cultural center. See the article by M. Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Qayrawān.

1716 50 A.H. = January 29, 670 – January 17, 671.

1717 Dīnār Abū l-Muhājir was a client of Maslama b. Mukhallad, who was the governor of

client (*mawlā*) of the Anṣār. Dīnār captured ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’, imprisoned him, and shackled him; he remained in prison for some months; then Dīnār set him free. When ‘Uqba arrived in Egypt, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ sent him back to the Maghrib—some say that ‘Amr received a letter from Mu‘āwiya commanding him to do so. When ‘Uqba came to Ifrīqiya, he captured Dīnār and imprisoned him. A Berber named Ibn al-Kāhina<sup>1718</sup> revolted against ‘Uqba. ‘Uqba remained in charge of the province throughout the days of Mu‘āwiya and Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya.

Al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba died in the year 51.<sup>1719</sup> Mu‘āwiya appointed Ziyād over Kufa and joined it to him, along with Basra. Thus he was the first person for whom the two garrison towns were united (under one governor). Ziyād wrote to Mu‘āwiya:

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My left hand is busy with Iraq, but my right hand is empty. Would | the Commander of the Faithful consider appointing me to be in charge of the pilgrimage?

Mu‘āwiya therefore sent him a letter appointing him over the Ḥijāz—others say over the pilgrimage. So ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar used to come in and say, “Lift up your hands and pray to God to protect you from Ziyād’s right hand!”

Someone has related that Abū Bakra, Ziyād’s brother,<sup>1720</sup> came to Ziyād. Abū Bakra addressed a young boy of Ziyād’s—he had sworn he would not talk to Ziyād himself ever since Ziyād had reneged from testifying against al-Mughīra.<sup>1721</sup> He said: “Son, your father has committed a grave sin in Islam: he has reviled his mother and dissociated himself from his father.<sup>1722</sup> Now he

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Egypt, Ifrīqiya, and the Maghrib from 50/670 to 62/681. Maslama appointed his client Abū l-Muhājir over Ifrīqiya in 50/670–671, in place of ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’. Abū l-Muhājir mistreated ‘Uqba and burned al-Qayrawān, whereupon ‘Uqba went to Mu‘āwiya. In 59/678–679, Abū l-Muhājir campaigned for two years in Ifrīqiya, making peace agreements with Qartājanna and Tūnis, and conquering Mīla. He was killed in 63/682–683 while fighting Kusayla in the Maghrib. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 223, 226, 251; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:94; Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, 1:21–22.

1718 “Son of the Kāhina”: the Kāhina (“the Sorceress,” d. c. 78/697–698) was the guiding spirit of Berber resistance to the Arabs. See the article by M. Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Kāhina.

1719 51 A.H. = January 18, 671 – January 7, 672.

1720 Abū Bakra al-Thaqafī was Ziyād’s half-brother on the mother’s side. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:166–167, 181.

1721 On this, see above ed. Leiden, 2:166–167, 181.

1722 Abū Bakra is referring to Ziyād’s endorsement of Mu‘āwiya’s initiative to claim him as his own father’s, Abū Sufyān’s, son, thus tainting his mother, Sumayya, with adultery,

intends to do something even worse: to pass through Medina and ask permission of Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān to visit her. If she gives him permission, what a great calamity it will be for God's Messenger and the Muslims! If she does not, then what a great disgrace it will be for your father!"<sup>1723</sup> Ziyād therefore delayed his departure.

Whenever al-Mughīra and other supporters of Mu'āwiya cursed 'Alī from the pulpit, Ḥujr b. 'Adī l-Kindī, 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī, and their supporters from the party (*shī'a*) of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib would stand up, curse them in return, and speak evil of the matter. When Ziyād came to Kufa, he delivered a notorious sermon of his. Having neither praised God nor blessed Muḥammad,<sup>1724</sup> he fulminated and thundered, threatened and menaced, disavowed the talk of those who talked, and warned and frightened them. Then he said:

I have called the she-dog from the pulpit a calamity.<sup>1725</sup> So, if I threaten or promise you, and I do not fulfill my promise and threat to you, you owe me no obedience.

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and disavowing his true father, 'Ubayd. See above, particularly the testimony of Abū Maryam al-Qurashī al-Makkī (ed. Leiden, 2:259–260). It should be kept in mind that Sumayya was also the mother of the speaker, Abū Bakra.

1723 Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān, Mu'āwiya's sister, had been a wife of the Prophet, and as such she was veiled from receiving Muslims, unless they were closely related to her. Therefore, if she allowed Ziyād to enter her presence, she would be acknowledging him as her relative: her half-brother, the son of her father, Abū Sufyān; which would be a travesty, since Ziyād, Abū Bakra implies, was not the son of Abū Sufyān. If, on the other hand, she refused him entry, she would be implying that her brother, Mu'āwiya, lied to the community when he claimed that Ziyād was Abū Sufyān's son; which, in Abū Bakra's view, would be damaging for the caliphate.

1724 On account of the omission of the customary introductory formula of praise and benediction, this sermon became known as *al-batrā'* (the truncated); see al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, 2:61.

1725 The text and translation are uncertain. The translation follows Houtsma's reading: *qad sammaytu l-kalbata 'alā l-minbari l-ṣal'ā'*. But the word *al-kalba* in both MSS is *al-kulya* (the kidney, or a thing shaped like it in a bow or an arrow; also the lower parts of a cloud; see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. K.L.W/Y); and the word *sammaytu* is *sammantu* (I fattened) in M and unpointed in C. Even worse, M appears to read *al-ḍal'ā'* (strong in rib or in tooth) for *al-ṣal'ā'* (calamity). Then there is the possibility that the verb is in the passive: *summiyat* (was called). The parallel texts have nothing resembling this sentence. The sentence as translated might be Ziyād's way of telling the people that he is going to be very firm with them, so that he would consider even an innocuous creature such as the she-dog a calamity.

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There had been friendship between Ziyād and Ḥujr b. ‘Adī; so Ziyād sent for him and had him brought in. Then he said to him, “Ḥujr, do you recall how much I used to love and support ‘Alī?” Ḥujr said, “Yes.” Ziyād said: “God has transformed it into hatred and hostility. Do you recall how much I used | to hate and show hostility to Mu‘āwiya?” Ḥujr said, “Yes.” Ziyād said: “God has transformed it into love and support. Therefore, let me not learn that you have spoken [well] of ‘Alī or evil of the Commander of the Faithful Mu‘āwiya.”

Then Ziyād received word that they were holding meetings in which they would talk and foam with rage<sup>1726</sup> against him and against Mu‘āwiya, mention their faults, and incite the people. He sent the his chief of police to them; he arrested a number of them, and they were killed. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā‘ī, along with a number of others, fled to Mosul. Ziyād took Ḥujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī and thirteen of his associates and sent them to Mu‘āwiya. Concerning them he wrote:

They have opposed the community (*al-jamā’a*) in the cursing of Abū Turāb<sup>1727</sup> and disparaged the rulers. They have thereby departed from obedience.

Ziyād also sent testimonies by certain people, the first of whom was Bilāl b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī.<sup>1728</sup>

When they arrived in Marj ‘Adhrā’, a few miles from Damascus, Mu‘āwiya ordered that they be stopped there; then he sent someone to behead them. When certain people spoke to Mu‘āwiya on behalf of six of them, he held

<sup>1726</sup> Reading *yuzbidūna*. The word is unpointed in the MSS. Houtsma read it as *yudabbirūna* (plot).

<sup>1727</sup> Abū Turāb (Dusty) is a nickname of ‘Alī. Various explanations are given. See the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and the longer discussion by Theodor Nöldeke, “Zur tendenziösen Gestaltung der Urgeschichte des Islām’s,” esp. 29–30.

<sup>1728</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī has mistakenly identified the first witness against Ḥujr as Bilāl b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, rather than Bilāl’s father, Abū Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī (see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:131–132). Abū Burda ‘Āmir (or al-Ḥārith) b. Abī Mūsā was a judge in Kufa who died in 103/721–723 or 104/722–723. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:187; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 296, 330. His son Bilāl is mentioned for the first time in the year 109/727–728 (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:1506). He was a chief of police, prayer leader, and then governor of Basra during the governorship of Khālīd al-Qasrī over Iraq, and died c. 126/743–744. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 351, 358, 361; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:1506, 1526, 1593, 1657. See also the article by Michael Lecker in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Ash‘arī, Abū Mūsā.

off from them, but he killed seven men:<sup>1729</sup> Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī, Sharīk b. Shaddād al-Ḥaḍramī,<sup>1730</sup> Ṣayfī b. Fasīl al-Shaybānī,<sup>1731</sup> Qabīṣa b. Ḍubay'a al-'Absī,<sup>1732</sup> Muḥriz b. Shihāb al-Tamīmī,<sup>1733</sup> and Kidām b. Ḥayyān al-'Anazī.<sup>1734</sup>

When the executioner was about to kill them, Ḥujr b. 'Adī l-Kindī said, "Wait until I pray." He prayed two short *rak'as*; then he turned to them and said: "Had I not feared that you would wrongly interpret what I feel, I should have liked them to be longer than they were. I was the first to shoot an arrow at this place, and I shall be the first to perish in it."<sup>1735</sup> Someone asked him, "Are you anxious?" He said: "Why should I not be anxious when I see a drawn sword, an unfolded shroud, and a dug grave?" Then he and his companions were beheaded, and they were shrouded and buried. That was in the year 52.<sup>1736</sup>

Mu'āwiya said to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, "Abū 'Abdallāh, do you know | that we have killed your father's partisans (*shī'a*): we have embalmed them, shrouded them, prayed over them, and buried them?" Al-Ḥusayn said: "They have defeated you

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- 1729 Al-Ya'qūbī gives only six names. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:143, the seventh victim was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥassān al-'Anazī. Mu'āwiya sent him to Ziyād with instructions to kill him, and Ziyād sent him to Quss al-Nāṭif, where he was buried alive. See also *ibid.*, 2:136, 140, 142–143.
- 1730 On Sharīk b. Shaddād al-Ḥaḍramī, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 253, 262; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:136, 143; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 73:169, and 8:21; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:483, 486.
- 1731 On Ṣayfī b. Fasīl (or Fushayl, or Qasīl) al-Shaybānī, see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 213; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 251, 253, 262; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3372–3373, 2:129, 136, 143, 147; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 24:257; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:478.
- 1732 On Qabīṣa b. Ḍubay'a al-'Absī, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:161; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 213; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 253, 262; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2607, 3381, 2:128, 134, 136, 141, 143; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 49:264.
- 1733 On Muḥriz b. Shihāb al-Tamīmī, see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 213; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 253, 262; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3373, 2:48, 50, 136, 143; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 57:80.
- 1734 On Kidām b. Ḥayyān al-'Anazī, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 253, 266; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:136, 143.
- 1735 This refers to the story that he conquered the district of Marj 'Adhrā'. See the article by Wilferd Madelung in *ER*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ḥujr b. 'Adī l-Kindī.
- 1736 52 A.H. = January 8 – December 26, 672. Al-Ya'qūbī is the only historian who gives this date. Other sources place the killing of Ḥujr and his associates either in the previous year, 51 A.H. (Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 213; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:11; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:472), or in the following year, 53 A.H. (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:188 [§1773]). Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 12:232, mentions both dates. Al-Balādhurī, al-Dīnawarī, and Ibn A'tham give no date.

with their argument,<sup>1737</sup> by the Lord of the Ka'ba! By God, if we had killed your partisans (*shī'a*), we would not have shrouded them, embalmed them, prayed over them, or buried them!"<sup>1738</sup>

ʿĀ'isha said to Mu'āwiya when he performed the pilgrimage and visited her: "Mu'āwiya, have you killed Ḥujr and his companions? Where did your forbearance go when it came to them?"<sup>1739</sup> By God, I once heard God's Messenger say, "There will be killed in Marj 'Adhrā' a band for whose sake the inhabitants of heaven will be angry." Mu'āwiya said, "There was no discerning man in my presence, Mother of the Faithful."

It is related that Mu'āwiya used to say, "I no longer consider myself forbearing after having killed Ḥujr and Ḥujr's companions."

When 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam, Mu'āwiya's governor over Mosul, learned where 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī and Rifā'a b. Shaddād<sup>1740</sup> were, he sent men to pursue them. They departed, fleeing. 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq was very ill. At some point along the road, a snake bit 'Amr. "God is great!" he exclaimed. "The Messenger of God once said to me, 'Amr, both the *jinn* and mankind will participate in your killing.'"<sup>1741</sup> Then he said to Rifā'a, "Go about your business, for I am going to be captured and killed." The men sent out by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam caught up with him and captured him. His head was struck off, impaled on a spear, and paraded around; it was the first head that was paraded around in Islam. Mu'āwiya had imprisoned his wife in Damascus. When his head arrived, he sent it and it was placed on her lap. She told the messenger: "Say to Mu'āwiya what I say: 'May God demand 'Amr's blood from him and hasten to him the woe of His vengeance, for he has committed a monstrous deed and has killed one who is godly and pure.'" Mu'āwiya was the first to imprison women for the crimes of men.

1737 Reading with M: *ḥajjūka*. Houtsma read C as *ḥujraka* and supplied the word *ta'nī* ("Do you mean your Ḥujr?"), but this is forced.

1738 Al-Ḥusayn means that although Mu'āwiya's treated Ḥujr and his companions as the Muslims that they were, Mu'āwiya's partisans, should they die, would not be treated as Muslims by al-Ḥusayn's men.

1739 This refers to Mu'āwiya's legendary forbearance (*ḥilm*), the ability to accomplish his purposes without violence. See, e.g., al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:222–223 (§ 1837–1838).

1740 Rifā'a b. Shaddād al-Bajalī was a partisan of 'Alī and an associate of 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī. Later, as an associate of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, he fought in the unsuccessful uprising of the Tawwābūn at 'Ayn al-Warda in 65/684–685. He was killed by al-Mukhtār in 66/85–86. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 205; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 195, 263; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; al-Tūsī, *Rijāl*, 41, 43, 94.

1741 Cf. Qur'ān 20:20, where Moses' rod is said to have turned into a snake, and 27:10 and 28:31, where the same rod is likened to a *jinnī*.



The Khārijites Qurayb and Zaḥḥāf<sup>1742</sup> revolted with a group of Khārijites in Basra. They targeted and killed a large number of the police (*shuraṭ*). Proceeding to the congregational mosque, | they killed many people; then they turned to the tribal neighborhoods and did the same thing. Ziyād was in Kufa; his agent in charge of Basra was ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra.<sup>1743</sup> ‘Ubaydallāh fought the Khārijites, but when he found himself unable to defeat them, he wrote to Ziyād, who set out at once. Arriving in Basra, he proceeded to the governor’s mansion (*dār al-imāra*) and said:

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People of Basra! What is this that that I find in your midst? I give God a pledge: henceforth if any Khārijite revolts against me, I will leave none of his clan and tribe alive. So, spare me your misfortunes.

The orators of Basra rose up, spoke, and apologized.

Mu‘āwiya was the first in Islam to institute bodyguards,<sup>1744</sup> police forces,<sup>1745</sup> and gate-keepers;<sup>1746</sup> to drape curtains;<sup>1747</sup> to employ Christians as secretaries; and to have men walk in front of him with lances. He was the first to deduct the alms-tax (*zakāt*) from stipends;<sup>1748</sup> to sit on a throne (*sarīr*) with the people below him; to institute the office of the seal;<sup>1749</sup> to erect tall buildings and

1742 Qurayb b. Murra and Zaḥḥāf b. Zaḥr were maternal cousins, the former from the Azd (or Iyād) and the latter from the Tayyi’. They rebelled, together with 80, 70, or 60 of their supporters, in 50/670–671 or 53/672–673, during the governorship of Ziyād, but were killed by the latter. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 219–222; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1v/1, 175; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:90–91.

1743 On ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra al-Thaqafī, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra.

1744 Arabic *ḥaras*, a bodyguard for the ruler.

1745 Arabic *shuraṭ* (pl. of *shurṭa*): elite military forces whose function was to impose law and order and to uphold the authority of the newly-established state. See the article by J. S. Nielsen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shurṭa*.

1746 Arabic *bawwābūn* (pl. of *bawwāb*). This seems to be a synonym for the more common term *ḥājib* (pl. *ḥujjāb*), the chamberlain who controlled access to the ruler. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḥādijib*.

1747 That is, to employ a curtain (*sitr*, pl. *sutūr*) to conceal himself from the gaze of courtiers or visitors. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḥādijib*; and (for its later use) the article by H. Halm in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sitr*.

1748 Arabic *a’ṭiya*, pl. of *’aṭā*. The term covers both military pay and civil pensions paid to a variety of classes of Muslims. See the article by Cl. Cahen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘*Aṭā*’.

1749 Arabic *dīwān al-khātām*; to authenticate and prevent falsification of caliphal documents. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:206, for an account of the incident of falsification said to have occasioned its establishment.

conscript people for their construction (no one before him had done so); and to confiscate people's property for himself.<sup>1750</sup>

Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab<sup>1751</sup> used to say, "May God do thus and so to Muʿāwiya, for he was the first to turn this matter<sup>1752</sup> into kingship." Muʿāwiya used to say, "I am the first of the kings."

One day, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar traveled to Muʿāwiya, who said, "Abū ʿAbdallāh, what do you think of our building?" Ibn ʿUmar said, "If it was built with God's money,<sup>1753</sup> you have betrayed your trust; and if it was built with your money, you are a spendthrift."

ʿAdī b. Ḥātim entered Muʿāwiya's presence. Muʿāwiya asked him, "What do you think of our time, Abū Ṭarīf?" ʿAdī said, "If we tell you the truth, we fear you; and if we lie to you, we fear God." Muʿāwiya said, "I adjure you." ʿAdī said: "The justice of this time of yours is the injustice of a time that has passed; and the injustice of this time of yours will be the justice of a time not yet come."<sup>1754</sup>

2:277 During the days of Muʿāwiya, the tax revenues (*kharāj*) of Iraq, along with its dependencies in the (former) kingdom of the Persians, settled at 655,000,000 dirhams.

- The *kharāj* of the Sawād was 120,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Fārs was 70,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of al-Ahwāz and its dependencies was 40,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn was 15,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Kuwar Dijla<sup>1755</sup> was 10,000,000 dirhams.

1750 See above, ed. Leiden, 2:258.

1751 Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab al-Makhzūmī was one of the seven early jurists of Medina to whom tradition attributes a major role in the formation of Islamic law. He died in 94/712–713. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḡahā al-Madīna al-Sabʿa.

1752 Arabic *hādhā l-amr*; i.e., the caliphate. For many pious Muslims, the assumption by the Umayyads of the title "king" (Arabic *malik*, pl. *mulūk*)—if they in fact assumed it, rather than merely being accused by their opponents of assuming it—was a sign of their abandonment of the Islamic notions of caliphate and imamate. See the article by A. Ayalon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Malik.

1753 Arabic *māl Allāh*, referring to the public treasury.

1754 Reading with M: *mā atā*, instead of Houtsma's emendation *mā yaʿlī*. That is, compared to the justice of the first days of Islam, the justice of Muʿāwiya's time is injustice; but because the world will continue to degenerate, what counts as justice in a time to come will be as bad as the injustice of Muʿāwiya's time.

1755 On Kuwar Dijla, see Morony, *Iraq After the Muslim Conquest*, 101, 161–162, 188.

- The *kharāj* of Nihāwand, Māh Kufa (which is al-Dīnawar), Māh Basra (which is Hamadhān), and the territory of al-Jabal<sup>1756</sup> annexed to it was 40,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of al-Rayy and its dependencies was 30,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Ḥulwān was 20,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Mosul, its dependencies and adjacent areas, was 45,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Azerbaijan was 30,000,000 dirhams.

This was after Mu'āwiya had deducted from every land what the kings of Persia used to set aside for themselves as their exclusive revenue from the cultivated estates:<sup>1757</sup> Mu'āwiya made them his own exclusive property for himself<sup>1758</sup> and allotted them as grants<sup>1759</sup> to certain members of his family. The governor of Iraq<sup>1760</sup> used to deliver to him 100,000,000 dirhams from the revenue of his caliphal estates in these areas.<sup>1761</sup> It was from them that his grants and gifts came.

In Mu'āwiya's days, the *kharāj* of Egypt was established at 3,000,000 dinars, but 'Amr b. al-Āṣ used to deliver very little of it to Mu'āwiya.<sup>1762</sup> When 'Amr died, the revenue was delivered to Mu'āwiya. The troops would be given their stipends and 1,000,000 dinars would be delivered to him.

1756 Al-Jabal, or al-Jibāl, is a province in northern Iran.

1757 Arabic *mā kānat mulūku fārisa tastaṣfihi li-anfusihā min al-ḍiyyā'i l-ʿamirati*. Literally, "what the kings of Persia used to take as *ṣawāfi* (crown property) for themselves from the cultivated estates."

1758 Arabic *wa-ja'alahū ṣāfiyatan lahū li-naṣsihī*. The notion of a *ṣāfiya* (pl. *ṣawāfi*) is often rendered as "crown land," but it is best to keep to the literal sense of the Arabic, or to use the expression "caliphal estates," rather than introduce notions of "the Crown." Indeed, the redundancy of the Arabic ("he made them *his* own exclusive property *for himself*") emphasizes Mu'āwiya's personal ownership: that these properties belonged directly to Mu'āwiya the man, rather than to a legal entity designated as "the Crown." There is, of course, an implicit criticism of such behavior as an innovation, akin to Mu'āwiya's calling himself a king.

1759 Arabic *fa-aḡṭa'ahū* (he made it *iqṭā'*). On the history of the term, see the article by Cl. Cahen in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ikṭā'*.

1760 Arabic *ṣāhib al-irāq* (the master of Iraq): most likely the governor, but possibly another official.

1761 Compare this figure with the figure mentioned above by al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:258–259.

1762 Compare this statement with al-Ya'qūbī's earlier statement (ed. Leiden, 2:263): "'Amr therefore would not send Mu'āwiya any of Egypt's revenue."

- The *kharāj* of Palestine rested at 450,000 dinars.
- The *kharāj* of Jordan rested at 180,000 dinars.
- 2:278 – The *kharāj* of Damascus rested at 450,000 | dinars.
- The *kharāj* of the military district of Ḥimṣ rested at 350,000 dinars.
- The *kharāj* of Qinnasrīn and the ‘Awāṣim rested at 450,000 dinars.
- The *kharāj* of the Jazīra, consisting of Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Rabī‘a, rested at 55,000,000<sup>1763</sup> dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Yemen rested at 1,200,000 dinars—others say 900,000 dinars.

When things stabilized for Mu‘āwiya, he appointed Fayrūz al-Daylamī as governor over Yemen. Then he replaced him with ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān al-Thaqafī.<sup>1764</sup> Later he appointed Ibn Bashīr al-Anṣārī as governor.<sup>1765</sup>

Mu‘āwiya did in Syria, the Jazīra, and Yemen what he had done in Iraq, setting aside for himself and making his own the estates that had belonged to the (former) kings, and he granted them to members of his family and entourage. He was the first to have such estates throughout the world, even in Mecca and Medina, and loads of dates and wheat from them used to be delivered to him every year.

Mu‘āwiya had dispatched Ibn Sawwār b. Hammām<sup>1766</sup> to the frontier of India. Ibn Sawwār marched to Makrān with 4,000 men and stayed there for several months. Then he attacked al-Qīqān and fought its people, doing so boldly. Ibn Sawwār and most of that army were killed; those who survived returned to Makrān. Mu‘āwiya wrote Ziyād to send out a man of determination and judgment; so Ziyād dispatched Sinān b. Salama al-Hudhālī.<sup>1767</sup> Sinān came

1763 The MSS have 55,000; Houtsma added a second *alf* (thousand), bringing the number up to 55,000,000. Although he gave no reason for this addition, it was probably based on a comparison with the revenue of the other provinces in the list.

1764 ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān al-Thaqafī (unrelated to the caliph of similar name) was a Companion of the Prophet who settled in Ḥimṣ. He was sent by the caliph ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān to Yemen in order to find out what its people were like, and he returned and reported to ‘Uthmān on them. Later Mu‘āwiya appointed him governor of Yemen and Damascus. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 38:435; Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā’ al-Yaman*, 40, 50; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:480; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 2:462.

1765 Al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī was governor of Yemen for only one year. See Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā’ al-Yaman*, 50.

1766 On ‘Abdallāh b. Sawwār b. Hammām al-‘Abdī, see Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:32; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 180, 207, 208; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433.

1767 On Sinān b. Salama b. al-Muḥabbīq al-Hudhālī, see Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, v11/1, 90; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 209, 212–213, 297, 308; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433–435; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 2:357; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh*, 74.

to Makrān and stayed there. Ziyād then dismissed him and appointed Rāshid b. 'Amr al-Judaydī al-Azdī. Rāshid attacked al-Qīqān, was victorious, and took booty. He attacked part of Sind and conquered the lands of India—in those days India was less powerful than Sind. Rāshid was killed in Sind.

Ziyād remained in the governorship of Iraq for twelve years. He was shrewd, 2:279  
manly, and forceful.

Ziyād was the first person to institute registry departments and to have copies made of letters. He recruited secretaries in charge of correspondence from among the Arabs and from among non-Arab converts (*mawālī*) who had acquired eloquence (in Arabic).

[Ziyād used to say:] “The secretaries who record the *kharāj* tax must come from among the chiefs of the non-Arabs who are knowledgeable about matters of the *kharāj*.”

He also used to say: “The foundation of sovereignty (*sulṭān*) consists of four things: abstaining from unlawful wealth, closeness to those who do good, harshness to evildoers, and truthfulness of tongue.”

He was the first person to give ample salaries to his agents: 1,000 dirhams to each of them and 25,000 dirhams to himself.

Ziyād used to say: “The governor must know the people of his province better than they know themselves.” A man stood up before him and said: “God prosper the Governor! Do you know me?” Ziyād said: “Yes, thoroughly: I know you by your name, your father’s name, your *kunya*,<sup>1768</sup> the chief (*‘arīf*)<sup>1769</sup> of your military unit, your clan (*‘ashūra*), and your family (*faṣīla*). I know you all so well that when I see a garment on one of you and then on someone else to whom it has been lent, I recognize it.”

Two men brought their dispute to Ziyād. One of them said: “God prosper the Governor! This man boasts of the favor that he claims to enjoy with the Governor.” Ziyād said: “He has told the truth. I will tell you how it might benefit him and harm you: if you turn out to owe him, I will rigorously make you pay him; however, if he owes you, I will judge against him and myself pay on his behalf.”

Ziyād said from the pulpit: “The greatest liar is a commander who stands on the pulpit with 100,000 people below him and lies to them. By God, I will not

1768 The *kunya* (agnomen) is the part of a name that identifies the bearer as “father of so-and-so” (*abū fulān*) or “mother of so-and-so” (*umm fulān*).

1769 On the various divisions which Ziyād instituted in Iraq, as a part of his organization of the military, including the *‘irāṣāt*, each headed by an *‘arīf*, see Martin Hinds, “Kūfan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.,” in *Studies in Early Islamic History*, 2.

promise you a benefit<sup>1770</sup> without fulfilling it, and I will not punish you unless I have commanded you.”<sup>1771</sup>

2:280 Ziyād used to say to his companions: “Not every person can reach me, nor is every one who reaches me able to speak. Therefore, put in a good word for those to whom you are favorably disposed, for | I am quite prepared to withhold if I wish to do so.”

Ziyād used to say: “There are four offices which should be held only by mature men of vigorous judgment:<sup>1772</sup> the frontier campaigns (*thaghr*), the summer campaigns, the police, and judgeship. The chief of police must be forceful and far from inattentiveness. The chief of the guard must be mature, abstemious, trustworthy, and of unblemished character. The secretary must have five traits: depth of judgment; ability to flatter; professional mastery; not postponing today’s work until tomorrow; and giving his master good counsel. The chamberlain (*hājib*) must be judicious and intelligent and must have served kings before becoming their chamberlain.”

Ziyād died in Kufa in the year 54.<sup>1773</sup>

It has been related<sup>1774</sup> that Ziyād summoned certain men who he had been told were partisans (*shī’a*) of ‘Alī, so that he might call on them to curse ‘Alī and to repudiate him; otherwise he would strike off their heads. They were seventy men. Ziyād ascended the pulpit and began uttering threats and menaces. One of the men fell asleep while he was sitting, and one of his companions said to him, “Do you fall sleep when you have been brought to be killed?” He said: “Between one column and another there is a difference.<sup>1775</sup> I dreamt of something amazing during my sleep.” “What did you dream?” they asked. He said: “I saw a black man enter the mosque, and his head struck the ceiling. ‘Who are you?’ I asked. He said, ‘I am the severe critic,<sup>1776</sup> the neck-crusher.’

1770 Reading with M, *khayran*; Houtsma read C as *ajran* (pay).

1771 Reading with M, *hattā ataqaddama ilaykum*, rather than with C and ed. Leiden, *hattā ataqaddama ‘alaykum*. For the idiom, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. Q-D-M.

1772 Literally, “who bite on their wisdom teeth,” a metaphor for vigorousness, soundness, and firmness of judgment. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *nājidh*.

1773 54 A.H. = December 16, 673 – December 5, 674. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:159, and al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:216 (§1824), place his death in the previous year. Al-Mas’ūdī gives a date of Ramaḍān 53 (August 20 – September 18, 673).

1774 Cf. al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:216 (§1824).

1775 This is apparently proverbial, meaning: we are not all of the same character. The columns are presumably those of the mosque.

1776 “The severe critic” translates *al-naqqād*, which is Houtsma’s emendation on the basis of al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:216 (§1825), where the first part of this report is cited. The MSS have *al-raqqād*, the sleeper, which does not fit the context.

'Where are you heading?' I asked. He said: 'To crush the neck of this tyrant who is speaking on these wooden beams.'<sup>1777</sup> While Ziyād was speaking on the pulpit, suddenly he grasped his finger and cried out, "My hand!" Then he fell from the pulpit unconscious and was brought into the palace. He had been stricken with plague in the little finger of his right hand, and he could not keep still.<sup>1778</sup> A physician was summoned. Ziyād said to him, | "Cut off my hand!" The physician said: "Commander, tell me about the pain that you feel: is it in your hand or in your heart?" Ziyād said: "By God, except in my heart!" The physician said, "Then you will be fine."

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When Ziyād was about to die, he wrote to Mu'āwiya:

I write to the Commander of the Faithful when I am in the last day of this world and the first of the next. I have appointed Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd<sup>1779</sup> as my successor.

When Ziyād died and his bier was set down to be prayed over, his son 'Ubaydallāh<sup>1780</sup> came forward, but Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh came to him, pushed him aside, and stepped forward and prayed over him.

When Ziyād's burial was over, 'Ubaydallāh went immediately to Mu'āwiya. When Mu'āwiya was told that it was 'Ubaydallāh, he said to him: "Son, what prevented your father from naming you his successor? If he had done so, I would have done so." 'Ubaydallāh said: "I entreat you by God, Commander [of the Faithful]; let no one ask me after you, 'What prevented his father and his paternal uncle<sup>1781</sup> from appointing him?'" So Mu'āwiya appointed him governor over Khurāsān and gave him the two frontiers of India.

<sup>1777</sup> That is, on the pulpit (*minbar*).

<sup>1778</sup> Reading the unpointed word in the MSS as *yataqārr*. Houtsma read it as *yataghādhdh*, meaning perhaps that the infection was suppurating.

<sup>1779</sup> Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd was Basran who lived to a venerable age. During what came to be called the second *fitna*, he sided at first with Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr; then he went over to 'Abd al-Malik's side and participated with him in battle in which Muṣ'ab was killed. 'Abd al-Malik appointed him twice over Basra, in 71/690–691 and 74/693–694, and al-Walīd I appointed him over Mecca in 93/711–712. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 268, 293, 296; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 16:122; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 7:194.

<sup>1780</sup> 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād (d. 67/688), the most prominent of Ziyād's sons, eventually succeeded his father as governor of Kufa and then of Khurāsān and Basra for Mu'āwiya and then for Yazīd I. See the article by C. F. Robinson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

<sup>1781</sup> That is, Mu'āwiya.

When al-Mundhir<sup>1782</sup> died, ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād appointed Sinān b. Salama<sup>1783</sup> in his place. He fought the people of al-Qīqān and al-Būqān,<sup>1784</sup> and God granted him victory over them.

‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād went to Khurāsān. He began with Bukhārā, which was ruled at that time by a queen called Khātūn. He fought its people until he conquered the city. Then he crossed the river of Balkh,<sup>1785</sup> becoming the first Arab to cross it. The enemy fought him fiercely, but victory was his. Then he left Khurāsān and came back to Mu‘āwiya, who appointed him governor over Basra in the year 56<sup>1786</sup>—others say at the beginning of the year 57.<sup>1787</sup>

Mu‘āwiya appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Ziyād<sup>1788</sup> governor over Khurāsān, but then he found him to be weak, so he dismissed him from office and appointed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād.<sup>1789</sup> But he did not find the latter to be commendable, so he dismissed him. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān brought back an enormous fortune. He is reported to have said, “I have brought with me enough money to suffice me for a hundred years at one thousand dirhams a day.” But the fortune evaporated. In the days of al-Ḥajjāj,<sup>1790</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was seen riding a donkey. “Where is the money?” he was asked. He said: “Nothing | suffices except God’s countenance.<sup>1791</sup> And the donkey isn’t mine; it’s borrowed!”

After ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād, Mu‘āwiya appointed Sa‘īd b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān<sup>1792</sup> over Khurāsān. Sa‘īd crossed the river and came to Bukhārā. The queen of Bukhārā, Khātūn, sued for peace, and he agreed to it. Then she

1782 That is, al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd al-‘Abdī (d. 61/680–681 or 62/681–682); see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 432–433.

1783 Cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:278.

1784 For the conquest of al-Qīqān and al-Būqān, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 432–435.

1785 The Oxus, known in Arabic as Jayḥūn, but also as Nahr Balkh.

1786 56 A.H. = November 25, 675 – November 13, 676.

1787 57 A.H. = November 14, 676 – November 2, 677.

1788 On ‘Abdallāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

1789 On ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 355, 413; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 213, 188–190, 195, 392; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 34:342.

1790 Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī was the governor of Iraq from 75/694 until his death in 95/714. See the article by A. Dietrich in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Al-Ḥadjjdjādī b. Yūsuf.

1791 Alluding to Qur’ān 55:27: “All that dwells upon the earth is perishing, yet still abides (*yabqā*) the Countenance of thy Lord, majestic, splendid.” The speaker has changed *yabqā* to *yakfī* (suffices) to echo his previous boast.

1792 On Sa‘īd b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān who was appointed by Mu‘āwiya to be governor of Khurāsān in 56/675–676, see Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 5:113; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 224, 225; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 411–413, 417, 422; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3056, 2:177–180, 3:2352.



reneged about the agreement, hoping to get the better of Sa'īd. Sa'īd fought them, was victorious, and killed a great number of them. He advanced to Samarqand and besieged it, but he was unable to take it. He did, however, capture a fortress in which there were sons of kings. When these fell into his hands, the enemy sued for peace, but he swore that he would not depart until he entered the city; so the city gate was opened for him and he entered. He then bombarded the fortress<sup>1793</sup> of the city with stones. Qutham b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was with him and died in Samarqand.<sup>1794</sup> When 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās received word of his death, he said, "What a great distance there is between where he was born and where he died: he was born in Mecca and his grave is in Samarqand!" Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān went back to Mu'āwiya, who replaced him with Aslam b. Zur'a.<sup>1795</sup> Sa'īd went to Medina, taking the captive Soghdian princes with him. They rose up against him and killed him, then they killed each other, so that none of them remained alive. Aslam b. Zur'a remained for several months; at that time the governors of Khurāsān used to reside in Herat. Then Mu'āwiya appointed Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī,<sup>1796</sup> who was his last governor over Khurāsān.

Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ wanted to have an appointment under Mu'āwiya, but Mu'āwiya denied him one, and so he stayed in his house—he used to live in a palace of his ten miles outside of Medina, and he continued to reside in it until he died. His death occurred in the year 55.<sup>1797</sup> He was carried on men's hands from his palace to Medina, and he was buried in al-Baqī'.<sup>1798</sup>

Four of the wives of God's Messenger died during the days of Mu'āwiya. Ḥafṣa bt. 'Umar died in the year 45,<sup>1799</sup> and | Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the governor of Medina, prayed over her. Ṣafīyya bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab died in the year 50.<sup>1800</sup>

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1793 The text uses the word *quhandiz*, derived from the Persian words *kuhan* (ancient) and *diz* (citadel), the name given in Khurāsān to the citadel or fortress in the middle of a big city. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:419.

1794 On the supposed tomb at Samarqand of this cousin of the Prophet, see the article by H. H. Schaeder, C. E. Bosworth, and Yolande Crowe in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Samarqand.

1795 On Aslam b. Zur'a al-Kilābī, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 363, 368, 413; al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 298; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:65, 81, 168, 172, 179, 180, 189, 390–391; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 1:53.

1796 On Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī, see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 165–166; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2904, 2:79–81, 155–156, 161–163.

1797 55 A.H. = December 6, 674 – November 24, 675.

1798 That is, Baqī' al-Gharqad, the cemetery of the Medinans; see the note to 2:267.

1799 45 A.H. = March 24, 665 – March 13, 666.

1800 50 A.H. = January 29, 670 – January 17, 671.

Juwayriya bt. al-Ḥārith<sup>1801</sup> died in the year 56.<sup>1802</sup> ʿĀ'isha bt. Abī Bakr died in the year 58,<sup>1803</sup> and Abū Hurayra, who was a deputy of Marwān over Medina, prayed over her, with the result that someone who was present said, "The most antagonistic person to her has prayed over her!"

Abū Hurayra died in the year 59.<sup>1804</sup>

Mu'āwiya was a man of forbearance, shrewdness, and generosity with money, though only from design, being a man who stinted when it came to his own food. Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀṣ said: "I once heard Mu'āwiya say: 'I do not put my sword where my whip suffices; I do not put my whip where my tongue suffices; and if there were just a hair between me and the people, it would not break.' Someone asked, 'How so, Commander [of the Faithful]?' He said, 'When they pulled it I would let go of it, and when they let go of it I would pull it.'"

When he received word that someone had said something he disliked, he would silence him<sup>1805</sup> with gifts, or perhaps trick him and send him to the wars, setting him in the front ranks. Most of his actions involved craftiness and trickery.

Mu'āwiya led the pilgrimage only twice in all the years of his rule: in the year 44<sup>1806</sup> and in the year 50.<sup>1807</sup> He intended to carry off the pulpit of God's Messenger, but an earthquake damaged it so badly that it was believed to be the end of the world, so he left it. Later he added five steps to it at its base. He performed the lesser pilgrimage of Rajab in the year 56.<sup>1808</sup> He was the first person who covered the Ka'ba with brocade (*dībāj*) and brought slaves to serve it.

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1801 Reading the first name as it appears in M; Houtsma read the unpointed word in C as Khawla, but no such women is known to have died in 56. Juwayriya bt. al-Ḥārith al-Muṣṭaliqiyya, from the Khuzā'a, was a beautiful woman who was taken captive by the Muslims during the campaign of al-Muraysī' in 5/626–627. She fell into the share of the Thābit b. Qays, who offered her her freedom for a sum of money. The Prophet paid the sum for her and married her in the following year. According to al-Ya'qūbī she died in 56/675–676; others say in the year 50/670. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 8:83; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 139; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, 4:1804; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, 5:419; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 9:226; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 4:265.

1802 56 A.H. = November 25, 675 – November 13, 676.

1803 58 A.H. = November 3, 677 – October 22, 678.

1804 59 A.H. = October 23, 678 – October 12, 679.

1805 Arabic *qaṭa'a lisānahu* (he would cut out his tongue).

1806 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 44 = February 23, 665.

1807 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 50 = December 20, 670.

1808 Rajab 56 = May 20 – June 18, 676. On the pre-Islamic roots of performing the lesser pilgrimage during the month of Rajab, see the articles in *ET*<sup>2</sup> by R. Paret, s.v. 'Umra, and by M. J. Kister, s.v. Radjab.

The persons with the greatest influence over him were 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, Yazīd b. al-Ḥurr al-'Absī,<sup>1809</sup> and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk was in charge of his police; Abū Mukhāriq, a client (*mawlā*) of Ḥimyar,<sup>1810</sup> was in charge of his bodyguard (*ḥaras*); and his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was his client Riyāḥ.<sup>1811</sup>

Mu'āwiya had a grim face, bulging eyes, an ample beard, a broad chest, big buttocks, and short legs and thighs.

He ruled for nineteen years and eight months. He died on the first day of Rajab<sup>1812</sup>—others say on the fifteenth of Rajab<sup>1813</sup>—of the year 60 at the age of 77—others say 80. He had become weak and thin and had lost his two front teeth. 2:284

Ṣāliḥ b. 'Amr said: I saw Mu'āwiya on the pulpit wearing a black turban which he had let down over his mouth. He was saying:

People, I have become old. My strength is gone, and I have been stricken in my best parts. May God have mercy on anyone who prays for me.

Then he wept, and the people wept with him.

When Mu'āwiya died, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays came out and put his shrouds on the pulpit. Then he said: "Mu'āwiya was the Arabs' eyetooth and rope,<sup>1814</sup> and he has died. These are his shrouds. We are going to wrap him in them and place him in his grave, and that will be our last meeting." Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays

1809 Yazīd b. al-Ḥurr al-'Absī was a Damascene notable who participated in the battle of Ṣiffīn on the side of Mu'āwiya and was one of the witnesses to the arbitration agreement. Mu'āwiya appointed him chief of police, and, as governor of Syria under 'Uthmān, he appointed him as head of the summer campaigns against the Byzantines. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 180, 228; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 164; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3338; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 65:151.

1810 The *kunya* of Abū Mukhāriq, a client of Ḥimyar, is uncertain. Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 67:200, gives it as Abū l-Mukhtār. His name is given as either al-Mukhtār or Mālik. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 228; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:205.

1811 Riyāḥ b. 'Abda/'Ubayda al-Ghassānī Abū Nātil is mentioned in the sources as the chief of police of the caliphs 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid I, not of Mu'āwiya. It is reported that he was also appointed by al-Walid I to head the army sent to the frontier area of al-Ṭuwāna. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 299, 312; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 18:257. "Riyāḥ" is unpointed in the MSS. Houtsma read it as Rabāḥ, but no Rabāḥ is associated with Mu'āwiya in the sources.

1812 1 Rajab 60 A.H. = April 7, 680.

1813 15 Rajab 60 A.H. = 21 April 21, 680.

1814 That is, their chief and mainstay.

al-Fihri prayed over him because Yazīd<sup>1815</sup> was away at the time. He was buried in Damascus.

He left four sons: Yazīd, ‘Abdallāh, Muḥammad, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

Those who led the pilgrimage in his days were:

- In the year 41:<sup>1816</sup> ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān;
- [in the year 42:<sup>1817</sup> ‘Anbasa b. Abī Sufyān];
- in the year 43:<sup>1818</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;
- in the year 44:<sup>1819</sup> Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān;
- in the year 45:<sup>1820</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;
- in the year 46:<sup>1821</sup> ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān;
- in the year 47:<sup>1822</sup> ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān;
- in the year 48:<sup>1823</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;
- in the year 49:<sup>1824</sup> Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ;
- in the year 50:<sup>1825</sup> Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān;
- in the year 51:<sup>1826</sup> Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya;
- in the year 52:<sup>1827</sup> Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ;
- in the year 53:<sup>1828</sup> Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ again;
- in the year 54:<sup>1829</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;

1815 Mu‘āwiya’s son and heir apparent.

1816 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 41 = March 28, 662. The text is defective, with no information about who led the pilgrimage in 42 A.H. Houtsma simply added after 41 the words [and 42] in brackets, thereby assigning leadership of the pilgrimage in 41 and 42 to ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān. However, other sources (Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 205; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:27) give the leader in 42 A.H. as ‘Anbasa b. Abī Sufyān, the brother of ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān. It appears that the copyist skipped the material between the first “Sufyān” and the second by homeoteleuton. The translation restores the missing material (*wa-fi sanati thnatayni wa-arba’ina ‘Anbasatu bnu Abī Sufyān*) in brackets.

1817 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 42 A.H. = March 17, 663.

1818 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 43 A.H. = March 5, 664.

1819 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 44 A.H. = February 23, 665.

1820 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 45 A.H. = February 12, 666.

1821 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 46 A.H. = February 1, 667.

1822 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 47 A.H. = January 22, 668.

1823 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 48 A.H. = January 10, 669.

1824 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 49 A.H. = December 31, 669.

1825 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 50 A.H. = December 20, 670.

1826 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 51 A.H. = December 9, 671.

1827 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 52 A.H. = November 28, 672.

1828 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 53 A.H. = November 17, 673.

1829 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 54 A.H. = November 6, 674.

- in the year 55:<sup>1830</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;
- in the year 56:<sup>1831</sup> al-Walīd b. 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān;<sup>1832</sup>
- in the year 57:<sup>1833</sup> al-Walīd b. 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān again;
- | in the year 58:<sup>1834</sup> al-Walīd b. 'Utba again;
- in the year 59:<sup>1835</sup> 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān.<sup>1836</sup>

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During the time of his rule the following men led the military campaigns:<sup>1837</sup>

In the year 41,<sup>1838</sup> Mu'āwiya dispatched Ḥabīb b. Maslama. Ḥabīb made a peace settlement with the ruler of the Byzantines since he did not wish to be distracted by him.<sup>1839</sup>

In the year 43,<sup>1840</sup> Busr b. [Abī] Arṭāt led the campaign to the land of the Byzantines and wintered there.

1830 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 55 A.H. = October 27, 675.

1831 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 56 A.H. = October 15, 676.

1832 Al-Walīd b. 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān, a member of the Umayyad family, was appointed by his uncle Mu'āwiya and cousin Yazīd I as governor of Medina and led the pilgrimage for both caliphs several times. When the young caliph Mu'āwiya (II) b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya died, the people of Damascus wanted him for the caliphate, but he refused, and was imprisoned by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays when he refused the call of the latter to the caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr. He died of the plague in 64/683–684. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, index; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, 132, 133; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, index.

1833 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 57 A.H. = October 5, 677.

1834 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 58 A.H. = September 24, 678.

1835 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 59 A.H. = September 13, 679.

1836 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān led the pilgrimage once under Mu'āwiya and was governor of Medina for about a year under Yazīd I in 62/681–682, in which year he also led the pilgrimage. He was in Damascus when Mu'āwiya died, and was among the Umayyads expelled from Medina shortly before the battle of al-Ḥarra. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 236–237, 254; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 345; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:195, 402, 405–406, 409; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 40:22.

1837 Al-Ya'qūbī apparently means the summer campaigns (*ṣawā'if*), as he specifies the winter campaigns when he means them.

1838 41 A.H. = May 7, 661 – April 25, 662.

1839 Al-Ya'qūbī gives no leader of a campaign for the year 42/662–663. That there was a campaign against the Byzantines in that year can be inferred from al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:16, where the destination of the campaign is identified as al-Lān, that is, Armenia. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 205, mentions that Ḥabīb b. Maslama died in that year “in the land of Armenia.” This indicates that Ḥabīb b. Maslama led the campaign again in 42, not only in 41.

1840 43 A.H. = April 15, 663 – April 3, 664.

In the year 44,<sup>1841</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd led the campaign and reached Qalūniya.<sup>1842</sup>

In the year 45,<sup>1843</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd. He also led a winter campaign in the land of the Byzantines and reached Antioch.

In the year 46,<sup>1844</sup> Mālīk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khath‘amī<sup>1845</sup>—others say Mālīk b. Hubayra al-Sakūnī.<sup>1846</sup> He also led a winter campaign in the land of the Byzantines.

In the year 47,<sup>1847</sup> Mālīk b. Hubayra al-Sakūnī. He also led a winter campaign in the land of the Byzantines.

In the year 48,<sup>1848</sup> [Abū] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qaynī.<sup>1849</sup> He reached Antioch the Black.<sup>1850</sup>

1841 44 A.H. = April 4, 664 – March 24, 665.

1842 The name and location are uncertain. The mss read *’q.lw* followed by two undotted tooth-letters and *tā’ marbūṭa*. Houtsma restored Qalūniya on the basis of another source. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:393, places Qalūniya in Anatolia (*bi-l-Rūm*), 60 stages from Constantinople. Another possibility is Qalawdhiya (Latin/Greek Claudias) a fortress mentioned by al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 186–187, as near Malatya (Melitene) on the upper Euphrates.

1843 45 A.H. = March 24, 665 – March 13, 666.

1844 46 A.H. = March 13, 666 – March 2, 667.

1845 Mālīk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khath‘amī, nicknamed *Mālīk al-sarīyā* (Mālīk of the Raiding Parties), led campaigns against the Byzantines for forty years during Mu‘āwiya’s governorship and caliphate and during the caliphates of Yazīd I and ‘Abd al-Malik. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 208, 225, 235; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 191; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:82, 171, 181, 196; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 56:466.

1846 Mālīk b. Hubayra al-Sakūnī was governor of Ḥimṣ for Mu‘āwiya and headed Marwān b. al-Ḥakam’s infantry in the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ. He died in 65/684–685. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 138; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 208, 209; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 16; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 56:508.

1847 47 A.H. = March 3, 667 – February 19, 668.

1848 48 A.H. = February 20, 668 – February 8, 669 C.E.

1849 Restoring the name on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:84, 85. *Abū* is missing in C and smudged in M (if it is there at all); al-Qaynī is unpointed in both mss. Houtsma read the name as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Utbī. Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qaynī’s name was al-Nu‘mān b. Asad b. Farwa, and he was nicknamed *Dhū l-shawka* (the one with furor in fighting). He fought in the battle of Ajnādayn during the early conquests and led campaigns into Byzantine lands for Mu‘āwiya. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 208–209; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 67:57.

1850 Arabic *Anṭākiya al-Sawdā’*. No other source gives the city of Antioch this epithet. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 1:267, mentions that Antioch’s mountain overshadows the city “so that the sun

In the year 49,<sup>1851</sup> Faḍāla b. 'Ubayd.<sup>1852</sup> God granted conquest at his hands, and he took many captives.

In the year 50,<sup>1853</sup> Busr b.[ Abī] Arṭāt led the campaign. Sufyān b. 'Awf led the winter campaign.

In the year 51,<sup>1854</sup> Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān<sup>1855</sup> led the campaign. Faḍāla b. 'Ubayd al-Anṣārī led the winter campaign.

In the year 52,<sup>1856</sup> Sufyān b. 'Awf. He died, having appointed 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ada al-Fazārī as his successor.

In the year 53,<sup>1857</sup> Muḥammad b. Mālik.<sup>1858</sup> Tarsus is said to have been conquered in this year by Junāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī.<sup>1859</sup>

In the year 55,<sup>1860</sup> Mālik b. 'Abdallāh al-Khath'amī. He also led the winter campaign in the land of the Byzantines.

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risers there only at the second hour of the day." Yāqūt (3:227) also mentions a town called al-Sawdā' and places it in the province of Ḥims (*min kuwar Ḥims*).

1851 49 A.H. = February 9, 669 – January 28, 670.

1852 Faḍāla b. 'Ubayd b. Nāfidh al-Anṣārī al-Awsī al-'Umarī participated in the conquest of Egypt. He was among the 'Uthmāniyya who did not pledge obedience to 'Alī after the killing of 'Uthmān. He resided in Damascus and served as judge there for Mu'āwiya. He also led campaigns for the latter into Byzantine lands and led a naval campaign in 50/670–671. He died in 53/672–673 (but other dates are given). See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 124; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 209, 218, 227; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3070, 2:86–87, III, 205; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 48:290.

1853 50 A.H. = January 29, 670 – January 17, 671.

1854 51 A.H. = January 18, 671 – January 7, 672.

1855 Otherwise unidentified.

1856 52 A.H. = January 8, 672 – December 26, 672.

1857 53 A.H. = December 27, 672 – December 15, 673.

1858 All that the sources say about Muḥammad b. Mālik is that he led a winter campaign into Byzantine lands in 54/673–674. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 223; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:163. Note that al-Ya'qūbī does not include the campaigns of the year 54/673–674 in his list.

1859 Junāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī was a Syrian who participated in the conquest of Egypt and resided in Jordan. He was in charge of naval campaigns under Mu'āwiya and conquered Rhodes, Arwād, and Crete. He died in 80/699–700 (but other dates are given). See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 151; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 143, 224, 227, 280; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2821–2822, 2:157, 163, 173, 181, 188 196; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, II:292.

1860 55 A.H. = December 6, 674 – November 24, 675.

In the year 56,<sup>1861</sup> Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya; he reached Constantinople.<sup>1862</sup> Mas‘ūd b. Abī Mas‘ūd<sup>1863</sup> led the winter campaign. Yazīd b. Shajara<sup>1864</sup> was in charge of the land forces, and ‘Iyād b. al-Ḥārith<sup>1865</sup> was in charge of the naval forces. All of this is said.

In the year 57,<sup>1866</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Qays.<sup>1867</sup>

In the year 58,<sup>1868</sup> Mālīk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khath‘amī—others say: ‘Amr b. Yazīd | al-Juhanī.<sup>1869</sup> It is said that Yazīd b. Shajara came back<sup>1870</sup> by sea.

In the year 59,<sup>1871</sup> ‘Amr b. Murra al-Juhanī<sup>1872</sup> led the campaign on land. In that year there was no [campaign] by sea.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā’*) in the days of Mu‘āwiya were:

- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās,
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,
- al-Miswar b. Makhrama al-Zuhri,<sup>1873</sup>

1861 56 A.H. = November 25, 675 – November 13, 676.

1862 See above, ed. Leiden 2: 272.

1863 The sources mention Mas‘ūd b. Abī Mas‘ūd as a leader of summer campaigns and a winter campaign in 56/675–676. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 224; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:14.

1864 On Yazīd b. Shajara al-Rahāwī, see Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii/2, 156; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 198, 223, 225; al-Bukhārī, 8:316; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif*, 448; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3448, 2:86, 173, 181, 1564; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 9:270; Ibn Ḥazm, 413; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, 4:1577; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 65:220.

1865 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:173, ‘Iyād b. al-Ḥārith led the *land* campaign in 56/675–676.

1866 57 A.H. = November 14, 676 – November 2, 677.

1867 ‘Abdallāh b. Qays al-Fazārī (or al-Anṣārī), a Companion of the Prophet, is said to have raided Sicily in 53/672–673 and Constantinople at an unidentified date, when he was defeated but brought back many captives. He was killed in 57/676–677 during the winter campaign into Byzantine territory. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 225, 230; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 32:118.

1868 58 A.H. = November 3, 677 – October 22, 678.

1869 ‘Amr b. Yazīd al-Juhanī is otherwise unknown. Al-Ya’qūbī could have meant ‘Amr b. Murra al-Juhanī, who, according to him, led the campaign in the following year.

1870 Reading with M, *wa-qafala*; Houtsma read the word as *qīla* (it was said).

1871 59 A.H. = October 23, 678 – October 12, 679.

1872 ‘Amr b. Murra al-Juhanī participated in the conquest of Palestine and led campaigns into Byzantine territory for Mu‘āwiya, who called him “the lion of Juhayna.” He visited Egypt and died in the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4:68; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 225–226; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2457, 2:188; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 46:337.

1873 Al-Miswar b. Makhrama al-Zuhri was the nephew of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf and a



- al-Sā'ib b. Yazīd,<sup>1874</sup>
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib,<sup>1875</sup>
- Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith,<sup>1876</sup>
- Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab,
- 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr,
- 'Aṭā' b. Yasār,<sup>1877</sup>
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī [Bakr],
- 'Abīda b. Qays al-Salmānī,<sup>1878</sup>
- al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym al-Thawrī,<sup>1879</sup>
- Zirr b. Ḥubaysh,<sup>1880</sup>

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- Companion of the Prophet. He lived in Medina until 'Uthmān was killed; then moved to Mecca. There he was killed by the mangonels of the besieging Umayyad army led by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr in 64/683–684. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 177, 255; al-Bukhārī, 7:410; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:158; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 4:395; al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, 3:390; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 25:588.
- 1874 Al-Sā'ib b. Yazid al-Kindī, originally a captive from 'Ayn al-Tamr, was appointed by the Prophet over al-Yamāma, and was later put by 'Umar in charge of the market of Medina, together with 'Abdallāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd. He also served as a judge. He died probably in 91/709–710, although dates ranging between 71/690–691 and 94/712–713 are given. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 280; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1373, 2064, 2752, 3032; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 20:106; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 2:257; al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, 3:437; idem, *Ta'rikh*, 363; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 15:104.
- 1875 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'a al-Lakhmī was a Medinan Companion of the Prophet. He and al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr are reported to have brought 'Uthmān's blood-stained shirt to Damascus. He died in Medina in 68/687–688. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:46; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 318; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2982.
- 1876 Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith was one of the seven jurists of Medina. He died in 94/712–713. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḳahā' al-Madīna al-Sab'a.
- 1877 'Aṭā' b. Yasār, a client of the Prophet's wife Maymūna, was a Medinan who died in 94/712–714 (but widely varying dates are given). See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:129; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 329; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 459; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 40:438.
- 1878 'Abīda b. Qays al-Salmānī was appointed by 'Umar as judge of Kufa and later supported 'Alī. He died c. 72/691–692. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 268; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 425, 579, 548; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:84.
- 1879 Al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym al-Thawrī was a Kufan known for his piety who participated in some campaigns. He died c. 70/689–690. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:127; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, 2:105; al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, 4:258; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 14:80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:242.
- 1880 Zirr b. Ḥubaysh al-Asadī, said to have been born in pre-Islamic times but never to have met the Prophet, was a Kufan who died at an advanced age c. 81/700–701. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:71; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 288; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2729, 2:213, 288, 3:2333, 2553; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, 4:181; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 19:18.

- al-Ḥārith b. Qays al-Ju‘fi,<sup>1881</sup>
- ‘Amr b. ‘Utba b. Farqad,<sup>1882</sup>
- al-Aḥnaf b. Qays,
- al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amīra<sup>1883</sup> al-Zabidī,<sup>1884</sup>
- Suwayd b. Ghafala al-Ju‘fi,
- ‘Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī,<sup>1885</sup>
- Abū Mu‘āwiya ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr,<sup>1886</sup>
- Shaqīq b. Salama,<sup>1887</sup>

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- 1881 Al-Ḥārith b. Qays al-Ju‘fi fought on ‘Alī’s side at Šiffin. He died in 48/668–669. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:116; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya*, 4:132; al-Tūsī, *Rijāl*, 38; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:74; al-Šafadi, *al-Wāfi*, 11:241.
- 1882 ‘Amr b. ‘Utba b. Farqad al-Sulamī, a Companion of the Prophet, was a Kufan ascetic. He was among the party that buried Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī. He served as governor of Māsabadhān and participated in the conquest of Balanjar. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:143; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 345; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2891–2893, 2897.
- 1883 The MSS and ed. Leiden read ‘Umayr, but the correct spelling and pronunciation are given in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 1:370.
- 1884 Al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amīra al-Zabidī al-Ḥārithī returned from Yemen with Mu‘ādh b. Jabal and stayed with him in his house, but escaped being afflicted by the plague in which Mu‘ādh, among others, died. Al-Ḥārith then went to study with Abū l-Dardā’ in Ḥimṣ, and then went to Kufa, where he studied with ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd. He later studied with Salmān al-Fārisī in al-Madā’in, and then returned to Syria. He died in the caliphate of Mu‘āwiya or that of Yazīd I. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 11:458; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān*, 1:440; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 1:370.
- 1885 ‘Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī al-Madhḥijī was a Yemeni born in pre-Islamic times. He met Mu‘ādh b. Jabal in Yemen and settled in Kufa, where he became an associate of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd. He died in 74/693–694 or 73/692–693. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:80; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 275; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 426, 448–449; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya*, 4:148; ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 46:406.
- 1886 This is how the name appears in both MSS (though mostly unpointed), but Houtsma emended it to Muṭarrif b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr, who is the former’s son, on the basis of the appearance of the latter’s name in Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 90, 436. This is a strong possibility, given that Muṭarrif (d. 95/713–714; see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:289) was more famous and influential than his father. However, the biography of his father, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr, does qualify him to be considered by al-Ya‘qūbī among the religious scholars of Mu‘āwiya’s time. According to the sources, he became a Muslim in the year 8/630, at the conquest of Mecca. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/1, 22; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, 3:182; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:251.
- 1887 Shaqīq b. Salama al-Asadī (d. 82/701–702) participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyya as a youth, fought on ‘Alī’s side at Šiffin, and was put in charge of the treasury by Ziyād. He was known in Kufa for his learning, piety, and intelligence. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:125; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 288; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 449; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; Abū

- ‘Amr b. Shuraḥbīl,<sup>1888</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī,<sup>1889</sup>
- al-Ḥārith al-A‘war al-Hamdānī,
- Masrūq [b]. al-Ajda‘,<sup>1890</sup>
- ‘Alqama b. Qays al-Nakha‘ī,<sup>1891</sup>
- Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī,<sup>1892</sup>
- Zayd b. Wahb al-Hamdānī.<sup>1893</sup>

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- Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya*, 4:101; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:3; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 2:476; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:161; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 16:172.
- 1888 ‘Amr b. Shuraḥbīl al-Hamdānī (d. 63/682–683) was an associate of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:71; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya*, 4:141; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 4:114; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:135; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 3:114; idem, *Tahdhīb*, 8:47.
- 1889 ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī al-Awsī (d. c. 70/689–690) was a Companion of the Prophet from the Anṣār who participated in the truce at al-Ḥudaybiya. He lived in Kufa and fought on ‘Alī’s side in the Battle of the Camel, at Šiffīn, and at al-Nahrawān. He was appointed governor of Kufa for Ibn al-Zubayr. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:10; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta‘rīkh*, 125, 259; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:274; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 3:197; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 17:677.
- 1890 Masrūq b. al-Ajda‘ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hamdānī al-Wadā‘ī was a Kufan who was born before Islam. He fought in the battle of al-Qādisiyya and on ‘Alī’s side at al-Nahrawān and was known for his piety. He served as a judge but would not accept a salary for his work. He died c. 62/681–682 and was buried in Wāsiṭ. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:50; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta‘rīkh*, 176, 228, 251; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 1:145, 295, 1994, 2960, 3146; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya*, 2:95; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 57:396.
- 1891 The mss and ed. Leiden have al-Khaṭ‘amī, but such a person is unknown, whereas ‘Alqama b. Qays al-Nakha‘ī was a well-known scholar during the caliphate of Mu‘āwiya, and his name does not appear in al-Ya‘qūbī’s history under any other caliphal period. ‘Alqama al-Nakha‘ī, the uncle of the famous Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī, was the jurist of Kufa and its foremost authority in Qur’ānic recitation and ḥadīth. He died c. 62/681–682. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:57; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta‘rīkh*, 196, 236, 251; Abū Zur‘a, *Ta‘rīkh*, 650; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, index; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya*, 2:98; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 41:154; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:53; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 3:110; idem, *Tahdhīb*, 7:276.
- 1892 Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī Abū Umayya (d. c. 76/691–692), was the judge of Kufa for over fifty years under ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī, and Mu‘āwiya. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith (or b. Shuraḥbīl) b. Qays, Abū Umayya al-Kindī.
- 1893 Zayd b. Wahb al-Hamdānī, whose name will occur again in al-Ya‘qūbī’s history among the religious scholars during the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik, is not known to the other sources. If al-Ya‘qūbī made a mistake in his name, he could be one of two possible scholars. The first is Zayd b. Wahb *al-Juhani*, a Kufan supporter of ‘Alī, who died c. 83/702–703 (see al-Dhahabī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 70, 360). The second is the much less known Kufan Zayd b. *Yuthay‘* al-Hamdānī. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:155; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:427.

### The Days of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya

2:287 Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, whose mother was Maysūn bt. Baḥdal al-Kalbī, became ruler on | the first day of Rajab in the year 60.<sup>1894</sup> On that day the Sun was in Taurus, 1° 20'; the Moon in Scorpio,<sup>1895</sup> 2° 30';<sup>1896</sup> Saturn in Cancer, 11°; Jupiter in Aries, 19°; Mars in Gemini, 22° 30'; Venus in Gemini, 8° 50'; and Mercury in Taurus, 20° 30'.

Yazīd was away.<sup>1897</sup> When he came to Damascus, he wrote to al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān, who was the governor of Medina:

When this letter of mine reaches you, summon al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and press them to swear allegiance to me. If they refuse, strike off their heads and send their heads to me. Press the people also to swear allegiance to me. Whoever refuses, carry out the decree against him and against al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Peace.

His letter<sup>1898</sup> reached al-Walīd at night. He sent for al-Ḥusayn and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and told them the news. They said, "Let us wait until tomorrow

1894 1 Rajab 60 A.H. = April 7, 680.

1895 C contains that following marginal note: "Only if it is the middle of the month, will the moon be in Scorpio and the sun in Taurus. At the beginning of the month, it will be with the sun in Taurus; so check this." The note is correct. If the sun is in Taurus, 1° 20', and the moon in Scorpio, 2° 30', it will be *full moon*, which can occur only on the middle day of the lunar month. Furthermore, 1 Rajab 60 (7 April 680) is about two weeks after the vernal equinox, which should put the sun at about 15° Aries; it would reach 1° 20' Taurus about April 21 (15 Rajab). The latter, in fact, is the date given in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:216, for the swearing of allegiance to Yazīd, with an alternate date of 20 Rajab (April 26). In other words, the horoscope in al-Yaʿqūbī works for 15 Rajab 60, but not for 1 Rajab. One can emend al-Yaʿqūbī's *mustahall* (the first day) to *niṣf* (the middle); or, more likely, the author has combined two traditions, one that gave the date of Yazīd's accession as 1 Rajab and one that gave it as 15 Rajab, taking the horoscope from the latter without realizing the difficulty that this causes.

1896 Reading with M, *darajātāni*. C reads *darajāt* (degrees), which led Houtsma to assume a lacuna, with a number having dropped out. Suspiciously, the word *darajātāni* in M is in the nominative case, where an accusative (*darajātayni*) would be expected. The text may have been disturbed.

1897 That is, at the time of his father's death; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:284.

1898 In M, the scribe first wrote the word as *al-kitāb* (the letter), then wrote above it *kitābuhu* (his letter), and wrote next to it the sign for "correct" (*ṣaḥḥ*). In C, the scribe wrote *kitāb*

morning, and the people will come to you.”<sup>1899</sup> Marwān<sup>1900</sup> said to al-Walīd: “By God, if they leave, you will never see them. So compel them to swear allegiance, or strike off their heads!” Al-Walīd said, “By God, I would not sever the bonds of kinship with them.” Al-Ḥusayn and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr left al-Walīd’s presence and took to the road that very night.

Al-Ḥusayn left for Mecca and stayed there for some days. The people of Iraq wrote to him and dispatched messengers on the heels of messengers. The last letter that reached him from them was that of Hānī’ b. Abī Hānī’<sup>1901</sup> and Sa’īd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khath’amī.<sup>1902</sup>

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, from his party (*shī’a*), who are believers | and Muslims: Come quickly, for the people await you, having no imam but you. Hurry! Hurry! Peace. 2:288

Al-Ḥusayn sent to them Muslim b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>1903</sup> and wrote to inform them that he was coming on the heels of his letter. When Muslim arrived in Kufa, they met with him; they gave him their oath of allegiance (to al-Ḥusayn), their pledge, and their pact, and bound themselves to help him, side with him, and be loyal to him.

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- kitābuhu* (the letter his letter) and put a line over the first word, perhaps meaning to cross it out. This is one of the evidences that C is a direct copy of M.
- 1899 Reading with M: *nuṣbiḥu wa-ya’tika l-nās*. For some reason, Houtsma emended *wa-ya’tika* to *wa-na’tika* and added the word *ma’a* (with), yielding: “In the morning we will come to you with the people.”
- 1900 That is, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.
- 1901 The index of ed. Leiden conflates this Hānī’ b. Abī Hānī’ with Ḥānī’ b. ‘Urwa al-Murādī, the Kufan Yemeni leader whom al-Ya’qūbī will mention soon as a leading partisan of al-Ḥusayn, but two different men appear to be involved. The Hānī’ b. Abī Hānī’ mentioned here apparently is the same as the Hānī’ b. Hānī’ al-Sabī’ī mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:234–235, along with Sa’īd b. ‘Abdallāh (called “al-Ḥanafī” in al-Ṭabarī, but “al-Khath’amī” in al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, ed. Leiden, 243) as the messengers who brought the Kufans’ letter to al-Ḥusayn and carried the latter’s letter back to the Kufans. The *nisba* of this Hānī’ is sometimes given as “al-Hamdānī” (the Sabī’ were a branch of the Hamdān). See also Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq’at Ṣiffīn*, 323; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:155; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh*, 409.
- 1902 Called “al-Ḥanafī” in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:234, 322, but “al-Khath’amī,” in al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 243.
- 1903 Muslim b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib was al-Ḥusayn’s cousin. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muslim b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib.

Al-Ḥusayn set out from Mecca towards Iraq. Yazīd had appointed ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād as governor of Iraq and had written to him:

Word has reached me that the people of Kufa have written to al-Ḥusayn to come to them and that he has left Mecca, heading towards them. Of all provinces, yours has been most afflicted by him, and your days of all days. Therefore, if you kill him, well and good; otherwise, you shall return to your lineage and to ‘Ubayd’s paternity.<sup>1904</sup> So beware lest he elude you! Peace.<sup>1905</sup>

### The Death of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī

‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād came to Kufa, where Muslim b. ‘Aqīl was staying with Hānī’ b. ‘Urwa,<sup>1906</sup> who was very ill and was a friend of Ibn Ziyād. When Ibn Ziyād arrived in Kufa, he was informed of Hānī’s illness and went to visit him. Hānī’ said to Muslim b. ‘Aqīl and his companions—there were a number of them: “When Ibn Ziyād sits down next to me and becomes comfortable, I shall say, ‘Bring me something to drink.’ Come out then and kill him.” He brought them into the house, and he himself sat down in the portico (*riwāq*).

‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād came to visit him. When he had become comfortable, Hānī’ b. ‘Urwa said, “Bring me something to drink,” but they did not come out. “Bring me something to drink,” he said. “What is keeping you?” Then he said: “Bring me something to drink, even if it costs me my life!” Ibn Ziyād understood; he got up, left Hānī’, and sent the police to search for Muslim.

2:289 Muslim and his supporters revolted, having no doubt about the people’s loyalty and the soundness of their constancy.<sup>1907</sup> He fought ‘Ubaydallāh, but he was captured. | ‘Ubaydallāh killed him, and he was dragged by his feet through the market. ‘Ubaydallāh also killed Hānī’ b. ‘Urwa because Muslim had stayed in his house and because he had helped him.

1904 Reading with M, *ubuwwa* (paternity), instead of C, *abū* (which Houtsma emended to *abika*, “your father”). Houtsma’s emendation of ‘Ubaydallāh (in both MSS) to ‘Ubayd is certainly correct. By threatening to restore ‘Ubaydallāh’s descent from ‘Ubayd (as his grandfather, not his father), rather than from Abū Sufyān, Yazīd was threatening to remove ‘Ubaydallāh’s claim to be related to the Umayyad house.

1905 “Peace” (*wa l-salām*) is in M, but not in C or ed. Leiden.

1906 Hānī’ b. ‘Urwa al-Murādī was an influential Yemeni chief in Kufa. See the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hānī’ b. ‘Urwa al-Murādī.

1907 Reading with M: *thabātihim*. Houtsma read C as *niyyātihim* (their intentions).

Al-Ḥusayn set out for Iraq. When he arrived at al-Qutqūṭāna,<sup>1908</sup> news of the killing of Muslim b. ʿAqil reached him. When ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād learned that al-Ḥusayn was close to Kufa, he sent out al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd,<sup>1909</sup> who prevented al-Ḥusayn from turning aside. ʿUbaydallāh then sent out ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ<sup>1910</sup> together with an army to deal with al-Ḥusayn. ʿUmar met al-Ḥusayn at a place on the Euphrates called Karbalāʾ.<sup>1911</sup> Al-Ḥusayn had with him 62 or 72 men of his family and companions; ʿUmar b. Saʿd had 4,000.

ʿUmar's men blocked al-Ḥusayn's access to water and prevented him from reaching the Euphrates. He pleaded with them by God, may He be glorified and exalted, but they insisted on fighting him unless he surrendered; then they would take him to ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, and he would make a decision about him and execute Yazīd's decree concerning him.

It is related on the authority of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn,<sup>1912</sup> who said:<sup>1913</sup> I was sitting on the eve of the morning on which my father, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, was killed, with my aunt Zaynab<sup>1914</sup> tending to me in my illness. My father entered, reciting:

O Time, what a bad friend you are!  
Morning and evening, how many

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- 1908 Al-Qutqūṭāna is just over 20 miles from al-Qādisiyya. See Yāqūt, 4:374.
- 1909 Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd led the vanguard sent by ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād against al-Ḥusayn; however, when the Syrian troops led by ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ arrived a few days later, al-Ḥurr joined al-Ḥusayn's side and was killed with him. See the article by M. J. Kister in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd (for Kister's 'b. Ka'nab,' one should read 'b. Ḳa'nab'; see Caskel, *Ġamhara*, 2:465).
- 1910 On this son of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, who achieved notoriety as leader of the army that attacked and killed al-Ḥusayn, see, among other sources: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:125; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrikh*, 235, 263–264; al-Jāhiz, *Burṣān*, 82; al-Bukhārī, 6:158; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 281, 285; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʾārif*, 243; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, index.
- 1911 Karbalāʾ lies on the Euphrates about 75 km north of Kufa and about 100 km south of Baghdad. See the article by E. Honigsmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Karbalāʾ.
- 1912 ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 94/712–713), a son of al-Ḥusayn, survived the battle at Karbalāʾ because he was too sick to fight. Known by his title "Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn," he was accounted the fourth Imam by the Shīʿa. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.
- 1913 Exactly where the narrative of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn ends is not clear.
- 1914 Zaynab al-Kubrā (the Elder) was al-Ḥusayn's sister, a daughter of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib b. Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter; she was married to her cousin ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib. She was with her brother al-Ḥusayn when he was killed, and was brought with the surviving members of her family to the caliph Yazīd in Damascus. Yazīd was gracious to them and sent them back to Medina. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:341; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 41; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʾārif*, 143, 210–211; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, index.

Slain seekers and companions will you have!  
 And Time is satisfied with no substitute!  
 Command belongs only to the Majestic One;  
 And every living being shall walk that road.

2:290 I understood what he said and knew what he meant. My tears choked me, but I pushed them back, and I knew that affliction had befallen us. As for my aunt Zaynab, when she heard what I heard—women by nature are delicate and anxious—she could not keep from jumping up, her garment dragging and her head uncovered, and saying: “Alas for a mother bereaved of her child! [Would that] death had deprived me of life today! Already Fāṭima, ‘Alī, and my brother al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī are dead.” Al-Ḥusayn looked at her, pushing back | the lump in his throat, and said, “Sister, fear God, for death must inevitably come.” She struck her face, tore the front of her dress, and fell in a swoon, crying out, “Woe is me! Alas for a mother bereaved of her child!” Al-Ḥusayn came to her and poured water over her face and said to her, “Sister, take comfort in God’s solace, for I and every Muslim have an example in God’s Messenger.” Then he said, “I adjure you, and do you vindicate my oath: tear no garment over me, scratch no face over me, and do not invoke woe and ruin over me!” Then he took her and seated her next to me—I was very ill—and went out to his companions.

The next day, al-Ḥusayn went out and talked to his opponents. He extolled his right before them, reminded them of God, may He be glorified and exalted, and of His Messenger, and asked them to open the way for him to turn back. They insisted on fighting him or on taking him and escorting him to ‘Ubaydal-lāh b. Ziyād. Al-Ḥusayn talked to group after group, and man after man, but they would answer, “We do not know what to say.”<sup>1915</sup> Then he turned to his supporters and said: “These people want only me. You have done your duty; leave, for you are free.” They said: “No, by God, O son of God’s Messenger! Not until our lives perish before yours!” So he asked God to bless them.

Zuhayr b. al-Qayn<sup>1916</sup> rode out on a horse of his and cried out: “People of Kufa! I warn you of God’s punishment! I warn you, O servants of God! The children of Fāṭima are more worthy of love and assistance than the children

1915 Arabic *mā naqūlu*, as it appears in ed. Leiden. The last word is unpointed in both manuscripts, and may also be read as *mā taqūlu* (what you are saying).

1916 Zuhayr b. al-Qayn al-Bajalī had left Mecca at the same time as al-Ḥusayn. Al-Ḥusayn talked to him, and convinced him to join him. He refused al-Ḥusayn’s offer to leave him, and fought bravely before being killed at Karbalā’. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.



of Sumayya. If you do not help them, do not fight them! O people! There is no longer any son of a prophet's daughter on the surface of the earth except al-Ḥusayn. Anyone who assists in killing him, even by a word, God will trouble his life in this world and punish him with the severest punishments of the hereafter."

Then they advanced, one after another, until al-Ḥusayn remained alone, with no one of his family, children, or relatives with him. He was standing by his horse, when an infant who had just been born to him | was brought to him. He recited the call to prayer (*adhān*) in its ear and started to chew a date and rub it in its mouth.<sup>1917</sup> At that moment, an arrow came at him and landed in the infant's throat, killing it. Al-Ḥusayn pulled the arrow out of the infant's throat, and it began to splatter him with its blood. He was saying, "By God, you are more precious in God's sight than the She-camel, and Muḥammad is more precious in God's sight than Ṣāliḥ!"<sup>1918</sup> He went and set the infant down with his children and his brother's children. Then he attacked the enemy and killed many of them. An arrow came at him, striking the upper part of his chest and coming out his back. He fell. The enemy rushed up and cut off his head—they sent it to ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. They plundered his camp, despoiled his womenfolk, and carried them off to Kufa. When the women entered the city, its women came out crying and weeping. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn said, "These weep<sup>1919</sup> for us; but who has killed us?"

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Al-Ḥusayn's dependents and children were taken away to Syria, and al-Ḥusayn's head was impaled on a spear. His killing took place on the 10th of Muḥarram in the year 61.<sup>1920</sup> There is disagreement about the day: some say it was a Saturday; others say it was a Monday; still others say it was a Friday.<sup>1921</sup> It was in October of the months of the non-Arabs.

1917 Chewing a date and rubbing it in a newborn's mouth is called *taḥnīk*. Like reciting the *adhān* (the call to prayer) in a newborn's ear, it is an act which the Prophet is reported to have performed. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. Ḥ-N-K.

1918 Ṣāliḥ, one of the Arabian prophets mentioned in the Qurʾān, was sent to the tribe of Thamūd with a miraculous she-camel as his sign. The camel was to be left to feed unharmed and drink unhindered. When the people of Thamūd killed the camel, God destroyed them. See the article by A. Rippin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣāliḥ.

1919 Following Houtsma's emendation, *yabkīna* (feminine plural), making the subject the women of Kufa. The MSS read *yabkūna* (masculine plural), making its subject the Kufans generally.

1920 10 Muḥarram 61A.H. = October 10, 680.

1921 Modern tables make it a Wednesday.

Al-Khwārazmī said: On that day, the Sun was in Libra, 17° 20'; the Moon in Aquarius, 20° 20'; Saturn in Cancer, 29° 20'; Jupiter in Capricorn, 12° 40'; Venus in Virgo, 5° 50'; Mercury in Libra, 5° 40'; and the Ascending Node in Gemini, 1° 45'.

The head was set before Yazīd, and Yazīd started beating its front teeth with a stick.

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The first woman to scream in Medina was Umm Salama, the wife of God's Messenger. The Messenger had given her a bottle containing soil and had said her, "Gabriel has informed me that my Community will kill al-Ḥusayn, and he has given me this soil." (Umm Salama said,) "The Messenger told me, 'When the soil becomes pure blood, know that al-Ḥusayn has been killed.'" She kept the bottle with her. When that time came, she began to look at the bottle every hour. When she saw that it had turned into blood, she cried out: "Alas for al-Ḥusayn! Alas for the grandson of God's Messenger!" The women began to scream from every side, so that Medina was in an uproar unlike anything that had been heard before.

Al-Ḥusayn was fifty-six years old on the day he was killed; he had been born in the year 4 of the Hijra.<sup>1922</sup>

Al-Ḥusayn was asked, "What have you heard from God's Messenger?" He said: "I heard him say: 'God likes lofty things and hates mean things.' I also recall from him that he would utter the *takbīr* and I would utter it after him; when he heard my *takbīr*, he repeated it up to seven times. He taught me, *Say, He is God, the One*,<sup>1923</sup> and he taught me the five prayers. I also heard him say: 'He who obeys God, God exalts him, and he who disobeys God, God abases him; he who is sincerely devoted to God, God adorns him; he who trusts what is with God, God helps him;<sup>1924</sup> and he who exalts himself before God, God humbles him.'"

Someone said that he heard al-Ḥusayn say: "Truthfulness is strength, and lying is weakness; a secret is a trust; neighborhood is kinship; assistance is friendship; work is experience; a good disposition is a form of worship; silence is adornment; stinginess is poverty, and generosity is wealth; gentleness is understanding."

Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī once encountered al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī<sup>1925</sup>—al-Ḥasan did not recognize him. Al-Ḥusayn asked him, "Venerable sir, will you be satisfied with

1922 4 A. H. = June 13, 625 – June 1, 626.

1923 Qur'ān 112:1.

1924 Reading with M, *yu'īnuhu*. Houtsma read C as *yughnīhi* (frees him from want).

1925 Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), a preacher, pietist, and ascetic, was an important figure in the development of Islamic religious thought. See the article by H. Ritter in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

yourself on the day you are resurrected?" Al-Ḥasan said, "No." Al-Ḥusayn said, "Do you tell your soul to abandon what you will not approve for yourself on the day you are resurrected?" Al-Ḥasan said, "Yes, though without its truly happening." Al-Ḥusayn said, "Who then will be more deceiving of himself| than 2:293 you on the day you are resurrected, when you do not tell your soul in truth to abandon what you do not approve for yourself?" Then al-Ḥusayn left. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī asked, "Who was that?" He was told, "Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī." Al-Ḥasan said, "You have made things easier for me."<sup>1926</sup>

Al-Ḥusayn had the following children: ʿAlī the Elder (*al-Akbar*), who had no descendants and was killed at al-Ṭaff<sup>1927</sup> (his mother was Laylā bt. Abī Murra b. ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī);<sup>1928</sup> and ʿAlī the Younger (*al-Aṣghar*), whose mother was Ḥarār bt. Yazdagird<sup>1929</sup>—al-Ḥusayn used to call her Ghazāla.<sup>1930</sup>

Someone said to ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, "How few are your father's children!" He said: "It is a wonder how even I was born to him! He used to pray one thousand *rakʿas* in one day and one night, so when did he have time for women?"<sup>1931</sup>



ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr remained in Mecca, repudiating Yazīd. He called the people to himself and expelled Yazīd's governor. Yazīd sent to him Ibn ʿIdāh al-Ashʿarī<sup>1932</sup> and wrote to him, granting him safe conduct and informing him that he had sworn not to accept his oath of allegiance except when he was in an iron collar—as soon as he had pledged allegiance, he would free him. Marwān

1926 That is, you have made it easier for me to accept defeat in a debate on a religious issue, given that my opponent was a man of superior intellect and piety.

1927 That is, at Karbalāʾ—al-Ṭaff is the name of the region in which Karbalāʾ lies. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:356, ʿAlī the Elder was the first to be killed at Karbalāʾ.

1928 On Laylā bt. Abī Murra b. ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:356, 387.

1929 Yazdagird was the last Sasanian king of Iran. However, there is uncertainty about the identity of ʿAlī the Younger's mother (cf. al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 58; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2:547). Although al-Yaʿqūbī's text is not explicit, these are only al-Ḥusayn's sons—he also had two daughters, Fāṭima and Sukayna (see Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 59; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2:547).

1930 Arabic for gazelle.

1931 If one follows the author's use of titles, one would need to insert after this paragraph and before the next something like THE DAYS OF ʿABDALLĀH B. AL-ZUBAYR or RETURN TO THE DAYS OF YAZĪD B. MUʿĀWIYA. There is no title in either MSS.

1932 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿIdāh al-Ashʿarī had fought on Muʿāwiya's side at Ṣiffīn. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrikh*, 251, 252; al-Dinawarī, *Akhbār*, 263; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:397–398, 417; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, 73:231.

b. al-Ḥakam, who was the governor of Medina, was loath to have Ibn al-Zubayr accept the offer,<sup>1933</sup> having become alarmed when word of the killing of al-Ḥusayn reached him. Marwān<sup>1934</sup> therefore sent to him one of his confidants with a poem in which he said:

Take it,<sup>1935</sup> though it is not a course of action for the proud,  
and even a man who grovels would have something to say about it.

Being very proud, Ibn al-Zubayr did not do it, and he gave Ibn ʿIḍāh a coarse answer. So Ibn ʿIḍāh said, “Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī used to be more exalted in Islam and among its people, and you see what has happened to him.” Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, | “Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī went out to those who did not acknowledge his right, but the Muslims have agreed on me.” Ibn ʿIḍāh said, “But there are Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn ʿUmar: they have not pledged allegiance to you.” And he departed.

Ibn al-Zubayr pressed ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās to pledge allegiance to him, but Ibn ʿAbbās refused. When Yazīd received word that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās had refused Ibn al-Zubayr, he was pleased. He wrote to Ibn ʿAbbās:

I have received word that the deviator<sup>1936</sup> Ibn al-Zubayr has invited you to pledge allegiance to him and has proposed to you that you enter

1933 Retaining the reading of the MSS: *fa-kariha an yujiba Ibn al-Zubayr ilā dhālika*. Houtsma emended it unnecessarily to *fa-kariha Ibn al-Zubayr an yujiba ilā dhālika* (Ibn al-Zubayr was loath to accede to that), which causes a drastic change in the meaning.

1934 The text has a vague pronoun “he,” but it is clear from al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:397–398, that it was Marwān who sent the warning poem to Ibn al-Zubayr.

1935 That is, “take the collar.” In most of the parallels, Yazīd sends Ibn al-Zubayr a symbolic silver chain so that by wearing it he can swear allegiance and satisfy Yazīd’s oath without the humiliation of a real fetter around his neck. The fuller version of the poem quoted by al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:226, 397–398, is worth quoting here:

Take it. True, it is not a course of action for the strong.

Even a humiliated man would hesitate to accept it.

Yet, ʿĀmir, the people have offered you such a course of action.

And no one among the neighbors is going to blame you.

(Trans. I. K. A. Howard in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XIX, 15.) As Marwān cleverly calculated, reciting the poem to Ibn al-Zubayr (especially in its abbreviated form) would have the effect of making Ibn Zubayr reject even a symbolic humiliation. The verse is by al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās; see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 305, 311. For Marwān’s motive, see Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, 348.

1936 Arabic *mulhid*. The term, ultimately of Qurʾānic origin (7:180, 41:40, and 22:25), was

into obedience to him, so that you might be a supporter in falsehood and a partner in sinfulness; and that you have refused him and clung to allegiance to us, out of loyalty to us and obedience to God, on the basis of what He has made known to you—namely, our right. Therefore may God grant you, as a relative, the best of what He grants to those who are kind to their relatives. Whatever I may forget, I shall not forget to treat you well, to recompense you handsomely, and to hasten to you the gift that you deserve from me for your nobility, obedience, and kinship to the Messenger. Direct your attention, may God have mercy on you, to those of your people who are near you and to those who come to you from distant lands, people whom the deviator is attempting to draw in<sup>1937</sup> with his tongue and honeyed words. Let them know your good opinion concerning obedience to me and adherence to the oath of allegiance to me, for they will be more obedient to you and more heedful of you than they are of the deviator who rejects God's prohibitions. Peace.

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās wrote back to Yazīd:

From ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya: I have received your letter mentioning Ibn al-Zubayr's inviting me to pledge allegiance to himself and my refusing him the pledge of allegiance to which he invited me. While it is indeed as it has reached you, it was neither your praise that I sought nor your affection; God knows full well what I intended.

You claimed that you would not forget to be affectionate to me. | Upon 2:295 my life, out of what is in your hands you give us only a small part of what is our right; indeed you withhold from us the wide and the long of it.

You asked me to urge people toward you and away from Ibn al-Zubayr. No! Not with pleasure or with joy, when you have killed al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. May your mouth be filled with dust and may stones be your lot. If you indulge such hopes, you are one whose reason has slipped away, a liar, and a thoughtless person. Do not think—may you have no father<sup>1938</sup>—that I have forgotten your killing al-Ḥusayn and the youths of the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who are lamps in darkness and stars among luminaries!

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used in the Umayyad period (as opposed to its later usage to mean heretic or atheist) to denote those who desert the community of the faithful and rebel against the legitimate caliph. See the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mulḥid.

1937 Reading with M, *yastajirruhu*. Houstama read C as *yasharuhu* (deceive, charm).

1938 Arabic *lā abā laka*. This is a formula of reproof not meant literally. Yazīd's father, Mu'āwiya, was, of course, dead by the time the letter was written.

Your soldiers left them thrown on the ground, defiled with dirt, stripped naked, unshrouded, wind-blown, with the wolves taking turns at them, and the limping hyenas coming to them time and again<sup>1939</sup>—until God afforded them some people who had not participated in shedding their blood, who covered them with their shrouds. By God, it is to my and their great distress that you, Yazīd, have taken up the seat that you occupy.

Whatever things I may forget, I shall not forget your setting on them the pretender,<sup>1940</sup> the adulterer son of the adulterer, the remote one in kinship, the one whose mother and father are ignoble, the one who, when your father claimed him, your mangy father acquired nothing but shame and humiliation<sup>1941</sup> in the hereafter and in the world, in death and in life. God's Prophet said: 'The child belongs to the bed, and to the adulterer belong stones.'<sup>1942</sup> Your father attached this man to his own father, just as one attaches a rightly-guided son to a chaste and pure father! Thus your father made the *sunna* die out of ignorance, and willfully gave life to innovations and misleading changes.

Whatever things I may forget, I shall not forget your driving al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī from the sanctuary of God's Messenger to God's sanctuary,<sup>1943</sup> and your covertly sending men to assassinate him. You thereby made him depart from | God's sanctuary to Kufa. He departed fearful and apprehensive—he who had been the most honored of Mecca's people in Mecca<sup>1944</sup> of old, and the most honored of its people there of late; he who would

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- 1939 Reading the mss unpointed word as *tantābuhum*. Houtsma read it *tunshi'u bihim* (sniffing them).
- 1940 Arabic *al-da'ī*. Ibn 'Abbās scornfully rejects 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād's claim to descent, through his father Ziyād, from Abū Sufyān. For Mu'āwiya's claim that Ziyād was the son of Abū Sufyān, see above, ed. Leiden, 2:259.
- 1941 Reading with the mss: *mā ktasaba abūka l-ārru illā bihi l-khizya wa-l-madhallata*. Houtsma emended to *mā iktasaba abūka bihi illā l-āra wa-l-khizya wa-l-madhallata* (your father acquired nothing but disgrace, shame, and humiliation).
- 1942 Meaning: the child belongs to the owner of the bed on which it is born, and the adulterer (and adulteress, the Arabic has the masculine, but it has always been interpreted as inclusive of both genders) should be stoned. The ḥadīth occurs in all the Sunnī ḥadīth collections. See, for example, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:25, 2:179, 4:168, 238, 5:267, 6:37. For the other collections, see al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir*, 7:288, n. 848.
- 1943 That is, from Medina to Mecca.
- 1944 Arabic *a'azza ahli l-baṭḥā'i bi-l-baṭḥā'i qadīman*: literally, "the most honored of the people of the *baṭḥā'* (the central depression in which Mecca is located) in the *baṭḥā'* of old."

have been the most obeyed of the people of the two sanctuaries<sup>1945</sup> in the two sanctuaries if he had taken a stand in them, and if he had permitted fighting to take place in them.<sup>1946</sup> But he was loath to be the one to violate the sanctity of the House<sup>1947</sup> and that of God's Messenger. He deemed grievous what you did not deem grievous, inasmuch as you covertly sent men to him there, so that he would fight in the sanctuary, and what Ibn al-Zubayr did not deem grievous, inasmuch as he showed contempt for the Sacred House and exposed it to those who err from the way, and himself set out eagerly after the world.<sup>1948</sup> But it is you—you!—who, I think, flout God's prohibitions in the Sanctuary—nay, there is no doubt about it. It is you who are the perverter and music-maker,<sup>1949</sup> for you are an ally of women and given to entertainments. Therefore when al-Ḥusayn saw your bad judgment, he headed to Iraq, not wishing to collude with you. *And God's commandment was a destiny decreed.*<sup>1950</sup>

You are the one who wrote to Ibn Marjāna<sup>1951</sup> to face al-Ḥusayn with troops. You ordered him to deal with him swiftly, to grant him no delay, and to press him hard, so that he might kill him and those of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who were with him—*People of the House, from whom God has removed uncleanness and cleansed with a thorough cleansing.*<sup>1952</sup>

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1945 That is, of the sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina.

1946 "... in them ... in them": the MSS have *bihā* (in *it*, or in *them*, more than two), which might indicate that only Mecca is meant. The text, however, is clear that the two cities are meant, especially since the author mentions later "the sanctity of the House (Mecca) and the sanctity of God's Messenger (Medina)." The singular therefore should be emended to the dual: *bihimā*.

1947 That is, the Ka'ba.

1948 Reconstructing the text as follows from M: *wa-ʿarraḍahu li-l-ghāwīna wa aqbala ithra l-ʿālam*, where the last word, *al-ʿālam*, means worldly power; *al-ghāwīn* is a Qurʾānic word. Houtsma could reconstruct the sentence only partially, reading *li-l-ʿāʾir* (to the wanderer) for *li-l-ghāwīn* (to those wandering in error); he left the following three words without points and merely transcribed their shape.

1949 Reading with M, *al-ʿazīf*. Houtsma's read C as *al-ʿarīf* (the prefect, the master, the knowledgeable one), none of whose meanings make sense in the context of the letter. That a word dealing with entertainment is needed here is clear from the following sentence. A derivative of the verb *ʿazaḥa* (to play a musical instrument) is therefore appropriate. However, the form *ʿazīf* is problematical, as it normally signifies the *action* of playing an instrument, not the *player* of an instrument.

1950 Qurʾān 33:38.

1951 Ibn Marjāna is a term of abuse for ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād; Marjāna was his mother.

1952 Qurʾān 33:33, slightly altered.

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We are those people; we are not like your boorish and hot-tempered<sup>1953</sup> fathers—the donkeys! Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī asked him to be left in peace. He asked them to be allowed to turn back; but you, seizing on the fewness of his supporters and the uprooting of his family, attacked them. They killed them as if they—and as if you—were killing the first family of the Turks.<sup>1954</sup> Therefore nothing is more amazing to me than your seeking my friendship and help, when you have killed the sons of my father<sup>1955</sup> and your sword drips with my blood. You will receive my retaliation! God willing, my blood will not be unavenged on you. You will not outrun my vengeance; and if you outrun my taking it in this world, prophets and prophets’ families were killed before us, | and the appointed time was God’s: He is a sufficient supporter of the oppressed and exacter of vengeance from the oppressors. So do not be proud at having the upper hand over us today, for, by God, we shall surely get the upper hand over you some day.

As for what you mentioned regarding my loyalty and what you claimed would come to me of my right: even if that is so, by God I pledged obedience to your father knowing full well that [my uncle’s sons]<sup>1956</sup> and all of my father’s descendants were more entitled to this matter<sup>1957</sup> than your father. But you people of Quraysh contended<sup>1958</sup> with us, took exclusive possession of our authority (*sulṭān*) from us, and thrust us away from our right. So away with those who dare to wrong us, who misled foolish people against us, and who took charge of the matter, excluding us! Away with them, as Thamūd, the people of Lot, the companions of Midian, and those who disbelieved the messengers perished!

Among the most amazing of wonders—Time shows you amazing things as long as you live!—is your carrying off the daughters of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and young lads of his progeny to you in Syria like fetched cap-

1953 Reading with M, *al-ḥumāti l-akbādi*. Houtsma read *al-jufāti al-akbādi* (the coarse-livered).

1954 Reading with M, *ka-annamā qatalū ahla bayti l-turki wa-ka’annaka*. Houtsma’s conjectural emendation was: *ka-annamā qatalū ahla baytin [min] al-turki wa-l-kufri* (as if they were killing a family [of] the Turks and unbelief).

1955 Referring to his grandfather, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

1956 Inserted by Houtsma on the basis of MS Leiden 915, which contains a version of this letter.

1957 Arabic *amr*, meaning the caliphate.

1958 Reading with M, *kābartumūnā*. The word is unpointed in C; Houtsma read it as *kāthartumūnā* (you outnumbered us).



tives, to show people that you have subdued us and will do us in.<sup>1959</sup> Upon my life, if you feel secure mornings and evenings because my hand has been wounded, I hope that your wounds will become numerous from my speech and from my refuting and establishing, so that your joy<sup>1960</sup> does not last. God will grant you only a brief respite after your killing of the progeny of God's Messenger, until He seizes you painfully and removes you, reprehensible and sinful, from the world. Live, then—may you have no father—for, by God, what you have committed has destroyed you in God's sight. Peace be upon those who obey God.

Yazīd appointed 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān over Medina. Ibn Mīnā,<sup>1961</sup> the overseer of Mu'āwiya's estates (*ṣawāfi*), came to him and informed him that he had been about to send off the | wheat and dates that he used to send every year from those estates, but the people of Medina had prevented him from doing so. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad sent for a group of them and spoke harshly to them. They rose up against him and against the Banū Umayya who were with him in Medina, expelling them from the city, pursuing them, and stoning them. 2:298

When the news reached Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, he sent for Muslim b. 'Uqba<sup>1962</sup> and had him brought from Palestine, although he was sick. He brought him into his house and told him the story. Muslim said: "Commander [of the Faithful], dispatch me to them. By God, I will turn the place upside down!"—meaning the City of the Prophet. Yazīd dispatched him with 5,000 men to Medina, and he attacked its people at the battle of al-Ḥarra.<sup>1963</sup> The people of Medina fought him fiercely and dug a trench around the city. Muslim made an attempt on one

1959 Reading with M, *tamurru*. For this meaning, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, *Glossarium*, s.v. M-R. Houtsma emended the word to *ta'muru* (will hold sway).

1960 Reading with M, *al-jadhal*. Houtsma read the unpointed word in C as *jadāl* (argument, debate), which does not fit the context.

1961 It is difficult to identify Ibn Mīnā, since his full name is not mentioned and his father's name Mīnā indicates that he is a non-Arab. He could be al-Ḥakam b. Mīnā, who was a slave of the family of Abū 'Āmir al-Rāhib, of the Anṣār. The latter gave him to Abū Sufyān, and Abū Sufyān sold him to al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who freed him. During the Prophet's time, he participated in the battle of Tabūk. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:228; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta'rikh*, 2:343; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, 3:127; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 15:63; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:440.

1962 On Muslim b. 'Uqba al-Murri, see the article by H. Lammens in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muslim b. 'Uqba.

1963 The battle of al-Ḥarra (the word refers to any area of black broken volcanic stones that looks as if it had been burned by fire) took place on 26 or 27 Dhū l-Ḥijja 63 (26 or 27 August 683). See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥarra.

side of the trench, but it proved impossible for him. Marwān<sup>1964</sup> tricked some of the inhabitants; he entered together with one hundred horsemen, and then the cavalry followed and entered the city. Few people in it were not killed. Muslim so violated the sanctuary of God's Messenger that that virgins later gave birth not knowing who had impregnated them. Then he forced the people to swear allegiance on the basis of being slaves to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya.<sup>1965</sup> A man from the Quraysh would be brought forward and told, "Swear allegiance as a sign that you are a complete slave<sup>1966</sup> to Yazīd." If he said no, he was beheaded.

2:299 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn came to him and asked, "On what basis do you want<sup>1967</sup> me to give you the oath of allegiance?" Muslim said, "On the basis that you are a brother and a cousin." 'Alī said, "Even if you want me to swear allegiance before you on the basis of my being a complete slave, I will do it." Muslim said, "This man has not put you to shame."<sup>1968</sup> When the people saw that 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn had acceded, they said, "Behold the grandson of God's Messenger has sworn allegiance as Muslim wanted." So they also swore allegiance as Muslim wanted. That was in the year 62.<sup>1969</sup>

Muslim's army numbered 5,000 men: 1,000 men from Palestine, led by Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī;<sup>1970</sup> 1,000 men from Jordan, led by Ḥubaysh b. Dulja al-Qaynī;<sup>1971</sup> 1,000 men from Damascus, led by 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ada al-Fazārī; 1,000 men from the people of Ḥimṣ, led by al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī;<sup>1972</sup>

1964 That is, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

1965 That is, as if they had been non-Muslims who had resisted the terms offered by the Muslim armies. Such captives were regularly enslaved, but Muslim's treatment of the citizens of the oldest Islamic city is presented as outrageous.

1966 Arabic *'abd qinn*. The exact meaning is uncertain. The dictionaries (e.g. *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v.) give a variety of explanations. One is that it refers to a slave born in one's household to a slave father, as opposed to a slave acquired by purchase.

1967 Reading with M, *turīdu*. In C the word has been repeated by dittography, leading Houtsma to read *yurīdu Yazīd* (does Yazīd want). The two words have the same ductus in unpointed Arabic script.

1968 Arabic *mā aḥshamaka hādḥā*: literally, "This one (that is, Yazīd) has not put you to shame."

1969 62 A.H. = September 20, 681 – September 9, 682. This date, however, does not agree with the date usually given for the battle of al-Ḥarra (see above, note 1963).

1970 On Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī, see the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rawḥ b. Zinbā'.

1971 On Ḥubaysh b. Dulja al-Qaynī, see Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 196, 261; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:578–579, 642; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 12:86.

1972 On al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī, see the article by H. Lammens in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr.

and 1,000 men from Qinnasrīn, led by Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī.<sup>1973</sup> The manager of the affairs of the people of Medina and their chief in fighting the Syrians was 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanzala b. Abī 'Āmir al-Anṣārī.<sup>1974</sup>

Muslim b. 'Uqba left Medina for Mecca in order to fight Ibn al-Zubayr. When he reached the mountain pass at al-Mushallal,<sup>1975</sup> he became deathly ill. He appointed al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr as his successor and said to him: "You donkey's pack-saddle! But for Ḥubaysh b. Dulja al-Qaynī, I would not have appointed you. When you get to Mecca, your work will be nothing but to take a position, fight, then depart!"<sup>1976</sup> Then he said, "O God, if you punish me after my obedience to your caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya and the killing of the people of al-Ḥarra, I shall be truly wretched." Then his soul departed, and he was buried at the pass of al-Mushallal. The concubine (*umm walad*) of Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Zam'a<sup>1977</sup> came and exhumed him and crucified him at al-Mushallal; then the people came and stoned him. When al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr received word, he turned back, buried him, and killed a number of people of that place; some say that he spared not one of them.

Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr came to Mecca and battled Ibn al-Zubayr in the sanctuary: he bombarded it with fire until he burned the Ka'ba.<sup>1978</sup> When the two sides faced each other, Ibn al-Zubayr's judge, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr al-Laythī,<sup>1979</sup> stood by the Ka'ba and shouted at the top of his voice: "People of 2:300

1973 On Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Āmirī al-Kilābī, see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 195, 260; al-Bukhārī, 3:430; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; al-Jahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā'*, 35; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 19:34.

1974 On 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanzala, known as Ibn al-Ghasīl, who was killed in the battle of al-Ḥarra, see the article by Isaac Hasson in *ER*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanzala.

1975 Al-Mushallal is a mountain pass descending towards the sea in the direction of Qudayd. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 5:136, s.v. al-Mushallal.

1976 The Arabic is as laconic as Caesar's *Veni, vidi, vici*: *al-wiqāf, thumma l-thiqāf, thumma l-inṣirāf*.

1977 While he was still at Medina, Muslim b. 'Uqba had killed her master, Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Zam'a, together with his brother immediately after the battle of al-Ḥarra because they said that they would pledge allegiance only "in accordance with the Book of God and the *sunna* of His Prophet." See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:418–419.

1978 For details of the siege and the use of a *manjanīq* (trebuchet) to hurl stones and flaming charges into Mecca, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:426–427. Note that some of the reports collected by al-Ṭabarī place responsibility for the fire on the carelessness of Ibn al-Zubayr's followers, who had lit fires around the building.

1979 On 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr b. Amr al-Laythī, see Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 587; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 359, 363, 393, 400; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2828–2829, 2:752, 1436.

Syria! This is God's sanctuary that even in the Time of Ignorance was a refuge where birds and game were safe. Therefore fear God, O people of Syria!" The Syrians shouted back: "Obedience, obedience! Attack, attack! Departure before evening!" This went on until the Ka'ba was burned. Ibn al-Zubayr's supporters said, "Let us put out the fire!" But Ibn al-Zubayr prevented them, wanting the people to become angry over the fate of the Ka'ba. One of the Syrians said, "Sanctity and obedience met, and obedience overcame sanctity." The burning of the Ka'ba took place in the year 63.<sup>1980</sup>

Yazid appointed Salm b. Ziyād<sup>1981</sup> over Khurāsān and sent with him a number of tribal nobles (*ashraf*), one of whom was Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt—he was Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzā'ī—along with al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh<sup>1982</sup> b. Ma'mar al-Taymī, and 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī. Salm b. Ziyād went to Khurāsān and stayed in Nishāpūr. Then he went to Khwārazm and conquered it. Then he went to Bukhārā, whose queen was Khātūn. When she saw the size of his army, she became alarmed and wrote to Ṭarkhūn, the king of Soghdia:<sup>1983</sup> "I will marry you. Come to me to take possession of Bukhārā." The king came to her with 120,000 men. When Salm b. Ziyād received word of Ṭarkhūn's approach, he sent out al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra as his vanguard; he went out, and the troops followed after him. When they came close to Ṭarkhūn's soldiers, Ṭarkhūn's men advanced toward them and the fighting raged. The Muslims showered them with arrows; Ṭarkhūn was killed, his men were defeated, and many of them were killed. On that day, the Muslims' shares of booty amounted to | 2,400 (dirhams) for a cavalryman and 1,200 (dirhams) for an infantryman.

Ibn Ziyād stayed in Khurāsān until Yazid died. He hid the news of his death until it spread among the people. Salm then left Khurāsān, deputizing Ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī; fearing that the latter would rebel against him, he sought

1980 63 A.H. = September 10, 682 – August 29, 683. This differs from the report in al-Ṭabarī (on the authority of al-Wāqidi), dating the burning of the Ka'ba to 3 Rabi' 1 64 (October 30, 683).

1981 On Salm b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, the third of Ziyād's sons, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salm b. Ziyād b. Abīhi.

1982 The MSS read 'Abdallāh, which is incorrect (cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:192). Houtsma corrected the reading in the *Addenda et emendanda* of volume 1 of ed. Leiden.

1983 Soghdia (Arabic, al-Sughd or al-Ṣughd) was the region of central Asia stretching from the Oxus to the Jaxartes rivers (in modern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kirgizstan). The inhabitants spoke an Iranian language, Soghdian, and the chief city was Samarqand. See the article by W. Barthold in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ṣughd.

to beguile him. Having received word<sup>1984</sup> that the troops were restless, Salm gave him his appointment and departed.

Ibn Khāzim stayed in Khurāsān and accomplished wonders, and no one<sup>1985</sup> would defy him.<sup>1986</sup> Sulaymān<sup>1987</sup> advanced to Herat and continued fighting him, while Aws b. Tha'laba revolted in al-Ṭālaqān. (Ibn Khāzim) continued to fight both of them and fought the Turks; in all of this he was victorious over them.

Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya died in Ṣafar of the year 64<sup>1988</sup> in a place called Ḥuwwārīn.<sup>1989</sup> He was carried to Damascus and buried there; Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd prayed over him.

He had four sons: Mu'āwiya, Khālīd, Abū Sufyān, and 'Abdallāh.

The persons with the greatest influence over him were: Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth b. Baḥḍal al-Kalbī,<sup>1990</sup> Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī, al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr, and

1984 Vocalizing *balaghahu* instead of Houtsma's *ballaghahu* (he informed him).

1985 Reading with M, *wa-lam yakun aḥadun yaruddu 'alayhi*. The word *aḥadun* has fallen out of C, leaving a sentence that can be parsed as passive: *wa-lam yakun yaraddu 'alayhi* (and he could not be defied).

1986 One or more sentences have fallen out of the MSS at this point.

1987 As corrected by Houtsma. M reads Salm, corrected to Aslam, the reading followed in C. On the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 414, Houtsma emended to Sulaymān. This would be Sulaymān b. Marthad, from the Banū Sa'd b. Mālik b. Ḍubay'a. After the death of Yazīd, the people in Khurāsān agreed at first to be governed by Salm b. Ziyād. Salm wrote to 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim and departed from Khurāsān, deputizing al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra. Upon meeting Sulaymān b. Marthad in Sarakhs, and finding him angry at the deputization of al-Muhallab, Salm appointed Sulaymān over specific parts of Khurāsān including Marw. When 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim was appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr as governor of Khurāsān, he conquered Marw and then fought Sulaymān b. Marthad and killed him in 64/683–684. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 414; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:489–490, 496. The two sources give slightly varying reports on the events of this period in Khurāsān.

1988 Ṣafar 64 A.H. = September 29 – October 27, 683.

1989 Ḥuwwārīn is a town near Tadmur (Palmyra) in Syria. See Yāqūt, 2:315–316.

1990 This is the reading of M (albeit with "Ḥurr" in place of "Ḥurayth"); C has Ḥumayd b. Bashīr. Houtsma emended the name to Ḥassān b. Baḥḍal. Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth b. Baḥḍal al-Kalbī, also referred to as Ḥumayd b. Baḥḍal, or merely as "Ibn Baḥḍal" in poetry, is mentioned several times during the caliphates of Marwān and 'Abd al-Malik. He fought for the Umayyads against 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād in 67/686, but against them and on the side of 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq during the latter's attempt to seize power from 'Abd al-Malik in 69/688; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:487, 707–708, 784–785, 787, 790. More famous than Ḥumayd al-Kalbī is another Kalbī, Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥḍal (d. 69/688–689), whose name Houtsma placed here: he was a tribal chief among the Kalb tribe in Syria,

‘Abdallāh b. Riyāḥ.<sup>1991</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir al-Hamdānī<sup>1992</sup> was in charge of his police; Sa‘īd,<sup>1993</sup> a client (*mawlā*) of the Kalb, was in charge of his bodyguard; and his chamberlain was Ṣafwān, his client.<sup>1994</sup>

When al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr was fighting Ibn al-Zubayr, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam wrote to him: “Let what has happened<sup>1995</sup> not frighten you; proceed with your business.”

The news<sup>1996</sup> also reached Ibn al-Zubayr. It spread among the troops, and the men’s morale broke. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr sent a message to Ibn al-Zubayr, saying, “Let us meet tonight under a safe conduct.” So they met. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. | Numayr said to him: “Yazīd has died, and his son is a boy. Would you like me to take you to Syria—there is no one in Syria—and give you my oath of allegiance, whereupon no two people will disagree about you?” Raising his voice, Ibn al-Zubayr said, “No, by God, other than Whom there is no god—unless in retaliation for the people of al-Ḥarra you kill a like number of Syrians!” Al-Ḥuṣayn said to him: “Whoever claimed that you were a smart one?<sup>1997</sup> I say to you what is to your advantage in secret and you say to me what is to your detriment in public!” Then he left.

Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab used to call the years of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya years of evil omen: in the first year, al-Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Alī and the family of God’s Messenger were killed; in the second, the sanctuary of God’s Messenger was profaned and

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Yazīd’s cousin on the mother’s side, and Yazīd was his brother-in-law. He played an important role in bringing Marwān b. al-Ḥakam to the caliphate in 64/684. See the article by H. Lammens and L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥassān b. Mālīk. It is probably Ḥassān’s prominence during Yazīd’s rule and his relation to him that made Houtsma change the name. Nevertheless, the text is clear in identifying Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth al-Kalbī, not Ḥassān.

1991 ‘Abdallāh b. Riyāḥ is otherwise unknown. If there is a mistake in the name, and he is ‘Abdallāh b. *Rabāḥ*, rather than *Riyāḥ*, he would be the venerable Basran Anṣārī who visited Mu‘āwiya and was killed during the governorship of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād (but other dates are given). See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, 200; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh*, 206; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 17:63.

1992 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir al-Hamdānī al-Awzā’ī al-Azdī was in charge of Yazīd’s police after Ḥurayth b. Baḥdal. He lived into the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik. See al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta’rīkh*, 5:156; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, 5:123; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 29:282.

1993 His full name was Sa‘īd b. Zayd, a client of the Kalb. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 21:95.

1994 On Ṣafwān see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh Dimashq*, 24:182.

1995 That is, Yazīd’s death.

1996 That is, the news of Yazīd’s death.

1997 Houtsma, following al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:281 (§1954), added *fa-huwa aḥmaq* (he is stupid), turning the sentence into a statement. The addition is unnecessary.

the sanctity of Medina was violated; in the third, blood was spilled in God's sanctuary and they burned down the Ka'ba.

Those who led the pilgrimage during the rule of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya were:

- in the year 60:<sup>1998</sup> 'Amr b. al-Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ;
- in the year 61:<sup>1999</sup> al-Walīd b. 'Utba;
- in the year 62:<sup>2000</sup> al-Walīd b. 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān.

Men who led the military campaigns during his rule: in the year 61, Mālik b. 'Abdallāh al-Khath'amī led the summer campaign; that was the campaign of Sūriya.<sup>2001</sup>

### The Days of Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya

Then Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, whose mother was Umm Hāshim bt. Abī Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a, ruled for forty days—others say four months. He followed a good course of action.<sup>2002</sup> He delivered a speech to the people and said:

After praising and exalting God, we say: People! We have been afflicted by you, and you have been afflicted by us; and we are not ignorant of how you hate us and reproach us. Indeed, my grandfather, Mu'āwiya b. Abī

1998 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 60 A.H. = September 2, 680.

1999 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 61 A.H. = August 22, 681.

2000 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 62 A.H. = August 11, 682.

2001 The expedition led by Mālik b. 'Abdallāh al-Khath'amī is mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:396 (year 60 A.H.). Sūriya is the less common Arabic name for Syria (al-Sha'm is the usual term). Yāqūt, who implies that Sūriya was also the name of a particular place in al-Sha'm, cites al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 137, where the Roman emperor Heraclius, having been defeated by the Arabs, bids farewell to Sūriya with the words: "On you, O Sūriya, be peace! What a good land this is for the enemy." Al-Balādhurī then explains, "He meant al-Shām"—the Arabic for Syria—"because of its many pastures." Why this summer campaign received this name is unclear.

2002 Arabic *wa-kāna lahu madhhabun jamīl*. Literally, "he had a good *madhhab*." In its original sense, a *madhhab* is "a way, course, mode, or manner, of acting or conduct or the like" (Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:983b). Later it was applied in a technical sense to the various schools of Islamic jurisprudence. Here it refers specifically to his repudiation of the anti-'Alid policy of his two predecessors. Al-Ya'qūbī proceeds to cite the speech in which he made this change explicit.

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Sufyān, struggled for power against someone<sup>2003</sup> more entitled to it than he in his kinship to God's Messenger and having a greater right in Islam as the earliest of the Muslims, the first of the believers, the cousin of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds, and the father of | the descendants of the Seal of the Messengers.<sup>2004</sup> He perpetrated on you what you know, and you perpetrated on him what you do not deny, until his death came to him and he became hostage to his actions. Then my father was placed in charge, and he was not disposed to do good. He pursued his desires and deemed his errors good. His hopes were high, but he failed to realize them; his appointed term was short, and so his power diminished, his days were cut off, and he ended in his grave, hostage to his sins and captive to his crimes.

Then he wept and said:

What is most grievous to us is our knowledge of his evil downfall and his vile place in the hereafter, having killed the Messenger's progeny, desecrated the Sanctuary, and burned down the Ka'ba. I am not the one to take charge of your affairs, nor the one to bear the claims you make. So do as you like; for, by God, if the world is a place of profit, we have obtained a share of it; and if it is an evil, then what the family of Abū Sufyān have obtained of it is sufficient.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam said to him, "Then rule us in accordance with 'Umar's<sup>2005</sup> way of conduct!" He said: "I would not take charge of you, alive or dead. Since when has the son of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya become like 'Umar? And where can I find one man like 'Umar's men?"

Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd died when he was twenty-three years old. Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya prayed over him—others say 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān. He was buried in Damascus, where he used to reside.

2003 That is, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

2004 Cf. Qur'ān 33:40 ("the Seal of the Prophets," referring to Muḥammad).

2005 Literally, "according to the *sunna* of 'Umar (b. al-Khaṭṭāb)."



### The Days of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and Some of the Days of ‘Abd al-Malik

‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, whose mother Asmā’ was the daughter of Abū Bakr, had taken control of Mecca and proclaimed himself Commander of the Faithful; most of the regions rallied to him.

As we have already related, the account of his beginning belongs in the reign of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya and in his battling al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr. When Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya died, people from everywhere rallied to Ibn al-Zubayr. In Egypt, | 2:304  
 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jaḥdam al-Fihri was Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor, and the people there were loyal to him; Nātil b. Qays al-Judhāmī was in Palestine, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri in Damascus, al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī in Ḥimṣ, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī in Qinnasrīn<sup>2006</sup> and al-‘Awāṣim,<sup>2007</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Muṭī‘ in Kufa, al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī‘a in Basra, and ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzīm al-Sulamī in Khurāsān. Every region rallied to Ibn al-Zubayr except Jordan,<sup>2008</sup> whose chief at this time was Ḥassān b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī.<sup>2009</sup> Ibn al-Zubayr expelled the Umayyads from Medina; Marwān, about to leave, came to his son, ‘Abd al-Malik, who was sick with smallpox, and said to him, “Son, Ibn al-Zubayr has expelled me!” ‘Abd al-Malik responded, “What prevents you from taking me with you?” “How can I take you when you are in this condition?” asked Marwān. ‘Abd al-Malik said, “Wrap me in some cotton; surely this is a decision that Ibn al-Zubayr hasn’t thought through.” So Marwān left and took out ‘Abd al-Malik. Later Ibn al-Zubayr did think it through and realised that he had erred. He sent someone to bring them back, but they escaped him.

By the time Marwān arrived (in Syria), Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd had died and affairs in Syria were in an unsettled state, so he put forward his claim.<sup>2010</sup> [The

2006 The town of Qinnasrīn, which gave its name to a military district (*jund*), lay south of Aleppo in northern Syria. See the articles by N. Elisséeff in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qinnasrīn, and by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djund.

2007 *Al-‘Awāṣim*, literally, the “protectresses,” refers to the Muslim fortified settlements that lay between Antioch and Manbij in northern Syria. See the article by M. Canard in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-‘Awāṣim.

2008 Arabic *al-Urdunn*; the area adjacent to the Jordan River, referring to the military district (*jund*) of the same name. See the article by P. M. Cobb in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Urdunn.

2009 Ḥassān b. Baḥdal (d. 68/688–689) was an important Kalbī chief who had a prominent role in succession intrigues from the death Mu‘āwiya through the succession of ‘Abd al-Malik. See note 1990, above.

2010 Arabic *fa-da‘ā ilā nafsihi*, literally, “he summoned (people) to himself,” that is, to proclaim him caliph.

leading figures] came together in al-Jābiya<sup>2011</sup> in the province of Damascus, and they deliberated about Ibn al-Zubayr and on their past experiences with the Umayyads; they deliberated about Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya and ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ after him.<sup>2012</sup> Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ al-Judhāmī, who supported Marwān, rose to speak: “People of Syria! This is Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the chief<sup>2013</sup> of the Quraysh, who avenged the blood of ‘Uthmān and fought ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib at the Battle of the Camel and Ṣiffīn. Give the oath of allegiance to the eldest (of the three), and proclaim as successor the youngest and, following him, ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd.” So they gave the oath of allegiance to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, | to be followed by Khālīd b. Yazīd and then ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd.

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Having entered into the oath of allegiance, they gathered those (tribesmen) who were in their region, and deliberated about which land they should head for. They said, “We should head for Syria, for it is the capital, the caliphs’ residence, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays<sup>2014</sup> has taken control of it.” So they set off for Damascus and engaged al-Ḍaḥḥāk at Marj Rāhiṭ.<sup>2015</sup> A number of soldiers and of Damascus’s valiant young men were with al-Ḍaḥḥāk; and, as reinforcements, the governor of Ḥimṣ, al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr, had sent Shurahbīl b. Dhī al-Kalā‘,<sup>2016</sup> commanding the soldiers of Ḥimṣ, and Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī had sent Qays b. Ṭarīf b. Ḥassān al-Hilālī. The two sides met at Marj Rāhiṭ and fought fiercely.<sup>2017</sup> Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays was killed, along with many of his men, and the survivors of his army fled. When the news reached al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr in Ḥimṣ, he fled the city with his Kinānī wife, his household goods, and his

2011 Al-Jābiya, located in the Golan about 80km south of Damascus, was an important settlement for pre- and early Islamic Syrian tribes and frequently served as a center for the military district (*jund*) of Damascus. See the article by H. Lammens and J. Sourdel-Thomine in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djābiya.

2012 That is, to succeed Marwān as caliph. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 259, has a shortened version of this, dating the *bay’a* to the middle of Dhū l-Qa’dā, 64 (July 4, 684). (Note that Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 44 says that for frontier material Khalifa is close to al-Ya’qūbī.) On the succession, see *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXI, (trans. Fishbein), 155, n. 561.

2013 Arabic *shaykh*.

2014 Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, the governor of Damascus, was sympathetic to Ibn al-Zubayr and eventually decided to fight Marwān. See the article by A. Dietrich in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri.

2015 On the Battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, fought in the vicinity of Damascus, see the article by N. Elisséeff in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mardj Rāhiṭ.

2016 His father had died fighting on the Umayyad side at Ṣiffīn; see al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār* (ed. Leiden), 191.

2017 Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 259, says that the battle lasted for 20 days.

children. Tribesmen of the Ḥimyar and Bāhila pursued him and killed him in the steppe; they cut off his head and sent it to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith also fled, pursued by the cavalry, as far as Qarqisiyā,<sup>2018</sup> where ʿIyād al-Ḥarashī of the tribe of Madhḥij was stationed. The latter shut the city gates on him, but Zufar kept using deceit until he managed to enter the city.

Marwān sent Ḥubaysh b. Dulja al-Qaynī<sup>2019</sup> to the Ḥijāz to fight Ibn al-Zubayr. Ḥubaysh got as far as Medina, where Jābir b. al-Aswad b. ʿAwf al-Zuhri was Ibn al-Zubayr's governor. Ibn al-Zubayr wrote to al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh, his governor of Basra, ordering him to send an army against them, and they met Ḥubaysh in battle, killing him and most of his men. Of the very few who fled to safety were Yūsuf b. al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī and his son al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.<sup>2020</sup>

Marwān left for Egypt, and when he reached Palestine he found Nātil | b. 2:306 Qays al-Judhāmī having overrun the country, so he dispatched Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ to battle him. When Nātil no longer had enough strength to battle Marwān, he fled and joined Ibn al-Zubayr. Marwān then set out for Egypt, which he entered; its inhabitants came to terms with him and gave him their allegiance. He dismissed Ibn Jaḥdam al-Fihri, Ibn al-Zubayr's governor—some say he tricked him and killed him. He killed Akdar<sup>2021</sup> b. Ḥumām al-Lakhmī, appointed his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān<sup>2022</sup> as governor, and departed.

Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī and al-Musayyab b. Najaba al-Fazārī raised a revolt. Joined by some of the Shīʿa of Iraq, they led a force into rebellion at a place called ʿAyn al-Warda,<sup>2023</sup> seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. They said: “We are the Penitents; we repent to God for our failure to support the grandson of the Messenger of God,<sup>2024</sup> and we will act in accordance with God's command to the Israelites, when He said: *Now turn to your Creator and slay one another. That will be better for you in your Creator's sight, and He will*

2018 A town in Northern Mesopotamia, on the left bank of the Euphrates near the confluence with the Khābūr; see the article by M. Streck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qarqisiyā.

2019 Hubaysh b. Dulja was a veteran who had fought for Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffin. On this expedition, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:578–579.

2020 The future governor of Iraq under Marwān's successor, ʿAbd al-Malik.

2021 So M, C, also al-Kindī; ed. Leiden emends to Ukaydir.

2022 On the career of this Umayyad prince, see the article by Khalid Yahya Blankinship in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān.

2023 Otherwise known as Ra's al-Ayn, on the Euphrates in Northern Mesopotamia; brief notice in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿAyn al-Warda.

2024 The words “We are the Penitents ... Messenger of God,” present in M, have fallen out of C, and hence from ed. Leiden. On this movement, known by its Arabic name as al-Tawwābūn (Penitents), see the article by F. M. Denny in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tawwābūn.

turn to you; truly He turns, and is All-compassionate.”<sup>2025</sup> Many people followed them. Marwān sent ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād against them, saying to him, “If you take control of Iraq, it is yours to govern.” ‘Ubaydallāh engaged Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, doing battle until he killed him. Some say that Sulaymān was not killed during Marwān’s reign, but that he was killed during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik.

When Marwān, returning from Egypt, arrived in al-Ṣinnabra<sup>2026</sup> in the province of Jordan, news reached him that Ḥassān b. Baḥdal had given the oath of allegiance to ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd. So he summoned Ḥassān and said to him, “I have heard that you have given the oath of allegiance to ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd.” When Ḥassān denied this, Marwān said to him, “Give the oath of allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik.” So he gave the oath to ‘Abd al-Malik and, to succeed him, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān.

2:307 Marwān had been in al-Ṣinnabra only briefly when he died. The circumstances of his death were as follows. Having married the mother of Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, Marwān went to see Khālīd one day | and insulted him; he did the same on another day. Khālīd, now angry, went to see his mother, telling her of what had happened. She said, “By God, he won’t be doing that again!”<sup>2027</sup> She then placed poison in milk, and when he entered, gave it to him to drink. Some say that she placed a cushion on his face, killing him; others say that he died in Damascus and was buried there. Marwān ruled for nine months; he died in Ramaḍān of year 65 at the age of 61.<sup>2028</sup> The commander of his security force (*shurṭa*) was Yaḥyā b. Qays al-Ghassānī, and his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was Abū Sahl al-Aswad.<sup>2029</sup> His son ‘Abd al-Malik led the prayers at his funeral. He left twelve male children: ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Mu‘āwiya, Bishr, ‘Umar, Abān, ‘Abdallāh, ‘Ubaydallāh, Ayyūb, Dāwūd, ‘Uthmān, and Muḥammad.

‘Abd al-Malik succeeded (to power) over the Syrians.<sup>2030</sup> Fearing that ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd would rebel, he made his way quickly to Damascus. The people rallied to

2025 Qur’ān 2:54.

2026 Ṣinnabra, three miles from Tiberias, had been used as a winter residence by Mu‘āwiya; see Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, s.v.

2027 The Arabic literally means, “He will not drink cold (water) after this!”

2028 Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 261, dates Marwān’s death to the beginning (*mustahall*) of Ramaḍān 65 (April 11, 785), but adds a report dating his death to 3 Ramaḍān (April 13, 785); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:577, merely states that he died in Ramaḍān of that year.

2029 Khalifa, *Ta’rikh*, 263, identifies Abū Sahl as his *mawlā*.

2030 The text and the translation are uncertain. The easiest solution is to follow the suggestion made by Landberg, *Critica*, 1:48, to read: *wa-khalafa* [‘alā] *ahl al-Sha’m* ‘Abd al-Malik; the translation follows this emendation. M reads: *wa-ḥaffa ahl al-Shām bi-‘Abd al-Malik* (The Syrians surrounded ‘Abd al-Malik). Ed. Leiden reads, *wa-khalafa ahl al-Shām bi-‘Abd al-Malik* (The Syrians became altered concerning ‘Abd al-Malik). But

him, and when he said to them, “I fear that you harbor misgivings,”<sup>2031</sup> a number of Marwān’s supporters rose and said, “By God, if you don’t ascend the pulpit, we will put you to the sword!” So he ascended it, and they gave him the oath of allegiance.

Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd al-Thaqafī had set out with an armed band with the intention of avenging al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī.<sup>2032</sup> ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād seized him, imprisoned him, and beat him with a rod, slitting his eyelid. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar wrote concerning him to Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, and Yazīd wrote to ‘Ubaydallāh, instructing him to release him; he did so and exiled him. Al-Mukhtār then left for the Ḥijāz and joined Ibn al-Zubayr, but when he did not see Ibn al-Zubayr giving him an appointment, he left for Iraq. By the time he arrived, Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzā‘ī had rebelled, seeking to avenge the blood of al-Ḥusayn. When al-Mukhtār arrived in Kufa, the Shī‘a gathered round him, and he said to them: “Muḥammad b. Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2033</sup> has sent me to you as a commander and has commanded me to fight the spillers of innocent blood.<sup>2034</sup> I will avenge the blood of the oppressed members of his family. By God, I will kill the son of Marjāna,<sup>2035</sup> and take vengeance on behalf of the family of the Messenger of God against the one who has oppressed them.” One faction of the Shī‘a was persuaded, but another said, “We will go out to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī and ask him.” So they went out to him and asked him, and he said, “How dear to us is whoever seeks to avenge us, who takes for us what is our due, and who kills our enemy!”

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if one reads the passive, *wa-khulifa*, one might come out with “The Syrians received a successor in ‘Abd al-Malik.”

2031 Following M, which clearly reads *fī anfusikum shay’* (literally, “there is something in your minds”).

2032 For a general treatment of al-Mukhtār’s revolt and what can be determined about his motives from the sources, see the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd.

2033 More often known as Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, he was ‘Alī’s son by a woman of the Banū Ḥanīfa who came into ‘Alī’s possession after being captured in battle, and thus he was not a direct descendant of the Prophet. He has already been mentioned above in the list of ‘Alī’s children, ed. Leiden, 2:253, and as present at the funeral of his half-brother al-Ḥasan, ed. Leiden, 2:267. The sources portray him as decidedly cool to al-Mukhtār’s attempt to enlist his name in support of his rebellion against the Umayyads (and against Ibn al-Zubayr). For a discussion of the relations between Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and al-Mukhtār, see the article by Fr. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya.

2034 Arabic *al-muḥillīn*, literally, “those who permit (sc. the forbidden).” Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:598f.

2035 A scornful name for ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, referring to his Persian mother; cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:296.

So they returned to al-Mukhtār, gave him the oath of allegiance, and entered into a covenant with him. Thus a united group was formed.

Now Ibn al-Muṭīʿ was Ibn al-Zubayr's governor of Kufa, and he began to seek out the Shīʿa and put them in fear. So al-Mukhtār set his followers a time to rebel, and they did so after the sunset prayer, the commander of the army being Ibrāhīm b. Mālīk b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar,<sup>2036</sup> who called out: "Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn b. Alī!" This took place in year 66.<sup>2037</sup> Close fighting broke out between them and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muṭīʿ; it was a fierce and difficult battle. Finally, Ibn al-Muṭīʿ went to the governor's palace and called upon the people to swear the oath of allegiance; so they swore allegiance to the Family of the Messenger of God. Al-Mukhtār paid Ibn al-Muṭīʿ 100,000 (dirhams), and said to him, "Take them and be off!" Al-Mukhtār then dispatched his governors to the districts;<sup>2038</sup> they dismissed those present there, and took up their posts.

After killing Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād marched against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī, who was al-Mukhtār's governor of Mosul. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān did battle with him and wrote to al-Mukhtār with news of ʿUbaydallāh's campaign; so al-Mukhtār dispatched Yazīd b. Anas to him and then Ibrāhīm b. Mālīk b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar. The latter engaged ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and killed him; he also killed al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī and Shuraḥbīl b. Dhī | l-Kalāʿ al-Ḥimyarī, and burnt their bodies with fire. (Ibrāhīm) stayed on as governor of Mosul, Armenia, and Azerbaijan on behalf of al-Mukhtār over Iraq. He<sup>2039</sup> then dispatched as messenger a kinsman with the head of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād to ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn<sup>2040</sup> in Medina, saying to him, "Stand at the door of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn; when you see the doors open and the people enter, that is the time when his meal is laid out; at that time enter." So the messenger came to the door of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn; and when the doors were opened and the people entered for the meal, he called out in his loudest voice: "People of the house of prophecy, the source of messengership, where the angels alit and revelation came down: I am the messenger of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd. With me is the head of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād!" Every last woman in all the dwellings of the Banū Hāshim cried out. The messenger entered and pulled out the head; and when ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn saw it, he said, "May God banish

2036 As emended by Houtsma; the MSS have Mālīk b. Ibrāhīm.

2037 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:613 (Abū Mikhnaḥ) gives a date of 14 Rabiʿ 1, 66 (October 19, 685).

2038 That is, the districts under the authority of the governor of Kufa.

2039 Ibrāhīm is the apparent subject of the verb, but the head may have gone to al-Mukhtār, who then sent it on. In any case, the messenger speaks as if sent by al-Mukhtār.

2040 The great-grandson of the Prophet and grandson of ʿAlī, and so the fourth imam of the twelve line (d. 94/712 or 95/713).

him to Hell!” Some say that after his father’s death, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn had never been seen laughing except on that day. They also relate that he had camels that brought fruit from Syria, and that when he was brought the head of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, he ordered that this fruit should be distributed among the people of Medina. The women of the Prophet’s Family dressed up and dyed their hair—none had done so since the slaying of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī. Al-Mukhtār<sup>2041</sup> tracked down the killers of al-Ḥusayn, killing a great number of them until almost none remained. ‘Umar b. Sa’d, among others, was killed; he was burned with fire and tortured in all manner of ways.

In Jumādā 11 of year 64 Ibn al-Zubayr destroyed the Ka’ba, razing it to the ground.<sup>2042</sup> The circumstances were as follows. When Ibn al-Zubayr decided to destroy it, | al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr held back and so, too, did the people. So ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr climbed onto the House and set about destroying it, and when the people saw him destroying it, they did so too. When he had razed it to the ground, Ibn Abbās<sup>2043</sup> left Mecca, finding it intolerable to remain there when the Ka’ba had been destroyed, and he told Ibn al-Zubayr: “Set some wood around the Ka’ba lest the people go without a *qibla*.”<sup>2044</sup>

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Ibn al-Zubayr related on the authority of his aunt ‘Ā’isha, the wife of the Prophet, that she said: “The Messenger of God said to me, “Ā’isha, if your kin ever see fit to destroy and then rebuild the Ka’ba, let them not raise it higher than the ground (outside the precinct),<sup>2045</sup> and let them fit it with two doors.” When Ibn al-Zubayr got so far in his razing that he reached the foundations,<sup>2046</sup> the people were greatly shocked, so Ibn al-Zubayr repented of what he had

2041 M adds the words *raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu* (may God be pleased with him) after the name of al-Mukhtār. Apparently, the scribe who copied C, the ms on which ed. Leiden was based, also copied these words of benediction, but someone later erased them, leaving the lacuna in C noted by Houtsma.

2042 Jumādā 11 64 began on January 25, 684. On affairs of the Ka’ba, see Hawting, “The Origins of the Muslim Sanctuary at Mecca,” in G. H. A. Juynboll, *Studies in the First Century of Islamic Society*. The fullest discussion of Ibn al-Zubayr’s activities may be U. Rubin: “The Ka’ba: Aspects of Its Ritual Functions and Position in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times,” esp. pp. 102 f. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:537, is quite brief; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:592–593, gives an account of its rebuilding.

2043 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās (d. 68/687–688), often called simply Ibn ‘Abbās, was a cousin of the Prophet and, traditionally, the greatest scholar-collector of the first generation. See the article by Claude Gilliot in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās.

2044 That is, without a direction toward which to pray.

2045 Many details of this passage concerning the rebuilding of the Ka’ba are obscure.

2046 The words, “the people were greatly shocked ... the (laying of) the foundations” were omitted by the copyist of C and from ed. Leiden. The translation follows M.

done. Then he began the rebuilding. He brought one hundred men of Quraysh to be present at (the laying of) the foundations. Then he (fully) enclosed the *Hijr*,<sup>2047</sup> raising it up. He put two doors on it: one to the east, and one to the west. He gave each door two half-doors—the building's original door had had only one—and made the height of the two doors 11 cubits. The building's height had been 18 cubits, but Ibn al-Zubayr made it 29. He did not raise them<sup>2048</sup> from the ground; rather, he made them level with the surface of the ground.

He had taken the Black Stone into his possession in his house. When the rebuilding reached the spot where the Stone was supposed to be, he ordered that a hole of its size should be dug into the masonry. He then ordered his son 'Abbād to come and set the Stone in its place while he himself was leading the noon prayer—the people, being occupied by the prayer, would know nothing of this. After 'Abbād had finished setting it in place, he would call out "God is great!" Thus, on a fiercely hot day, 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr brought out the Stone while his father was leading the noon prayer, passed through the lines (of worshippers), went to the place, and set the Stone. Ibn al-Zubayr lengthened the prayer until he knew it (had been done). When the Quraysh saw this, they became angry | and said, "By God! This is not how the Messenger of God did it." For the Quraysh had made him arbiter, and he had given each tribe a share (in the work).<sup>2049</sup> When the fire had reached the corner,<sup>2050</sup> the stone had splintered into three sections, and so Ibn al-Zubayr braced it with silver. When the reconstruction was completed, he censed the interior and exterior. He was the first to cense it and drape it with white Egyptian cloth. He performed a minor pilgrimage from al-Tan'im<sup>2051</sup> and left.

'Abd al-Malik forbade the people of Syria to perform the pilgrimage.<sup>2052</sup> This was because Ibn al-Zubayr would compel the pilgrims to give (him) the oath of

2047 *Hijr* denotes an area and its partially enclosing wall northwest of the Ka'ba.

2048 The antecedent of the pronoun is unclear. It is probably refers to the "foundations."

2049 For al-Ya'qūbī's account of how the young Muḥammad had taken part in rebuilding the Ka'ba after its damage by a flood and had given each division of Quraysh a part in the honor of resetting the Black Stone, see above, ed. Leiden, 2:17 ff.

2050 That is, when the Ka'ba burnt down when the army sent by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya to enforce his authority over Medina and Mecca besieged Mecca. See al-Ya'qūbī's account above, ed. Leiden, 2:298–300.

2051 A pilgrimage station a few miles north of Mecca, just outside the boundary of the sacred area. It is especially important as the point where one enters the state of ritual purity for the minor pilgrimage (*umra*).

2052 Khalifa (*Ta'rikh*, 263 ff.) seems to suggest, by listing Ibn al-Zubayr as the leader of the pilgrimage in A.H. 66, 67, 68, 70, and 71, that pilgrimages during this period were



allegiance; seeing this, ‘Abd al-Malik forbade the Syrians to leave for Mecca. But the people became agitated, saying, “You forbid us to perform the pilgrimage to God’s Sacred House, even though God has made it obligatory for us!” So he said to them: “Here is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī,<sup>2053</sup> who will relate to you that the Messenger of God said, ‘Camel saddles are to be fastened for (traveling to) only three mosques:<sup>2054</sup> the Sacred Mosque, my mosque, and the mosque of Jerusalem.’<sup>2055</sup> [The latter] shall take the place of the sacred mosque for you. This stone upon which, it is related, the Messenger of God set his foot when he ascended to Heaven,<sup>2056</sup> shall take the place of the Ka’ba for you.” He then built a dome over the stone, hung upon it brocade curtains, and appointed keepers<sup>2057</sup> to look after it. He enjoined people to circumambulate it, just as they circumambulate the Ka’ba. And it remained so throughout the days of the Umayyads.

‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr treated the Banū Hāshim very harshly, showing them so much enmity and hatred that he even omitted the benediction on Muḥammad in his sermon. When he was asked why he had omitted the benediction on the Prophet, he said, “He has evil relatives who stretch out their necks (like camels) at the mention of his name and raise their heads (from prayer) when they hear it.” Ibn al-Zubayr pressed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās, | along with twenty-four of the Banū Hāshim, to give him the oath of allegiance. When they refused, he imprisoned them in the chamber of al-Zamzam,<sup>2058</sup> and swore by the one God that if they did not give the oath, he would burn them with fire. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya then wrote to al-Mukhtār b. [Abī] ‘Ubayd:

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considered legally valid. Lecker, “Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī,” 42 f., has a discussion with a good bibliography.

2053 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, usually known simply as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), was an important traditionist and historian with close ties to the Umayyad dynasty. See the article by M. Lecker in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Zuhrī, Ibn Shihāb.

2054 For a discussion of this passage and the significance of al-Zuhrī in it, see Josef Horowitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors*, 52–54.

2055 The three places are the Meccan sanctuary (*al-masjid al-ḥarām*), the Prophet’s mosque in Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem (*masjid bayt al-maqdis*).

2056 See al-Ya’qūbī’s narrative of Muḥammad’s Night Journey, ed. Leiden, 2:25–26, above.

2057 Arabic *sadana* (plural of *sādin*), a term normally used for the keepers of the Ka’ba.

2058 The sacred well to the east of the Ka’ba, alongside the wall that enclosed the Black Stone.

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad b. ‘Alī and those of the family of the Messenger of God who are with him, to al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd and those Muslims who are with him: ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr has seized us and imprisoned us in the chamber of al-Zamzam. He has sworn by the one God that he will set fire to it with us in it if we do not give him the oath of allegiance. Come to our aid!

Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd therefore dispatched to them Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Jadalī, leading a force of 4,000 riders. He arrived in Mecca, broke into the chamber, and said to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, “Leave me to deal with Ibn al-Zubayr!” But he said, “I will not permit the sort of hostility to kin that he permitted in my case.” When Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2059</sup> learned that Ibn al-Zubayr had delivered a sermon in which he insulted ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, he entered the Sacred Mosque, placed a camel’s saddle on the ground, and stood on it. After praising and glorifying God and pronouncing the benediction on Muḥammad, he spoke:<sup>2060</sup>

For shame, people of Quraysh! How can you sit there listening, while these things are said before you? How is it that you do not become angry, with ‘Alī being described so? For surely ‘Alī was a true arrow aimed by God against His enemies, striking their faces, forcing them to disgorge their gains, and gripping them by their throats. Surely we must follow the precedents and path set by him; in the calculus of affairs, we have no alternative. *And those who do wrong shall surely know by what overturning they will be overturned.*<sup>2061</sup>

When news of these words reached ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr he said, “This is an excuse for the sons of (women named) Fāṭima; what business is it to the son of the slave girl of the Banū Ḥanīfa?”<sup>2062</sup>

When Muḥammad heard what Ibn al-Zubayr had said, he said:

2059 That is, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

2060 Parallel with variants in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:279 (§1950).

2061 Qur’ān 26:227.

2062 A contemptuous reference to the fact that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, the son of a concubine, did not share the status of ‘Alī’s children by his wife Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. The version in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:279 (§1950), is easier to understand. Ibn al-Zubayr, in his version, says: “I have excused the sons of Fāṭimas for speaking, but what business is it to the son of the Ḥanafiyya?”

People of Quraysh! And what sets me apart from the descendants of women named Fāṭima? Wasn't Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet, the law-ful wife | of my father and the mother of my brothers? Wasn't Fāṭima bt. Asad b. Hāshim my grandmother and the mother of my father? Wasn't Fāṭima bt. ‘Amr b. ‘Āidh b. ‘Imrān b. Makhzūm the grandmother of my father and the mother of my grandmother? By God, were it not for Khadija bt. Khuwaylid, I would not leave a bone uncrushed in (the clan of) Asad.<sup>2063</sup> I know very well the woman who ought to be blamed!<sup>2064</sup> 2:313

Lacking strength to coerce the Banū Hāshim and having failed in his scheming against them, Ibn al-Zubayr expelled them from Mecca: he expelled Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya to the area of Raḍwā,<sup>2065</sup> and he expelled ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās to al-Ṭā’if,<sup>2066</sup> doing so in a most disgraceful manner. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya wrote the following letter to ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās:

I have heard that ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr has sent you to al-Ṭā’if. God has increased your reward and relieved you of a burden. Cousin, only the righteous are tested, and for the virtuous (God's) generosity is prepared. If you were rewarded only for what you and I like, the reward would be little. Be steadfast, for God has promised good to the steadfast. Peace!

Some report that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya also went to al-Ṭā’if, and that he remained there. Ibn ‘Abbās died there in the year 68 at the age of 71.<sup>2067</sup> Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya led the prayers at his funeral. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās was buried in the congregational mosque of al-Ṭā’if; a pavilion was pitched over the spot. At the moment of his burial, a white bird appeared and entered the tomb along with him. Some said that it represented his knowledge; others that it represented his pious work.

2063 Muḥammad's first wife, Khadija, and the Zubayrids were both from the Asad clan of the Quraysh.

2064 The translation of this somewhat obscure sentence follows the text of M: *wa-innī bi-tilka llatī fihā l-ma’ābu khabīr*. In al-Mas‘ūdī's version, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya begins his reply by addressing Ibn al-Zubayr by his mother's name: "You son of Umm Rūmān." This might be another derogatory reference to her, but the passage is obscure.

2065 An escarpment west of Mecca, where, according to some traditions, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya would remain hidden; see Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, s.v.

2066 A town to the southeast of Mecca, two or three days' journey in this period.

2067 68 A.H. = July 18, 687 – July 5, 688.

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās once said: “The Messenger of God mounted me on the back of his camel and said to me, ‘Young man, shall I teach you some words that will put you in good stead before God?’ I said, ‘Yes, please, Messenger of God!’ So he said:

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‘Remember God, and He will remember you. Remember God, and you will find Him before you. Make mention of God in good times, and He will make mention of you in bad times. Whenever you ask, ask of God; whenever you call for help, | call upon God for it. The pen is dry after (having recorded) what will be. People may endeavor to benefit you in some way that God has not ordained, but they will not be able to do so; they may endeavor to harm you in some way that God has not ordained, but they will not be able to do so. Be truthful in the certainty that in bearing what you loathe there is much good. Know that with patience comes God’s help, with distress comes deliverance, and with difficulty comes ease.’”

‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās had five sons: ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh, the youngest in age but the one who had precedence due to his eminence and nobility; al-‘Abbās, the eldest, who was nicknamed “the long-necked”; Muḥammad; al-Faḍl; and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

In this year, four banners stood at ‘Arafāt:<sup>2068</sup> (the banner of) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanaḥfiyya, leading his men; (the banner of) Ibn al-Zubayr, leading his men; (the banner of) Najda b. ‘Āmir the Ḥarūrī;<sup>2069</sup> and the banner of the Umayyads. Al-Musāwir b. Hind b. Qays<sup>2070</sup> said:

And they have divided into branches, each tribe  
having its own Commander of the Faithful and pulpit.<sup>2071</sup>

2068 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, 2:781–782, where the year is identified as 68. In that year, the Day of Standing at ‘Arafāt, 9 Dhū l-Ḥijja, fell on July 15, 688.

2069 That is, the Khārījite. Najda was a spectacularly successful Khārījite leader who gave his name to the Khārījite sub-sect of the Najadāt; he died in 72/691–692. See the article by R. Rubinacci in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nadjadāt.

2070 Al-Musāwir b. Hind b. Qays was a poet from the tribe of ‘Abs. Little is known about him apart from his being the grandson of the man who sparked a famous pre-Islamic war between the tribes of ‘Abs and Fazāra and that he was born in pre-Islamic times but lived on into Umayyad times, long enough to engage in exchanges of satire with the poet al-Marrār b. Saʿīd al-Faqʿasī. See Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa-l-shuʿarāʾ*, 201–202.

2071 The translation follows M; ed. Leiden omits “and pulpit (*wa-minbar*).” If one keeps the word, the line scans as a verse (meter *al-kāmil*).

‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr dispatched his brother Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr to (govern) Iraq; he arrived there in the year 68. Al-Mukhtār fought him, and there ensued between them some oft-related battles. Al-Mukhtār was gravely ill in the stomach, but he kept fighting Muṣ‘ab for four months; then his forces began to desert him, until he was left with a small band of men. So he went to Kufa and lodged in the governor’s palace, from which he made daily sorties against the followers of Ibn al-Zubayr, fighting them fiercely in Kufa’s market and then returning to the palace. Now ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2072</sup> was with Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr; so Muṣ‘ab took to saying: | “People! Al-Mukhtār is a liar. He is only deceiving you into thinking that he seeks vengeance for the Family of Muḥammad. But this man here—‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Alī—who is more entitled to take vengeance, claims that al-Mukhtār’s assertions are falsehoods.” Finally, al-Mukhtār made a sortie one day, and, having battled the followers of Ibn al-Zubayr with the greatest possible ferocity, was killed. His forces, now 7,000 in number, returned to the palace and fortified themselves there. Muṣ‘ab granted them safe passage and drew up for them a letter imposing on himself the strongest oaths and strictest conditions, and it was on the basis of these agreements that they emerged from the palace. But then he had them brought forward one by one and beheaded them. This was one of the most notorious and infamous treacheries in all of Islam. 2:315

Ibn al-Zubayr seized Asmā’ bt. al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr, al-Mukhtār’s wife, and asked her, “What do you say about al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd?” She replied, “I say that he was God-fearing, pure-hearted, and given to fasting.” To this he replied, “Enemy of God! You still insist on exonerating him!” and he ordered that she should be put to death. She was the first woman to be executed while in fetters. ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a al-Makhzūmī said:<sup>2073</sup>

A thing most amazing in my eyes  
is the killing of a fair-skinned, free, graceful-necked woman.

<sup>2072</sup> This son of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden 2:253. The son of a woman from the tribe of Tamīm (Laylā bt. Mas‘ūd al-Ḥanzaliyya), he is said to have had no offspring. He was a half-brother of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, in whose name al-Mukhtār was fighting.

<sup>2073</sup> These verses by the Umayyad poet famous for his love poetry are also quoted (with variants) by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:744 (where the name of al-Mukhtār’s wife is given as ‘Amra, rather than Asmā’). They are quoted (with variants) by al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5:264, but attributed to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zabīr al-Asadī (“but some say they are by ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a”), and (unattributed) by al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:301 (§ 1992).

They killed her though she had committed no crime:  
 What a noble victim she was!  
 Killing and fighting have been ordained for *us*,  
 but for young women the dragging of skirts.

When Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr had killed al-Mukhtār, and Iraq was safely in his hands, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr came to envy him for it. So he sent his son Ḥamza to Basra and wrote to Muṣ'ab, instructing him to transfer authority in Basra to Ḥamza; which he did, although Ḥamza was very weak and possessed few political skills. Ḥamza proceeded to levy the land-tax (*kharāj*) of Basra and send it on to his father in Mecca. Muṣ'ab, for his part, went to see his brother 2:316 'Abdallāh, | but the latter treated him rudely; indeed, when Muṣ'ab entered 'Abdallāh's presence and greeted him, 'Abdallāh would ignore him. Eventually, when Ḥamza came to see 'Abdallāh, Muṣ'ab was sent back to Iraq.

'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr killed his brother 'Amr b. al-Zubayr because of enmity between the two and because 'Amr had given the oath of allegiance to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. It is also reported that 'Amr had commanded the security force (*shurṭa*) of 'Amr b. Sa'īd, and that when the latter dispatched him to battle his brother 'Abdallāh, 'Abdallāh killed him.

Ibn al-Zubayr appointed as governor of Khurāsān al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, who had been with Muṣ'ab. By the time he arrived in Basra, its people had been surrounded by the Khārijites, who had overrun its agricultural land and tax districts, and all that remained under the Basrans' control was the city itself. Therefore, when al-Muhallab came to the Basrans, their tribal chiefs and notables appealed to him for help. Among those who came were al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, and Mālik b. Misma', accompanied by their fellow tribesmen. They said to him: "Abū Sa'īd! You are the leader of the people and the sword of Iraq. Surely you can see what these schismatic Khārijites have done to the people of your garrison city (*miṣr*). Staying to protect your land and defend your household must be more important to you than Khurāsān!" He replied: "Very well! I will stay to fight them, on condition that I take possession of all that I win from them and wrest from their hands, be it tax revenue or otherwise." All of the tribesmen accepted al-Muhallab's terms, except Mālik b. Misma', who held back—Mālik was fiercely proud and was known to have much property.<sup>2074</sup> Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays and al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd accosted him

2074 Following M: *wa-kuthr ma'rūf*. In C the first word was left undotted and Houtsma read it as *kibr* (pride). The reference to Mālik's property makes the next sentence more

and said: “Have you considered what are you are refusing to Abū Sa‘īd? Is it something in your hands, or something in your enemy’s hands?” “In my enemy’s hand,” he replied. “By God,” they said, “you’ve hardly acted fairly with him by asking him to save you and your women, and then refusing him what has been wrested from you, when he is giving you what you ask! Get up and do battle with the enemy!” “I’m not strong enough for | that!” he said; and to this they responded, “Then this is nothing but injustice and impotence!” So they all gave al-Muhallab what he had asked for, and he stayed on to fight the Khārijites, their chief at this time being Nāfi’ b. al-Azraq (after whom they were named the Azāriqa),<sup>2075</sup> eventually driving them out of Basra.

‘Abd al-Malik marched against Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr in year 71,<sup>2076</sup> engaging him in a place called Dayr al-Jāthaliq, which is 2 farsakhs from al-Anbār.<sup>2077</sup> A number of battles took place between the two sides. ‘Abd al-Malik pressed Muṣ‘ab so hard that most of Muṣ‘ab’s men deserted him—most of the deserters were Rabī‘a tribesmen. Finally, they rushed upon Muṣ‘ab, who at the time was sitting on his litter, and killed him. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ḥabīb<sup>2078</sup> struck off his head and took it to ‘Abd al-Malik. When he placed it before him, ‘Abd al-Malik threw himself to the ground in prostration, and as ‘Ubaydallāh tells it, “I was about to cut off his head, and then I would have killed the two kings of the Arabs in a single day!” Someone else has related: “I entered the presence of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and there before him was the head of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr. ‘Commander of the Faithful,’ I said, ‘I have seen an amazing thing in this place.’ ‘And what have you seen?’ he asked. I replied, ‘I have seen the head of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī before ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, the head of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād before al-

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comprehensible: since the Khārijites had laid hands on it, wresting it from Mālik’s hands, he was in no position to deny al-Muhallab its tax revenue.

2075 On the career of this Khārijite leader, who was killed in 65/685, and the doctrines of the sect named for him, see the article by Keith Lewinstein in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Azāriqa.

2076 71 A.H. = June 15, 690 – June 3, 691. This is the dating preferred by al-Ṭabarī, but he notes that others date both the battle and the death of Muṣ‘ab to 72; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:813.

2077 That is, just short of 12 km from al-Anbār, a town on the left bank of the Euphrates about 62 km north of the location of the future Baghdad. The name Dayr al-Jāthaliq (Monastery of the Catholicos) was given to the monastery because the head of the Nestorian Christians, the Catholicos, sometimes resided in it. See the article by A. A. Duri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dayr al-Djāthaliq, which lists the parallel accounts of the battle.

2078 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:809–810, ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ḥabīb had a personal vendetta against Muṣ‘ab because the latter’s chief of police in Basra had killed ‘Ubaydallāh’s brother, allegedly for highway robbery.

Mukhtār b. Abi ‘Ubayd, the head of al-Mukhtār b. Abi ‘Ubayd before Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr, and the head of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr before you.’ Whereupon ‘Abd al-Malik left the house and ordered it to be razed.” The killing of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr took place in Dhū l-Qa‘dā of year 72.<sup>2079</sup>

2:318 Al-Maḍā’ b. ‘Alwān, Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr’s scribe, related the following: “After killing Muṣ‘ab, ‘Abd al-Malik called for me and said, ‘I happen to know that every last one of Muṣ‘ab’s men and inner circle has written to me requesting safe passage, gifts, presents, | and land grants.’ ‘Commander of the Faithful,’ I said, ‘I happen to know that every last one of *your* men has written to *Muṣ‘ab* for the same purpose; and I have kept their letters.’ ‘Bring them to me!’ he said. I brought him a large bundle, and when he saw it, he said: ‘I have no need to look at them so as to spoil my generosity and turn their hearts against me. Attendant! Burn these!’ And so they were burned up.”

Once ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had killed Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr, he urged the troops to move against ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf rose and addressed him: “Commander of the Faithful! Send me against him, for I had a dream in which I slaughtered him and sat on his chest and skinned him.” ‘Abd al-Malik said, “He’s all yours!” and sent him off with a force of 20,000 Syrians and others. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf arrived and battled the people (of Mecca) so fiercely that Ibn al-Zubayr fortified himself within the Ka‘ba, and al-Ḥajjāj set up trebuchets against him.<sup>2080</sup> When claps of thunder began to affect his men, al-Ḥajjāj called out, “Syrians! Don’t let these frighten you, for they are only the thunderbolts of the Tihāma!”<sup>2081</sup> So he kept on bombarding him with the trebuchet until the Ka‘ba was destroyed. In the midst of the fighting, ‘Abd al-Malik wrote to al-Ḥajjāj: “I commend to you, O Ḥajjāj, what al-Bakrī commended to Zayd.” So al-Ḥajjāj stood up and addressed the men, saying, “Ten thousand dirhams to any of you who knows what al-Bakrī commended

2079 Dhū l-Qa‘da 72 began on March 25, 692. The date given by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:813, is earlier in the year: Jumādā 11 72, which began on October 30, 691.

2080 The most detailed account of the siege of Mecca and the destruction of the Ka‘ba can be found in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5:358ff. The Arabic term used here for the engine used to hurl stones and projectiles is *manjaniq* (pl. *majāniq*). The term, conventionally translated as “mangonel,” refers to what is technically a traction trebuchet. For a description, see Paul E. Chevedden, Zvi Shiller, Samuel R. Gilbert, and Donald J. Kagay, “The Traction Trebuchet: A Triumph of Four Civilizations.”

2081 The Syrians interpreted the thunderstorm as a sign of divine displeasure. Al-Ḥajjāj countered by assuring them that the thunderbolts were merely a normal meteorological phenomenon of the Tihāma, the region in which Mecca lay. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:844–845, is more explicit.



to Zayd!" One of the soldiers stepped forward and said, "I know what al-Bakrī commended to him!" Al-Ḥajjāj called for a purse. It was handed it to the man, who then declaimed:<sup>2082</sup>

I say to Zayd, "Do not be agitated!

For they know that their own doom lies before your death or mine.

If *they* stop fighting, do *you* stop fighting; but if they refuse,

kindle the fire with lots of wood. |

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If biting war sinks deep its teeth,

the likes of you or me can match war's utmost."

Ibn al-Zubayr came to see that his men were flagging—he was rationing them half a measure of dates.<sup>2083</sup> So he said, "You have eaten my dates and disobeyed my command!"—he was very stingy. When Ibn al-Zubayr realised that he no longer had enough strength to fight, he went to see his mother, Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr.<sup>2084</sup> "Mother," he asked her, "how are you?" She answered, "In death there is rest; yet I do not wish to die until after one of two things: if you are killed, I look forward to my reward for bearing your loss; if you are victorious, my heart will be gladdened." He said, "They have offered me safe passage; what do you say about that, Mother?" "Son," she said, "you know yourself best. But if you are right and are summoning people to what is right, don't let the slaves of the Banū Umayya make a mockery of you. If you are not right, do as you wish." "Mother," he said, "surely God knows that I have only striven for what is right, seeking nothing else, never giving in to a base motive. By God, I speak this not to justify myself, but rather to offer some solace to my mother." Then he said, "Mother, I fear that if these men kill me, they will make an example of me."<sup>2085</sup>

2082 The verses, attributed to Mūsā b. Jābir al-Ḥanafī (the Banū Ḥanīfa were a subdivision of the Banū Bakr) and addressed to his brother Zayd, can be found in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (ed. Freytag, 1:189–190).

2083 Literally, "half a *ṣā'* of dates." According to the article by A. Bel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v., which gives an equivalent of 5 pints for the *ṣā'*, this would amount to two-and-one-half pints of dates a day. Perhaps more to the point, the *ṣā'* of grain fixed as the legal alms to be given at the 'Īd al-Fiṭr could be measured as the amount of grain that a man could hold with his hands held together, half open, palms upwards. In other words, Ibn al-Zubayr was asking his men to get by on less than a handful of dates a day.

2084 A longer version of this scene between Ibn al-Zubayr and his mother, the daughter of Abū Bakr, can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:845 ff. See also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5:364.

2085 Arabic *an yumaththilū bi*, literally means "to make an example of," but the verb is regularly used, perhaps by euphemism, for mutilating the corpse of an enemy. As

“Son,” she said, “once slaughtered, the sheep feels no pain on being skinned.” Ibn al-Zubayr said, “Praise be to God, who has guided you aright and given you patience!” Ibn al-Zubayr went out and spoke: “People! Death has overshadowed you with his clouds, and his mists have surrounded you. Turn your gaze from the shining swords and let everyone attend to his adversary. Let no idle questioning among yourselves preoccupy you, and let no one ask, ‘Where is the Commander of the Faithful?’ Whoever asks about me, I’ll be in the front ranks!” Then he stepped down and fought to the death.

2:320 Ibn al-Zubayr’s death fell in the year 73; he was 71 years old. He was crucified at al-Tan‘īm, and left hanging for three | days (some say seven), until his mother Asmā’ bt. Abī Bakr, now old and blind, came and stood before al-Ḥajjāj, saying: “Hasn’t the time come for this rider<sup>2086</sup> to be taken down? I heard the Messenger of God say that from the Banū Thaḳīf would come a destroyer and a liar. As for the destroyer, that is you; as for the liar, that is al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd.” “Who is this?” al-Ḥajjāj asked. Someone said, “The mother of Ibn al-Zubayr.” So he ordered that the body should be taken down. Some have reported that al-Ḥajjāj proposed to marry her, and while he was doing so, she said, “A hundred-year-old blind woman?” He said, “I only wanted to become an in-law.”<sup>2087</sup>

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar passed by the crucified body of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and said: “God have mercy on you, Abū Khubayb.<sup>2088</sup> Were it not for three things in you, I would have said that you were who you claimed to be: your desecration of the Holy Sanctuary; your hastiness in causing civil strife (*fitna*); and your niggardliness. I always feared that you were headed for *this mount*,<sup>2089</sup> ever since I saw you casting your eye on some grey she-mules of Ibn Ḥarb<sup>2090</sup> with admiration. But he was a better manager of his worldly affairs than you.”

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al-Ya‘qūbī will soon report, Ibn al-Zubayr’s fears were realized: al-Ḥajjāj exposed his (according to al-Balādhurī) headless body on a cross.

2086 Arabic *hādhā l-rākib*, referring to the body of Ibn al-Zubayr as “riding” or “mounted on” the cross.

2087 Arabic *mā aradtu illā l-musālaḥa*. The nuance of *musālaḥa* is hard to reproduce in English. It is the relation between two men married to two sisters. Asmā’ bt. Abī Bakr, the widow of al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, was the half-sister of ‘Ā’isha bt. Abī Bakr, the wife of the Prophet; thus by marrying Asmā’, al-Ḥajjāj would establish for himself a kind of relationship with the Prophet himself, both having married daughters of Abū Bakr.

2088 Abū Khubayb is the *kunya* of Ibn al-Zubayr.

2089 Arabic *hādhā l-markab*: a reference to the cross on which his body was ‘mounted.’

2090 That is, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb (d. c. 32/653), leader of the ‘Abd al-Shams clan of the Quraysh and father of Mu‘āwiya.

Those who led the pilgrimage during these years were:

- in year 63, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr;
- in year 64, Ibn al-Zubayr, although some say it was Yahyā b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī;
- in years 65, 66 and 67, Ibn al-Zubayr;
- in year 68, four banners were raised at ʿArafāt: one with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and his supporters; one with Ibn al-Zubayr; one with Najda b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥarūrī; and one with the Banū Umayya;
- in years 69, 70 and 71, Ibn al-Zubayr.

### The Days of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam came to rule. His mother was ʿĀisha bt. Muʿāwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya; both his grandfathers were among those banished | by the Messenger of God.<sup>2091</sup> The oath of allegiance was given to him in Syria on the very day that Marwān died, this being in the month of Ramādān in year 65.<sup>2092</sup> On this day the Sun was 17° 20' in Taurus; the Moon 25' in Aries; Saturn 18° 50' in Virgo, retrograde; Jupiter 22° 10' in Gemini; Mars 19° 10' in Aries; Venus 2° 20' in Cancer; Mercury 3° in Gemini; and the Ascending Node 20° 10' in Pisces.

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We have already given the account of how ʿAbd al-Malik was given the oath of allegiance during the days of Ibn al-Zubayr, of how the provinces were in upheaval, of how various persons had taken control over each province, of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī, and of Ibrāhīm b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar and his killing of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr—all this in addition to other matters that belong in the narrative of the days of Ibn al-Zubayr. For some have argued that only he who controls the two sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina and leads the pilgrimage merits the caliphate; and for this

<sup>2091</sup> For the story of how his paternal grandfather, al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-ʿĀṣ, a late and apparently insincere convert to Islam, was banished from Medina to al-Ṭāʾif, but allowed to return by ʿUthmān, see al-Yaʿqūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:189 (fuller account in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5:27). His maternal grandfather, Muʿāwiya b. al-Mughīra, had fled from the Battle of Uḥud and had taken refuge with his kinsman ʿUthmān; the Prophet granted him security for three days, but on the fourth day as he was riding back to Mecca he lost his way and was encountered by some Muslims, who killed him. See al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, 1:332–334; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 590; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:1431–1432.

<sup>2092</sup> Ramādān 65 began on April 11, 785.

reason we placed the account of Marwān and some of the days of ‘Abd al-Malik in the midst of the account of Ibn al-Zubayr.

2:322 Syria, with the exception of Palestine, which was controlled by Nātil b. Qays, was now under the control of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, but when he resolved to attack Nātil, news reached him that the Byzantine emperor had besieged al-Maṣṣīṣa.<sup>2093</sup> Since he was loath to bog himself down fighting the emperor with the provinces in such upheaval, he wrote to him, concluding a truce and sending him great sums of money, so that the Byzantines left. Having secured Syria and dispatched Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ al-Judhāmī to Palestine, ‘Abd al-Malik left Damascus and made his way to | Buṭnān,<sup>2094</sup> heading for Qarqisiyā<sup>2095</sup> in order to battle Zufar b. al-Ḥārith. Meanwhile, the situation with Ibn al-Zubayr remained unchanged. When ‘Abd al-Malik reached Buṭnān in the district of Qinnasrīn, he received word that ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ had rebelled in Damascus and had proclaimed himself caliph, ousting ‘Abd al-Malik’s deputy in Damascus, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī—‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s mother was Umm al-Ḥakam bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb—and seizing the storehouses and treasuries. Realizing that he had erred in leaving Damascus, ‘Abd al-Malik turned on his heels and returned to Damascus. ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd fortified himself and prepared for war. Envoys were exchanged between the two, until they made peace, drawing up a document between them that contained all manner of oaths, pacts, and vows and which stipulated that the caliphate would go to ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd after ‘Abd al-Malik.

‘Abd al-Malik entered Damascus, but ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd’s men remained loyal to their master; they would ride alongside him whenever he rode to see ‘Abd al-Malik. So ‘Abd al-Malik plotted to kill ‘Amr, realising that only in this way could his rule be secure.<sup>2096</sup> One night ‘Amr came to see ‘Abd al-Malik, the latter having set him up with members of his family, some of his clients, and others who were with him. Once ‘Amr had made himself comfortable, ‘Abd al-Malik spoke: “Abū Umayya! The moment you did what you did, I swore that as soon as I vanquished you, I would put your neck in a shackle and bind your hands

2093 Arabic *ṭāghiyat al-Rūm* (the Romans’ tyrant) refers to Constantine IV Pogonatos, who retook the town of al-Maṣṣīṣa (ancient Mospuestia) in Cilicia, on the right bank of the Jayḥān, about 27 km east of Adana, from the Arabs in 65/684–685; see the article by E. Honigmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Maṣṣīṣa.

2094 A wadi and settlement about 30 km east of Aleppo in northern Syria.

2095 A town in northern Mesopotamia at the confluence of the Khābūr and Euphrates. See the article by M. Streck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qarqisiyā.

2096 Parallel account of the revolt of ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:783–791.

to it.”<sup>2097</sup> ʿAmr said, “Commander of the Faithful! I beseech you by God not to remember something that is over and done with.” Then those in his attendance spoke up, saying, “How will it harm you to fulfill the oath of the Commander of the Faithful?” ʿAbd al-Malik then took out a silver shackle, put it on his neck, and declaimed |:

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I had him approach me so as to settle his fear,  
that then I might attack him like one who is resolute and determined.

ʿAbd al-Malik then bound ʿAmr b. Saʿīd’s hands to his neck. Having tightened the screw, he pulled ʿAmr toward him, so that he fell on his face, breaking his front teeth. ʿAmr then said, “I beseech you, Commander of the Faithful, that you not let a bone of mine that you have broken incite you to subject me to even worse, or to send me out to the public, so that they can see me in this state.” (What he really had in mind was to provoke ʿAbd al-Malik into sending him out, because some 30,000 partisans of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd were at the door, including ʿAnbasa b. Saʿīd.) ʿAbd al-Malik replied: “Still trying to trick me, Abū Umayya, even when you’re tied up? And it isn’t the first time! By God, if I thought that the matter could run smoothly<sup>2098</sup> with the two of us alive, I would be willing to ransom you with the blood of my eyes. But I know that whenever two stallions come together in a herd of camels, one always defeats the other.” He then killed him, dispersed his gathering, and threw ʿAmr’s head to his partisans; he also exiled his brother ʿAnbasa to Iraq. This took place in the year 70.<sup>2099</sup>

Now ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim had been in control of Khurāsān since Salm b. Ziyād had appointed him to be his deputy in the days of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya;<sup>2100</sup>

2097 The word used here, *jāmiʿa*, refers to a neck shackle to which were attached thongs to bind the hands to the neck. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:458.

2098 The Arabic *anna l-amra yastaqīmu*, is ambiguous; the word *amr* (matter, affair) often refers specifically to political power or the caliphate, which is almost certainly the intention here.

2099 70 A.H. = June 25, 689 – June 14, 690; note that al-Ṭabarī puts the death of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd in the previous year.

2100 Salm b. Ziyād was the son of the celebrated governor of Iraq, Ziyād b. Abīhi. His appointment as governor of Khurāsān by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya has already been mentioned by al-Yaʿqūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:300–301, where the appointment by Salm of ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim, a tribal notable of the Qays, as his deputy is also noted, probably to placate one of the tribal factions. Salm then left the province, having lost the allegiance of most of the army. As al-Ṭabarī summarizes events: “When Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd died, the people of Khurāsān rose against their officials and drove

and, as we have already explained in our account of Ibn al-Zubayr, ‘Abdallāh recognized Ibn al-Zubayr’s authority. So when ‘Abd al-Malik had matters in hand, he wrote to him as follows: “Give us your obedience and we will leave you in place and reappoint you and your descendants, so long as they defend us and the Muslims.” He dispatched ‘Utba al-Numayrī to deliver the letter, sending along with him the head of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr. ‘Abdallāh prepared the head for burial, wrapped it in two cloths, sprinkled it with much musk, and buried it. Then he said to ‘Utba al-Numayrī, “Eat the letter!”—to which ‘Utba responded, “What kind of meal is that?” So he burned it up, gave it to him in the form of a drink, and wrote to ‘Abd al-Malik: “I am not | the sort of person who would come before God having sworn two oaths of allegiance: an oath of approval to the son of the Disciple of the Messenger of God,<sup>2101</sup> which I then would strip off; and an oath of duplicity to the son of two men banished by the Messenger of God, which I would put on.”

Meanwhile, the people of Khurāsān hated ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim for his mistreatment of them, and so a group of them including Bukayr b. Wishāḥ<sup>2102</sup> and Waki‘ b. ‘Umayr attacked him and killed him. His head was sent to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān; who, when the news and the head reached him, dispatched Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd b. Abī al-‘Īṣ b. Umayya to Khurāsān.<sup>2103</sup> By the time he arrived there, Mūsā b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī had rebelled; Mūsā wrote to Ṭarkhūn,<sup>2104</sup> the king of Soghdia, who agreed to come to his aid.

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them out. Each tribal group seized control over a district and civil commotion broke out. Ibn Khāzim seized control of Khurāsān and war broke out.” (*Ta’rīkh*, 2:490). See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salm b. Ziyād b. Abihi; and the article by Abdulhadi Alajmi in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim.

2101 Arabic *Ibn Ḥawārī Rasūl Allāh* refers to Ibn al-Zubayr’s father, al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, one of the earliest converts to Islam, who received this honorific title, perhaps alluding to his presence among the Muslims who emigrated for a time to Ethiopia—*ḥawārī* (disciple, apostle) is a Ge’ez loanword. See the article by I. Hasson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām.

2102 For the career of Bukayr b. Wishāḥ, see the article by Elton Daniel in *EI*<sup>3</sup> s.v. Bukayr b. Wishāḥ. The reading of his father’s name is uncertain. *Wishāḥ* is the most usual reading (the name is undotted in the MSS), but the Leiden editor preferred *Wassāj*, the form in which the name occurs in one of the Arabic dictionaries. Cf. the account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:831–833, where Bukayr is said to have acted at the instigation of ‘Abd al-Malik.

2103 Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 416, where Umayya’s appointment is explained as the appointment of a member of Quraysh who would be above the tribal factional fighting endemic in Khurāsān.

2104 Although here understood as a proper name, the term is an ancient title used by the Turks of Inner Asia.

For his part, Bukayr b. Wishāḥ al-Thaqafī rebelled in Marw with a group of men and overran it. Umayya battled both of them: he began at Marw, where he battled Bukayr b. Wishāḥ. The latter fortified himself, but when Umayya granted him safe passage, Bukayr came out of the city to him. Then Umayya received a report that Bukayr was plotting to assault him, so he had him brought forward and beheaded. Umayya then dispatched his son ʿAbdallāh to Herat and Sijistān, but Rutbil<sup>2105</sup> met Umayya's son in battle and killed him.

ʿAbd al-Malik reappointed al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra to lead the war against the Khārijites of Kirmān. He redoubled his efforts, until he killed their leader, Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq, after whom they were named the Azāriqa,<sup>2106</sup> and remained in Kirmān. ʿAbd al-Malik then appointed him governor of Khurāsān in the place of Umayya.

ʿAbd al-Malik sent his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (b. Marwān) to take back the governorship of Egypt and the Maghrib, and appointed his brother Bishr as governor of Iraq, and his brother Muḥammad as governor of Mosul. Muḥammad transferred tribesmen of the Azd and Rabīʿa from Basra to Mosul. He also led raids in Armenia, whose people had rebelled; he killed some and took others captive. He then wrote to the notables of the land, who were called | *al-Aḥrār*,<sup>2107</sup> giving them safe passage and promising to grant them stipends at the highest rate. To receive this, they gathered together in the churches of the district of Khilāṭ.<sup>2108</sup> He ordered that firewood be collected and placed around these churches; he shut the doors on the nobles, ordered that the churches be set afire, and incinerated them all.<sup>2109</sup> Muḥammad b. Marwān remained in Armenia until his death. 2:325

Al-Ḥajjāj set about rebuilding the Kaʿba. He gave it a single door, as it had been before Ibn al-Zubayr made his alterations, and removed the addition of six cubits that Ibn al-Zubayr had made next to the Ḥijr; he then leveled the ground with the rubble taken from it. He built the door up to its earlier height, reducing its height to its present dimensions, completing the construction in year 74.<sup>2110</sup> He hung seals around the necks of many of the Prophet's Companions, to

2105 Or Zunbīl, both terms being putative titles for indigenous rules of eastern Afghanistan who resisted Islamic rule. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zunbīl.

2106 See note 2075, above.

2107 That is, "the Free."

2108 An Armenian town on the northwest corner of Lake Van, also known in the Arabic sources as Akhlāṭ.

2109 Cf. an account in Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 11:16.

2110 74 A.H. = May 13, 693 – May 1, 694.

humiliate them;<sup>2111</sup> among these were Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh, Anas b. Mālik, Sahl b. Sa’d al-Sā’idī, and a number of others. The seals were made of lead.

Earlier, during the days of Ibn al-Zubayr, Najda b. ‘Āmir al-Ḥanafī the Khārijite<sup>2112</sup> had rebelled in the region of al-Yamāma; he then went to al-Ṭā’if, where he found that a daughter of ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān had fallen into captivity. He purchased her freedom with 100,000 dirhams of his own money and sent her on to ‘Abd al-Malik. Then he marched to al-Baḥrayn. Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr sent cavalry after cavalry and army after army against him, but Najda defeated them all. Having led a rebellion lasting five years, with his governors serving in al-Baḥrayn, al-Yamāma, Oman, Hajar, and the outlying districts of al-‘Irq,<sup>2113</sup> Najda did things that outraged his fellow Khārijites. Upset by the payment of 10,000 (dirhams) to Mālik b. Misma’ and his dispatching the daughter of ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān to ‘Abd al-Malik, the Khārijites deposed Najda and installed |  
2:326 Abū Fudayk as their leader; against whom ‘Abd al-Mālik dispatched Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd. Abū Fudayk defeated Umayya, routing him and seizing his baggage train and his women. ‘Abd al-Malik then dispatched ‘Umar<sup>2114</sup> b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ma‘mar, who engaged Abū Fudayk in al-Baḥrayn; ‘Umar, who was accompanied by the Kufan garrison, killed Abū Fudayk and recovered Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh’s women.

‘Abd al-Malik appointed al-Ḥajjāj as governor of Iraq in this year,<sup>2115</sup> writing him a letter in his own hand: “Ḥajjāj! For your loyalty to me, I have appointed you over Basra and Kufa.<sup>2116</sup> When you arrive in Kufa, give it a trampling from which Basrans will shrink! Beware the docility of the Ḥijāz, where someone can utter a thousand words without any of them having the slightest effect. I have

2111 The practice was humiliating because of its association with slavery, captivity, and *dhimmī* status. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 11:68, says that al-Ḥajjāj put seals on the hands of Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh and others, “as is done with the *dhimmīs*.” On the use of seals to indicate the payment of taxes among *dhimmīs*, and corresponding practices among the Byzantines and Sassanians, see M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 112f.; see also C. F. Robinson, “Neck-sealing in Early Islam.”

2112 Arabic *al-Ḥarūrī*, a name given to the earliest Khārijites because they had withdrawn from ‘Alī’s camp at a place called Ḥarūrā’.

2113 Al-‘Irq is the area known today as Wādī Ḥanīfa in the central Arabian area of Nadj. The capital of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh, lies in it. See the article by G. Rentz in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-‘Ariḍ.

2114 M has ‘Amr, incorrectly. See the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:852–853. On Abū Fudayk, see the article by Keith Lewinstein in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v.

2115 That is, 75 A.H. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:873, places al-Ḥajjāj’s arrival in Ramaḍān (December 24, 694 – January 22, 695) of that year. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 295f., and al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 11:269f., place it earlier, in Rajab (October–November 694).

2116 Arabic *al-‘Irāqayn*: literally, “the two Iraqs.”



aimed at the furthest target<sup>2117</sup>—throw yourself at it and seek that which I seek through you! Peace.” When al-Ḥajjāj arrived in Kufa, he mounted the pulpit, his head wrapped in his turban, and wielding his bow and quiver. He seated himself on the pulpit and remained silent for so long that the townspeople thought of pelting him with stones. Then he spoke:<sup>2118</sup> “People of Kufa—people of faction, hypocrisy, schism, and vicious morals! The Commander of the Faithful, having emptied his quiver and checked shaft after shaft, has found me to be one of the sharpest and strongest of all, and has loosed me against you. He has appointed me as a whip and a sword to rule you: the whip has been dropped and the sword now remains.” He spoke at length, threatening and terrifying the Kufans. Then he descended from the pulpit, declaiming:

I am a son of splendour, the scaler of heights:

When I remove the turban, you will recognize me.<sup>2119</sup>

With matters safely in his hands and the provinces at peace, with not a single district requiring pacification, nor indeed his attention, ʿAbd al-Malik set out to make the pilgrimage in year 75.<sup>2120</sup> | He arrived in Medina, donned pilgrim’s garments at Dhū l-Ḥulayfa,<sup>2121</sup> and entered Mecca and later the mosque, uttering the invocation, “Here we are, O God! Here we are!”<sup>2122</sup> all the while. He delivered a sermon each day for four straight days, and led the sunset prayer on the eve of ʿArafa,<sup>2123</sup> before proceeding to Jamʿ.<sup>2124</sup> Included in a sermon he delivered one day was the following:

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2117 Reading *al-gharaḍ*; the MSS read *al-ʿaraḍ* (the purpose).

2118 Al-Ḥajjāj’s oration became notorious for its ferocity. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:864–869, even includes a commentary on some of its more unusual expressions. See the translation by Everett Rowson, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxii, 13 ff., where the various versions of the speech are listed.

2119 The verses are attributed to Suḥaym b. Wathīl al-Riyāḥī (d. c. 40/660).

2120 The pilgrimage month Dhū l-Ḥijja 75 began on March 23, 695.

2121 One of the places (*mīqāt*) where one enters the state of ritual purity (*iḥrām*), Dhū al-Ḥulayfa lay about 10 km from Medina.

2122 This invocation, called the *talbiya* from its opening words, *Labbayka Allāhumma labbayka*, is recited by the pilgrim as he enters the state of ritual purity, enters the sacred area around Mecca, and at various other times during the pilgrimage. Al-Yaʿqūbī has a long section on the various forms of the *talbiya* in pre-Islamic times; see ed. Leiden, 1:296–297, with its notes, and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Talbiya*.

2123 A plain (and ridge) that lies about 13 km east of Mecca, where central rites of the pilgrimage take place.

2124 Another name for Muzdalifa, another gathering point for pilgrims, which lies between ʿArafa and Minā.

I have set my hand to this matter,<sup>2125</sup> knowing no one stronger or fitter for it than I; if I had found such a person, I would have appointed him. Ibn al-Zubayr was unfit to lead, and he used to give away God's wealth as if he were giving away his father's legacy. 'Amr b. Sa'īd, for his part, intended to cause civil war, to make lawful things that are forbidden, and to drive away religion; he intended no good for the Muslims, and so God brought him low. I will tolerate anything on your part, save raising a banner of rebellion: the shackle that I placed on the neck of 'Amr remains by my side; and I swear by God that if I place it on anyone else's neck, the only way I will remove it is straight up!<sup>2126</sup>

(While 'Abd al-Malik was in Mecca,) 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās<sup>2127</sup> came to him, censuring Ibn al-Zubayr, and recounting the difficulties experienced by his father and family in refusing Ibn al-Zubayr the oath of allegiance, and how his father had counseled him to join 'Abd al-Malik. 'Abd al-Malik responded graciously to this and brought him and his family to Syria, settling them in a house in Damascus. Throughout his days he never stopped offering him support.

When 'Abd al-Malik was about to leave, he stopped at the Ka'ba and said, "By God, I wish that I hadn't made a single change to it, and that I had left alone Ibn al-Zubayr and what he had undertaken." 'Abd al-Malik then set out on his return to Medina, arriving there in the beginning of year 76.<sup>2128</sup> He spoke very harshly to the Medinans, and his preachers stood and reviled them, too. So Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, the Qur'ān reciter, stood up and said to one of the preachers, who was still speaking: "You lie! We are not as you say!" The guards seized him and dragged him away, with the result that the Medinans thought that they were going to kill him, but 'Abd al-Malik sent a message to the guards, saying that they should spare him and release him. 'Abd al-Malik remained in Medina for three days; then he returned to Syria.

2:328 In this year, which was the year 76, the Khārijite Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī rebelled in Iraq.<sup>2129</sup> Against him al-Ḥajjāj dispatched army after army, and

2125 Arabic *hādhā l-amr*, that is, the caliphate.

2126 That is, taking his head with it.

2127 Son of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, whose banishment from Mecca to al-Ṭā'if by Ibn Zubayr has already been noted by al-Ya'qūbī (ed. Leiden, 2:313). 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh was the grandfather 'Abdallāh (al-Saffāh), the first 'Abbāsid caliph. See the article by Moshe Sharon in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās.

2128 76 A.H. = April 21, 695 – April 9, 696.

2129 Shabīb b. Yazīd was originally a follower of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ al-Tamīmī, who led a group

Shabīb defeated them all, moving all the while between the Sawād and al-Jabal. Then Shabīb entered Kufa by night,<sup>2130</sup> going so far as to stop at al-Ḥajjāj's door in the governor's palace, pounding it with his club and shouting, "Come on out, you descendant of Abū Righāl!"<sup>2131</sup> Shabīb was actually leading a very small force; he was accompanied by his wife Ghazāla and mother Jahīza. He then went to the congregational mosque and killed the guards there; he even killed Maymūn, the *mawlā* of Ḥawshab b. Yazīd—Ḥawshab was the chief of al-Ḥajjāj's security forces and Maymūn was known as "The Punisher."<sup>2132</sup> Shabīb then led the people in prayer in the congregational mosque, reciting for them the suras of *al-Baqara* and *Āl Imrān*.<sup>2133</sup> At last al-Ḥajjāj came out in pursuit, battling him fiercely in the market of Kufa, and by the time he caught up with him a hundred or so of Shabīb's partisans had joined him. Al-Ḥajjāj fired up the troops and they joined forces until Shabīb was routed. Al-Ḥajjāj sent ʿAlqama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥakamī to pursue Shabīb, who kept moving from place to place until he reached al-Ahwāz. Then al-Ḥajjāj sent Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī in pursuit. He pursued him until he reached the Dujayl River,<sup>2134</sup> whereupon Shabīb turned upon him and marched across the pontoon bridge; when he was halfway across, Sufyān cut the Dujayl bridge loose: the pontoons spun away, and Shabīb drowned. Sufyān fished him out with a net, struck off his head,

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of Khārijites known as the Ṣufriyya that rebelled against ʿAbd al-Malik in northern Iraq in 76 (April 21, 695 – April 9, 696). To follow the dating of al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:880 ff., the plot to kill ʿAbd al-Malik was hatched at the pilgrimage in 75, but the actual revolt broke out in 76. Three months after its outbreak, Ṣāliḥ, whom al-Yaʿqūbī does not mention, was killed and Shabīb took over the leadership of the revolt, to which al-Ṭabarī devotes a large section of his history. See the article by K. V. Zetterstéen and C. F. Robinson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shabīb b. Yazīd.

2130 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:917 ff.

2131 Abū Righāl was a semi-legendary pre-Islamic member of al-Ḥajjāj's tribe, the Thaḳīf. Said to have been the man who guided the troops of the Ethiopian general Abraha in their attempt to destroy the Kaʿba, he became infamous, and the practice developed of hurling stones at his reputed burial place at al-Mughammis near Mecca. See the article by Roberto Tottoli in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Righāl. Abū Righāl is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:973 (see the note in the translation by C. E. Bosworth in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 223).

2132 Arabic *al-ʿAdhdhāb*; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:918 (trans. Bosworth, xxii, 69).

2133 Suras 2 and 3 of the Qurʾān ("The Cow" and "The Family of Imrān"). The recitation of these suras, of 286 and 200 verses respectively, must have taken much longer than the normal reading of Qurʾānic verses required as part of the prescribed prayers.

2134 Known as the Dujayl of al-Ahwāz, this river is now known as the Kārūn, the largest river of southwestern Persia, in present-day Arabistān, historical Khūzistān.

and sent it to al-Ḥajjāj; he also killed his wife and his mother. His drowning took place in the year 78.<sup>2135</sup>

2:329 After Shabīb's death, Abū Ziyād al-Murādī rebelled in Jūkhā.<sup>2136</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj dispatched al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī, who engaged him in al-Fallūja, killing him. Then, after the death of Abū Ziyād, Abū Ma'bad, a man from the 'Abd al-Qays | who came forth in the region of al-Baḥrayn, went into rebellion. Al-Ḥajjāj sent against him al-Ḥakam [b.] Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafi, the governor of Basra at this time, who killed him.

Al-Ḥajjāj pressed the fight against the Azāriqa, criticizing al-Muhallab for his temporizing. Al-Muhallab therefore redoubled his efforts against them, routing them from one place to the next and finally driving them into Sijistān and killing 'Aṭīyya b. al-Aswad al-Ḥanafi, who was one of leaders of the Khārijites. They were so hard pressed that they went to Kirmān, but there they began fighting among themselves because they discovered<sup>2137</sup> that Qaṭarī [b. al-Fujā'a] had lied to them. They asked him to repent, but he was loath to obigate himself to repent, and so they deposed him. There were two men in his army, 'Abd Rabbihi the Elder and 'Abd Rabbihi the Younger, and when Qaṭarī refused the army's call to repentance, lest he provide them with a reason to depose him, each of the two men withdrew, leading an army in opposition to Qaṭarī. Al-Muhallab went after 'Abd Rabbihi the Younger and eventually killed him. Qaṭarī departed with 22,000 of his men, and they made their way to Ṭabaristān. Al-Muhallab went after 'Abd Rabbihi the Elder and dispersed his army.

When Qaṭarī reached Ṭabaristān, he sent a message to the<sup>2138</sup> *iṣbahbadh*<sup>2139</sup> there, asking him to allow him into his lands; he agreed, and Qaṭarī entered. As soon as their wounds healed and their riding animals fattened up, Qaṭarī wrote to him, calling upon him either to convert to Islam or to pay the poll-tax (*jizya*) as a sign of humility;<sup>2140</sup> he also dispatched Abū Na'ama, leading the Azāriqa,

2135 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ṭārīkh*, 2:972 ff., places his death in the year 77 (April 10, 696 – March 29, 697), but notes that some accounts place it in 78 (March 30, 697 – March 19, 698).

2136 Jūkhā was a district along the eastern course of the Tigris in southern Iraq, east of Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 42.

2137 Following M, *waqafū 'alayhā*; ed. Leiden reads *waqa'ū 'alayhā* (they fell upon). On the Azāriqa leader Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a, see the article by Keith Lewinstein in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Azāriqa, and by G. Levi Della Vida in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a.

2138 Following M, *al-iṣbahbadh*; C and ed. Leiden omit the article *al*.

2139 The "military chief," a title derived from Sasanian nomenclature (from Middle Persian *spahpat*) found frequently in accounts of the Caspian provinces during early Islam. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ispahbadh*.

2140 Echoing Qur'ān 9:29: "Fight those who believe not in God and the Last Day and do not

against him. The *iṣbahbadh* responded: “You came to me as an exile and fugitive and I gave you shelter, and now you send me this message? You are the vilest man on earth.” Qaṭarī then responded that the religion permitted nothing else, and so the *iṣbahbadh* came out to make war on him. His son, brother, and uncle were killed; the *iṣbahbadh*, defeated, fled to al-Rayy, and Qaṭarī took control of Ṭabaristān. The *iṣbahbadh* went to Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī, who was the governor of al-Rayy at the time and who was now ready | to fight the Azāriqa. 2:330 He guided Sufyān into Ṭabaristān via a shortcut, and he killed Qaṭarī, whose head he sent to al-Ḥajjāj in year 79.<sup>2141</sup>

In the year 78, al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra was appointed to be in charge of Khurāsān on behalf of al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>2142</sup> Al-Muhallab’s son, al-Mughīra, was appointed to be in charge of Marw, where he died. Ziyād (b. al-Muhallab) elegized him in an ode that included the line:

Generosity and courage have been laid to rest  
in a tomb on the broad road in Marw.

Al-Muhallab set off and traveled to Soghdia, stopping at Kishsh.<sup>2143</sup> The king of Soghdia entered into a treaty with him, with al-Muhallab taking hostages (as a guarantee), whom he sent to Ḥurayth b. Quṭba. Then he left for Balkh, and Ḥurayth took over the land of Soghdia.<sup>2144</sup> Then [...] engaged him in battle. Al-

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forbid what God and His Messenger have forbidden—such men as practise not the religion of truth, being of those who have been given the Book—until they pay the tribute (*jizya*) out of hand and have been humbled.”

2141 79 A.H. = March 20, 698 – March 8, 699.

2142 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1032–1035, preserves two different accounts (by Abū Mikhnaḥ and al-Madāʾinī respectively) of the circumstances under which al-Muhallab became al-Ḥajjāj’s deputy over Khurāsān—al-Ḥajjāj himself remained titular governor. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1039, in 79 “al-Muhallab was in charge of Khurāsān for al-Ḥajjāj; according to some, al-Muhallab was in charge of its military affairs and his son al-Mughīra in charge of its taxes.” Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1077–1078, has an account of the death in Rajab 82 (August–September 701) of al-Mughīra b. al-Muhallab (“who was his father’s deputy at Marw over the whole of the province”).

2143 A town about 50 miles south of Samarqand; see the article by W. Barthold and B. Spuler in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Kash*.

2144 The word *al-Sughd* (Soghdia) is missing in C and ed. Leiden, but is present in M. However, the text of M also seems to be defective. Neither the subject nor the object of the next word, *fa-ḥārabahu*, (so he made war on him) is clear. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1080–1081, states that Ḥurayth was confronted by Turks, who demanded that

Muhallab became ill, and the illness grew worse because of gangrene on his leg. When death drew near, he appointed his son Yazīd as successor, despite his distaste for his boastfulness and haughtiness, because al-Ḥajjāj had written to him to that effect. Al-Ḥajjāj later took objection to things he had heard about Yazīd and resolved to dismiss him. Fearing that he would resist him, he married Hind, Yazīd's<sup>2145</sup> sister, and wrote to him, summoning him and directing him to leave al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab as his deputy. So he came. Al-Ḥajjāj then sent al-Mufaḍḍal a letter of appointment over Khurāsān in place of Yazīd, his brother. Afterward, he appointed Qutayba b. Muslim, who at the time was governing Rayy, to replace him. We have explained this elsewhere in the book.<sup>2146</sup>

Al-Ḥajjāj put Sa'īd b. Aslam b. Zur'a al-Kilābī in charge of the two marches of al-Sind<sup>2147</sup> and al-Hind.<sup>2148</sup> He stayed in Makrān,<sup>2149</sup> raiding a district of al-Hind. He was a man attended by misfortune, however, and was killed.<sup>2150</sup> In his place al-Ḥajjāj dispatched Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Dhirā' al-Namarī, who went to Makrān and campaigned successfully against the enemy, winning victory after victory. | Commanding a force of ships, he set off, heading for al-Daybul and the king of Daybul.<sup>2151</sup> However, the king opposed him with a large army; Muḥammad b. Hārūn and a great many of those with him were killed.

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he ransom himself, but that he fought them. One is tempted to supply the missing subject in al-Ya'qūbī as *fa-ḥārabahu l-turk* (then the Turks engaged him in battle).

2145 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1209.

2146 This statement is strange, as this is the first appearance of Qutayba b. Muslim in al-Ya'qūbī's history. There is a passage on Qutayba in the Geography (*Kitāb al-Buldān*), ed. Leiden, 300, but the History apparently was composed before the Geography, and therefore this is unlikely. For a summary of the career of this Arab leader important for the extension of Arab rule east from Khurāsān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qutayba b. Muslim.

2147 The region along the lower course of the Indus River; on the Arab conquest of the region, see the article by T. W. Haig and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sind.

2148 The Indian sub-continent, in the broadest sense.

2149 The coastal province of Makrān, now bisected by the border between Iran and Pakistan; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Makrān.

2150 Arabic *wa-kāna rajulan maḥdūdan fa-qutila*. According to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 277, 296, and al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 435, he fell victim to a rebellion among his own troops.

2151 Al-Daybul was a port in Sind near the mouth of the Indus River. See the article by A. Z. Bazmee Ansari in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Daybul. Ed. Leiden assumes that there is a lacuna between "and" and "the king of al-Daybul." However, M shows no sign of a lacuna, and the sentence as written in M makes sense: He headed for al-Daybul ... and (to attack) the king of al-Daybul.

ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ghassānī<sup>2152</sup> governor of Ifrīqiya and al-Maghrib. He remained there through his governorship and then died, having appointed a man as his deputy. ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī<sup>2153</sup> governor of Ifrīqiya in the year 77. Some have said that he was appointed governor by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, who at this time was the governor of Egypt. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr conquered all of al-Maghrib, retaining control of it throughout the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik.

In year 80,<sup>2154</sup> ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2155</sup> died in Medina. He was magnanimous and generous. It is said that a man came to him, asking his help in a matter, and ʿAbdallāh, having nothing to give him, took off the clothes he was wearing, and said, “O God, if after today there falls upon me any obligation that I cannot discharge, slay me first.” He died that very day.

In this year, the Sweeping Flood that carried away the pilgrims’ baggage took place.<sup>2156</sup>

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath b. Qays<sup>2157</sup> was al-Ḥajjāj’s governor of Sijistān. Al-Ḥajjāj dispatched 10,000 choice soldiers with him. Having made his way to Sijistān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān stayed at Bust;<sup>2158</sup> then, having gathered his men, he set off, heading for Rutbīl, the king of the land. When he

2152 On the career of this general who played a decisive part in the consolidation of the conquest of North Africa, see the article by M. Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ghassānī.

2153 On Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the military leader responsible for the consolidation of Muslim power in Ifrīqiya (roughly modern Tunisia) and for the conquest of the remainder of North Africa and Spain, see the article by C. Lévi Provençal in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr.

2154 80 A.H. = March 9, 699 – February 25, 700.

2155 The nephew of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (son of ʿAlī’s brother Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib). Al-Yaʿqūbī has already mentioned him in connection with the death of his father Jaʿfar in the expedition to Muʿta during the Prophet’s lifetime (ed. Leiden, 2:67) and as having shown sympathy, along with his uncle ʿAlī, for the pious Abū Dharr, mistreated by ʿUthmān (ed. Leiden 2:200). He does not appear to have played much of a political role, but was renowned for his generosity. See the article by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

2156 See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1039–1040.

2157 This is al-Yaʿqūbī’s first mention of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath (often called simply Ibn al-Ashʿath), whose insurrection against al-Ḥajjāj—and ultimately against ʿAbd al-Malik himself—was put down only with difficulty. For its background and an attempt to reconcile the often contradictory accounts, see the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Ashʿath.

2158 Now ruined, the city of Bust lay on the banks of the Helmand River in southern Afghanistan. See the article by J. Sourdél-Thomine in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bust.

entered Rutbīl's lands, he became fearful of being attacked unexpectedly,<sup>2159</sup> and so he returned to Bust and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, informing him of his return and that he had postponed the campaign against Rutbīl to the coming year. 2:332 Al-Ḥajjāj responded with a threatening letter. So he gathered his men to him, | inciting them against al-Ḥajjāj and calling on them to cast off their allegiance to him. So they renounced al-Ḥajjāj and swore allegiance to Ibn al-Ash'ath. When all was agreed, he said to them: "We shall march to Iraq and write a treaty between ourselves and Rutbīl. If our enterprise is successful, we shall refrain from attacking him and keep our word to him. If we are not successful, we shall make his territory a place of refuge." The men agreed to this, and he wrote a document between himself and Rutbīl containing these terms. Then he set off for Iraq, having appointed someone as his deputy to govern Sijistān on his behalf, and advanced until he reached al-Ahwāz. When al-Ḥajjāj heard of his movement, he dispatched 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a against him. Then al-Ḥajjāj himself went out with an army and made his way to al-Ahwāz. 'Abd al-Raḥmān met him, fought him fiercely, and defeated him, so that al-Ḥajjāj withdrew to Basra. Ibn al-Ash'ath overtook him and fought him in Basra, where Ibn al-Ash'ath was put to flight. When his men saw that he was fleeing to Kufa, they went to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās b. Rabī'a al-Hāshimī, saying, "He has abandoned us and gone to Kufa, just when that sinner is about to turn on us!"<sup>2160</sup> So he exchanged an oath of allegiance with them, and went to fight al-Ḥajjāj at al-Zāwiya,<sup>2161</sup> but al-Ḥajjāj defeated him. 'Abd al-Raḥmān then joined Ibn al-Ash'ath in Kufa. Al-Ḥajjāj advanced from Basra toward Ibn al-Ash'ath, taking the steppe road, and encamped near Ibn al-Ash'ath. Ibn al-Ash'ath came out and encamped at Dayr al-Jamājim.<sup>2162</sup> The cavalry on both sides set to skirmishing morning and evening, the Kufans besting al-Ḥajjāj's cavalry, and forcing them to retreat every day. Distressed by what he saw, al-Ḥajjāj wrote a letter to 'Abd al-Malik, which he dispatched as swiftly as possible, saying, "Help! Help!" When 'Abd al-Malik read it, he responded by writing, "Help is on its way! Help is on its way! Help is on its way!"<sup>2163</sup> Then he dispatched army after army. Their

2159 Following M, *khāfa ghirratahu* (undotted); ed. Leiden, following C, reads *khāfa ghara-  
rahu* (he became fearful of his peril).

2160 Reading with M, *wa-hādhā l-fāsiq muntaḥin 'alaynā*. Ed. Leiden interprets the partially  
undotted reading of C as *munikh* (is going to besiege us). "That sinner" refers to al-  
Ḥajjāj, and brings out the religious dimension of the revolt.

2161 Al-Zāwiya is identified by Yāqūt as a place near Basra, but with no further information.

2162 Dayr al-Jamājim (The Monastery of the Skulls) was located, according to Yāqūt, seven  
farsakhs from Kufa. See the article by Saleh A. El-Ali in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dayr al-Djamādjim.

2163 Arabic *yā labbayka!* Literally, "At your service!"



battles were many and fierce. | The last of them was the Battle of Maskin,<sup>2164</sup> in which al-Ḥajjāj defeated Ibn al-Ashʿath. Ibn al-Ashʿath set off in defeat, going directly to Sijistān, but when he arrived at the city of Zaranj,<sup>2165</sup> its governor, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir, prevented him from entering, and so he went on to Bust. It was governed by ʿIyāḍ b. ʿAmr, who gave him leave to enter, but then plotted to betray him in order to ingratiate himself with al-Ḥajjāj. With ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was a group of Qurʾān-readers from Iraq, including al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī,<sup>2166</sup> Saʿīd b. Jubayr, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, in addition to others of the same class, and he went to Rutbīl, the master of Sijistān. His defeat took place in the year 83.<sup>2167</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj set about arresting his partisans, executing a great many of them, but pardoning others, including al-Shaʿbī and Ibrāhīm.

In the same year that Ibn al-Ashʿath took flight, al-Ḥajjāj built the city of Wāsiṭ and settled in it, saying, “I will settle between Kufa and Basra.”<sup>2168</sup>

2164 Yāqūt mentions two places of that name. The better known was located along the Dujayl canal, north of the site of the future Baghdad, and Yāqūt locates the battle there; but Yāqūt also mentions a Maskin along the Dujayl river in al-Ahwāz, and Martin Hinds, in his translation of al-Ṭabarī’s account of the battle (*Taʾrīkh*, 2:1098 ff.) argues for the latter location. See Martin Hinds, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiii, 47, n. 178.

2165 Zaranj (Zarang) was the one of the main towns of Sijistān. Al-Yaʿqūbī has mentioned its conquest during the caliphate of ʿUthmān (ed. Leiden, 2:192), and he lists the town in his description of Sijistān in the *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 281. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zarang; and W. Barthold, *Historical Geography of Iran*, 67 ff.

2166 ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (d. between 103/721 and 110/728), often called simply al-Shaʿbī (as below), was an important early expert on law and history. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:609–613, he supported the rebellion of al-Mukhtār (al-Yaʿqūbī makes no mention of this) and then fled to Medina, where his sympathy for the Shīʿī cause appears to have ended. However, when he returned to Iraq, he joined Ibn al-Ashʿath’s rebellion with other pietists (*qurrāʾ*, here rendered as “Qurʾān-readers”). He was captured, but al-Ḥajjāj pardoned him when he apologized for his actions (see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1112–1113). He apparently became a well-thought-of figure in the entourage of al-Ḥajjāj, so that ʿAbd al-Malik later summoned him to Damascus and entrusted him with the delicate mission of going to Egypt to persuade ʿAbd al-Malik’s brother, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the governor of Egypt, to relinquish his claim as heir apparent in favor of ʿAbd al-Malik’s son Walīd. Al-Yaʿqūbī will mention this mission below, ed. Leiden, 2:334. See the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Shaʿbī.

2167 83 A.H. = February 4, 702 – January 23, 703.

2168 The site of Wāsiṭ (the name means ‘middle’) was chosen to be centrally located between Kufa and Basra (about 275 km northwest of Basra and about 150 km east-northeast of Kufa) on the medieval course of the Tigris. The site now is in ruins. See the article by Mondher Sakly and R. Darley-Doran in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wāsiṭ.

When the partisans of Ibn al-Ash'ath received word that he had gone to Rutbīl, the master of the land, that he had taken up residence with him in safety and security, and that Rutbīl had lived up to the agreement between him and Ibn al-Ash'ath, they came together from every direction in the district of Zaranj and made 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī their commander. [...] <sup>2169</sup> He <sup>2170</sup> engaged them in Herat, fought them, and defeated them. When al-Ḥajjāj heard that Ibn al-Ash'ath was staying with Rutbīl along with 4,000 of his partisans, he dispatched 'Umāra b. Tamīm al-Lakhmī with a letter to Rutbīl, ordering him to send Ibn al-Ash'ath to him, or else he would send 100,000 soldiers to fight him; but Rutbīl did not send Ibn al-Ash'ath.

2:334 Now the fact that 'Ubayd b. Abī Subay' had great influence over Rutbīl made Ibn al-Ash'ath envious, so he decided to use guile against him and sent someone to kill him. 'Ubayd b. Abī Subay' fled | and went to 'Umāra b. Tamīm, who was staying in the city of Bust. 'Ubayd said to him, "If you grant me something, enter into a peace treaty with Rutbīl, and refrain from doing any harm to him, he will hand over Ibn al-Ash'ath to you." ['Umāra] wrote to al-Ḥajjāj about this, and al-Ḥajjāj responded, saying, "Agree to everything he has asked of you," and he sent him written promises sealed with his own seal. 'Umāra took these and presented them to Rutbīl, who, after being subjected to both his threats and his promises, agreed to the arrest of Ibn al-Ash'ath. So 'Umāra seized and bound him, along with others, including his brother, and brought them to al-Ḥajjāj in chains. But when they reached al-Rukhkhaj, <sup>2171</sup> Ibn al-Ash'ath threw himself

2169 Although there is no sign of a lacuna in the MSS, Houtsma, the Leiden editor, rightly concluded that something must have fallen out of the text at this point, based on the parallel in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 4:390, and the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1101ff. supports the conclusion. To summarize the account in these two sources: After Ibn al-Ash'ath's partisans, led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī, made their way to Sijistān to join Ibn al-Ash'ath, a disagreement broke out between them and Ibn al-Ash'ath. The group led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hāshimī, proposed heading for Khurāsān, which they believed they could wrest from al-Ḥajjāj's governor, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, while Ibn al-Ash'ath preferred to stay with Rutbīl. The groups therefore split up, with 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hāshimī's group heading north toward Khurāsān and reaching Herat. Meanwhile, the governor of Khurāsān, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, having received word that 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hāshimī had established himself at Herat, gave him an ultimatum to leave. Eventually the two sides came to blows, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī was defeated by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.

2170 That is, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of Khurāsān for al-Ḥajjāj.

2171 Al-Rukhkhaj is the area of southeastern Afghanistan around the later city of Qandahār. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Rukhkhaj; Barthold, *Historical Geography of Iran*, 73–74.

from a roof; he was tied to a man named Abū l-ʿ[ī]b[a]r,<sup>2172</sup> and they both died. This took place in the year 84.<sup>2173</sup> His head was cut off and brought to al-Ḥajjāj, who, in turn, brought it to ʿAbd al-Malik.<sup>2174</sup>

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān decided to remove his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (as heir apparent) and have allegiance sworn to his own son al-Walīd as heir apparent.<sup>2175</sup> Since ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was in Egypt, ʿAbd al-Malik wrote instructing al-Ḥajjāj to send al-Shaʿbī<sup>2176</sup> to him, which he did. Al-Shaʿbī stayed with ʿAbd al-Malik for some days, and the caliph was friendly and generous towards him. Eventually he said to him: “I going to entrust you with something that I have never entrusted to anyone else. I have decided to have the oath of allegiance sworn to al-Walīd as heir-apparent. So when you go to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, put it to him that if removes himself as heir-apparent Egypt shall be his demesne for life (*tuʿma*).” Al-Shaʿbī (later) recounted: “So I went to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. I had never seen such an obliging ruler! One day I was talking with him in private, and I said to him: ‘May God make you prosper! By God, I’ve never seen a more perfect ruler, more bountiful benefit, or more complete glory than you and yours! But I have seen ʿAbd al-Malik—long serving, deeply fatigued, | rarely resting, and in constant anxiety about ruling the community. By God, how I wish that they would agree with you to make Egypt your demesne for life and make over their allegiance to whomsoever they wish!’ To this he replied, ‘And who can obtain this for me?’ When I understood what he had in mind, I returned to ʿAbd al-Malik and reported the news to him. He then removed his brother from the succession and appointed his son al-Walīd as heir-apparent, with his son Sulaymān to follow al-Walīd.” Some say that ʿAbd al-Malik never removed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz died while ʿAbd al-Malik was considering doing so; it is also said that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was given a poisoned drink. These events took place in the year 85.<sup>2177</sup>

2:335

2172 The name, which does not occur in the parallel accounts, is undotted in C and M, so the reading is conjectural.

2173 84 A.H. = January 24, 703 – January 13, 704.

2174 Three very different accounts of the death of Ibn al-Ashʿath are given by al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1132–1136. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 400, is the only account that mentions the death of the man who had been chained to Ibn al-Ashʿath; he does not supply the man’s name, but adds that he was guarding Ibn al-Ashʿath and had “chained himself to him,” so that he died when Ibn al-Ashʿath hurled himself from a cliff or from a roof (al-Balādhurī mentions both possibilities).

2175 Parallel: al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1164–1171.

2176 That is, ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī, who has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:333.

2177 85 A.H. = January 14, 704 – January 1, 705.

‘Abd al-Malik appointed Hishām b. Ismā‘īl al-Makhzūmī governor of Medina. When out of sheer tyranny and enmity he gave Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab<sup>2178</sup> sixty lashes and had him paraded around, ‘Abd al-Malik wrote to him, reproving him. Hishām b. Ismā‘īl’s conduct was poor, and he was openly hostile towards the Family of the Prophet.

The person who exercised the most influence upon ‘Abd al-Malik was Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ al-Judhāmī. Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha al-Saksakī commanded his security force (*shurṭa*) until he dismissed him and appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Ḥakamī. Abū ‘Ayyāsh al-Kihānī commanded his personal guard (*ḥaras*), succeeded by Abū Zu‘ayzi‘a, his client. He joined Basra and Kufa together under (the single governorship of) al-Ḥajjāj, and Egypt and al-Maghrib under ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān, and afterward under the caliph’s son, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

‘Abd al-Malik was courageous, shrewd, and sagacious, but he was also miserly. When death approached, he gathered his sons together and counseled them to hold to consensus and concord, and refrain from acting unfairly to each other. Then he said: “Walīd! When I die, tuck in your garment, don your mantle, and put on leopard-skin; then call upon the people to give you the oath of allegiance. And to anyone who says ‘By this head of mine,’ say, ‘By the sword.’”<sup>2179</sup>

2:336 He died on 15 Shawwāl of the year 86.<sup>2180</sup> His reign was 21 | years as measured from the day he was given the oath of allegiance in Syria, or 13 years as measured from the death of Ibn al-Zubayr. He was 60 years old or slightly older. His son, al-Walīd, led the funeral prayers. He was buried in Damascus.

He left behind fourteen sons: al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd, Marwān, Hishām, Bakkār, ‘Abdallāh, Maslama, Mu‘āwiya, Muḥammad, al-Ḥajjāj, Sa‘īd, al-Mun-dhir, and ‘Anbasa.

Gold and silver coins were first inscribed in Arabic in the days of ‘Abd al-Malik, al-Ḥajjāj being the one who did this.<sup>2181</sup>

2178 On Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, one of the “seven jurists of Medina,” see the note to ed. Leiden, 2:276, above. According to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 289–290, Sa‘īd was given a hundred lashes for refusing to swear allegiance to al-Walīd and Sulayman as the new heirs. When he learned of this, ‘Abd al-Malik himself is reported to have said: “What a bad thing Hishām has done! A man like al-Musayyab should not be scourged with whips. He should either have cut off his head or left him alone!” (The last sentence is written in the margin and may not have been part of Khalifa’s text originally.) Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1169–1171.

2179 The meaning of the Arabic is unclear.

2180 October 9, 705.

2181 This is al-Ya‘qūbī’s brief reference to what was a general reform of the coinage under

Someone recounted that a man came to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and said: “I had a dream in which I saw the prophet Moses standing on the seashore, holding the leg of a man and turning him as a washer turns a garment. He turned him around three times and then cast him out into the sea.” Saʿīd replied, “If your dream is true, ʿAbd al-Malik will die in three days.” And before the end of the third day, the herald of his death arrived. Someone then asked Saʿīd, “How did you know that?” He said, “Because Moses drowned Pharaoh, and the only Pharaoh that I know of now is ʿAbd al-Malik.”<sup>2182</sup>

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule were:

- in the years 72, 73, and 74: al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf;
- in the year 75: ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān;
- in the years 76, 77, 78, 79, and 80: Abān b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān;
- in the year 81: Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik;
- in the year 82: [Abān b. ʿUthmān;
- in the years 83, 84,] and 85: Hishām b. Ismāʿīl al-Makhzūmī.

Those who led the military campaigns during his rule were as follows:

- in the year 75: Muḥammad b. Marwān led the summer campaign. | When the Byzantines attacked the valleys, Abān b. al-Walid b. ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayṭ and Dīnār b. Dīnār killed them. 2:337
- in the year 76: Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam led the summer campaign at Marj al-Shaḥm, which is between Malaṭya and al-Maṣṣīṣa.
- in the year 77: al-Walid b. ʿAbd al-Malik raided Aṭmār. His raids were from the direction of Malaṭya. Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān raided by sea. [...]
- in the year 83: ʿAbdallāh, again; he conquered al-Maṣṣīṣa and built a small fort there.

The learned men in his days were:

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ʿAbd al-Malik. A similar report can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:939–940, and a lengthier one in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 465–470. In fact, Arabic-inscribed coins appear earlier than the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik; what is intended here is presumably the introduction of aniconic coins, which date to 77 (dinars) and 79 (dirhams). The issue and the bibliography are summarized by Rowson in his notes to the translation of al-Ṭabarī’s account: *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxii, 90–91.

2182 “Pharaoh” appears here as an archetypical tyrant.

- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās,
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,
- al-Miswār b. Makhrama al-Zuhrī,
- al-Sā’ib b. Yazīd,
- Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām,
- Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit,<sup>2183</sup>
- Sa‘īd b. [al-Musayyab],
- ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr,
- ‘Aṭā’ b. Yasār,
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad,
- Abū Salama [b.] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf,<sup>2184</sup>
- Sālim b. ‘Abdallāh,
- Qabīṣa b. Jābir,
- ‘Abīda b. Qays al-Salmānī,
- Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī,
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā,<sup>2185</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī,<sup>2186</sup>
- Zayd b. Wahb al-Hamdānī,
- al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd al-Taymī,<sup>2187</sup>
- Murra b. Sharāḥīl al-Hamdānī,
- Abū Juḥayfa Wahb b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Āmirī al-Asadī,
- Yusayr b. ‘Amr al-Sakūnī,<sup>2188</sup>
- Abū l-Sha‘thā’ Sulaymān b. al-Aswad,
- 2:338 – al-Aswad b. Mālik al-Ḥarithī, |
- Ibn Ḥirāsh al-‘Absī,
- ‘Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī,
- ‘Āmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Sha‘bī,
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd al-Nakha‘ī,

<sup>2183</sup> The son of the Prophet’s secretary, he is usually accounted one of “the seven jurists of Medina.” See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḡahā’ al-Madīna al-Sab‘a.

<sup>2184</sup> The son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf al-Zuhrī, who was a member of the six-member Shūrā that chose the new caliph after the death of ‘Umar; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 12:115–118.

<sup>2185</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1076, 1086, and 1100, he was one of the *qurrā’* (Qur’ān readers) who sided with Ibn al-Ash‘ath; he was killed at the Battle of Maskin in 83/702–703.

<sup>2186</sup> Also vocalized as *al-Khuṭamī* or *al-Khaṭamī*.

<sup>2187</sup> Houtsma reads Tamīmī.

<sup>2188</sup> So according to Ibn Sa‘d.

- Sālim b. Abī l-Jaʿd,<sup>2189</sup>
- ʿUmāra b. ʿUmayr al-Taymī,<sup>2190</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd Taymī,<sup>2191</sup>
- Abū Ḍabyān al-Ḥuṣayn b. Jundub,
- Sulaymān b. Yasār,<sup>2192</sup>
- Abū l-Maliḥ b. Usāma.

### The Days of al-Walid b. ʿAbd al-Malik

Then al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose mother was Wallāda bt. al-ʿAbbās b. Jazʿ al-ʿAbsiyya, began to rule on the 15th of Shawwāl of the year 86, the day on which ʿAbd al-Malik died. The Sun was then 15° 50′ in Libra; the Moon 28° 50′ in Aries; Saturn 24° 30′ minutes in Taurus, retrograde; Jupiter 26° 30′ in Aquarius, retrograde; Mars 21° 30′ in Sagittarius; Venus 15° 30′ in Scorpio; and Mercury 10° 40′ in Libra.

Al-Walīd ascended the pulpit, announced the death of his father, and said: “People! Maintain your obedience and adherence to the community.<sup>2193</sup> He who makes manifest what he has conceived for himself in his own mind,<sup>2194</sup> I will strike off that in which his eyes are.” Then he descended. He appointed his brother Maslama to fight against the raiders from Byzantium, and the latter set off, leading a large number | of men. He found that the Mardaītes<sup>2195</sup> of 2:339 Antioch had rebelled, and he killed a large number of them.

2189 Biography in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:432–433.

2190 So according to Ibn Saʿd; M reads ʿUmāra b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī.

2191 M reads *al-Tamīmī*.

2192 Another of the “seven jurists of Medina”; see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḳahāʾ al-Madīna al-Sabʿa.

2193 The word used here for “community,” *al-jamāʿa*, comes from a root meaning “gather together,” and signifies the whole body of believers united by the bond of common faith. See the article by L. Gardet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djamāʿa*. The parallel version of al-Walīd’s inaugural speech in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1178, is longer, but includes verbatim the two sentences given by al-Yaʿqūbī. After “adherence to the community,” the version in al-Ṭabarī adds the explanatory phrase, “for Satan is with the individual (*al-fard*).”

2194 The Arabic for “what he has conceived in his own mind” is the terse phrase *dhāt naḥsihi*, originally “that which his mind possesses,” but here in a negative sense. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:985.

2195 *Jarājīma* of the Arabic texts, the Mardaītes (the term used by Byzantine historians) were a group of inhabitants of the Byzantine-Umayyad frontier named for the town of Jurjūma. Although Christian, they allied themselves at times with the Byzantines and

Al-Walīd wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, announcing the death of his father, ‘Abd al-Malik. Al-Ḥajjāj summoned the people to the mosque for prayer and mounted the pulpit. He spoke of ‘Abd al-Malik, praising him and describing his deeds. He said: “By God, he was judicious and courageous, and [the fourth] of the rightly-guided rulers.”<sup>2196</sup> God has chosen for him what is in His presence,<sup>2197</sup> and appointed as successor his equal in virtue and his like in resolve, determination, and carrying out God’s command. So hearken and obey!”

Al-Walīd appointed ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz as governor of Medina and ordered him to stand Hishām b. Ismā‘īl before the people.<sup>2198</sup> For Hishām b. Ismā‘īl al-Makhzūmī had conducted himself poorly, been tyrannical in passing judgments, and offended against the Family of the Messenger of God. When ‘Umar arrived, Hishām said, “I fear no one but ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn!”<sup>2199</sup> While Hishām was standing (before the people in humiliation), ‘Alī passed by him and greeted him. Hishām called out to him, “God knows very well where to place His messages.”<sup>2200</sup> For his part, Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab did not confront him or any of his courtiers or retinue.<sup>2201</sup>

‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s coming to Medina took place in the year 87; his baggage came on thirty camels. Al-Walīd imposed conscription upon the people of the Medina, writing to ‘Umar that he should enlist 2,000 of their men.

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at times with the Muslims. For a more thorough account, see the article by M. Canard in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḍjarādjima* (Mardaītes).

2196 Arabic *al-wulāt al-rāshidīn al-mahdiyyīn*, literally, “rulers who follow the right way and are rightly guided (by God).” The “Rightly-Guided Caliphs” are traditionally Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī; here those counted are presumably Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān. But before attributing too much significance to al-Ḥajjāj’s association of ‘Abd al-Malik with his illustrious predecessors (and his implied omission of ‘Alī, Mu‘āwiya, Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd, and Marwān), one should note that the text of both mss (M and C) is defective at this point and was corrected by Houtsma on the basis of the parallel in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iqd al-farīd*. So it is by no means certain that al-Ya‘qūbī’s original version contained the word “fourth.”

2197 That is, ‘Abd al-Malik has gone to his eternal reward—a polite way of saying that he has died.

2198 Hishām b. Ismā‘īl al-Makhzūmī was the former governor of Medina, whose hostility to the Family of the Prophet has been mentioned by al-Ya‘qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:335. Parallel: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1183–1184.

2199 That is, ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (d. 94/712 or 95/713), the fourth Imam of the Twelver Shi‘ite line; see the article by E. Kohlberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn.

2200 Cf. Qur’ān 6:124 (which has “message” in the singular).

2201 The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1183, explains this as an act of piety by Sa‘īd, who preferred to leave the matter in God’s hands, rather than taunt the man who had had him scourged.



Al-Walīd built the Mosque of Damascus and spent huge sums on it. Construction began in the year 88.<sup>2202</sup> He also wrote to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that he should pull down the Mosque of the Messenger of God and that he should incorporate into it the surrounding buildings (*manāzil*) and the apartments of the Prophet's wives. So he pulled down the apartments and incorporated that into the mosque. But when he began to pull down the apartments, Khubayb b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr | went to ʿUmar—the apartments were being razed all the while—and said: "I implore you, ʿUmar, to follow a verse of the Qurʾān: *Surely those who call unto thee from behind the apartments, [the most of them do not understand].*"<sup>2203</sup> ʿUmar, however, gave orders and Khubayb was given a hundred lashes and doused in cold water; it being a cold day, he died. When ʿUmar succeeded to the caliphate and had taken his ascetic turn, he would say, "Who will bring back Khubayb for me?"<sup>2204</sup>

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Al-Wāqidī related that al-Walīd wrote to Byzantine emperor, informing him that he had torn down the Mosque of the Messenger of God and requesting that he should assist him in this; so the emperor said him 100,000 mithqāls<sup>2205</sup> of gold, 100 workers, and 40 loads of tesserae.<sup>2206</sup> Al-Walīd sent it all on to ʿUmar, who renovated the mosque with it. He finished its construction in year 90.<sup>2207</sup>

2202 88 A.H. = December 12, 706 – November 30, 707. Curiously, al-Ṭabarī does not include anything about the building of what is now known as the Umayyad Mosque, other than a note at the end of his account of the reign, that al-Walīd "built mosques—the mosque of Damascus and the mosque of Medina" (*Taʾrīkh*, 2:1271). Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3:365–366 (§ 2115–2116), gives a longer account, and interesting material can be found in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 125–126. For a summary of the traditions about its building see the article by N. Elisséeff, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dimashq.

2203 See Qurʾān 49:4, where the *hujurāt* (apartments, or chambers) are traditionally associated with those of the Prophet's house, which formed the kernel of the first mosque.

2204 An expression of regret: cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1255, which, does not contain the last sentence.

2205 After the currency reform of ʿAbd al-Malik, the mithqāl was standardized at 4.25 grams, and the weight of the gold dinar fixed at one mithqāl; hence 100,000 mithqāls of gold equaled 100,000 dinars. As a rough comparison, the U.S. gold quarter eagle (\$2.50) was about equivalent in weight to the dinar, and so the emperor's "help" could be seen as roughly equivalent to \$250,000 in pre-1933 gold dollars. See the article by G. C. Miles in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dīnār.

2206 Arabic *fusayfisāʾ*, a loanword from Greek ψήφος through Aramaic. These colored cubes of stone or glass were for use in mural mosaics. See the article by G. Marçais in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Fusayfisāʾ*.

2207 A.H. 90 = November 20, 708 – November 8, 709.

Al-Walīd sent 30,000 dinars to Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī,<sup>2208</sup> who at this time was the governor of Mecca. They were beaten into sheets and placed on the door of the Ka‘ba, on the columns in its interior, on the corner columns (*arkān*), and on the water-spout (*mizāb*). He was the first person in Islam to gild the House.

Al-Walīd led the pilgrimage in year 91<sup>2209</sup> in order to see the House—the mosque and its improvements, and the House and its gilding. When he approached Medina, ‘Umar came out and greeted him with the nobles of the city. Al-Walīd entered the mosque and began to look at it. The guards had every one present there leave, except for Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, who didn’t leave—indeed, who didn’t even budge. So al-Walīd entered and began to walk around, while Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab remained sitting. Then al-Walīd said, “I reckon this one is Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, no?” ‘Umar told him that it was and that he was fine, except that he was weak-sighted. So al-Walīd came and stood by him, and said, 2:341 “How are you, sir?” Sa‘īd didn’t move, but he said: “We are fine, Commander | of the Faithful. And how are you?” Al-Walīd moved away, saying to ‘Umar, “This is the best of men.”<sup>2210</sup>

Al-Walīd divided a great deal of largesse among the people of Medina and led the Friday prayer. The troops were lined up in two rows, and he led the prayer in a sleeved robe (*durrā’a*) and a tall cap (*qalansuwwa*), without a mantle (*ridā’*), and he delivered the sermon sitting.<sup>2211</sup> He threatened the people of Medina, saying, “You are people of dissension and disobedience.” So a group of people stood before him and spoke up, among them Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān.<sup>2212</sup> But al-Walīd replied, “We understand what all of you are saying, but the inward thoughts are as they are.”<sup>2213</sup> Then he went to Mecca and delivered a truncated

2208 On the background and career of this Umayyad governor, first of Mecca, later of Iraq, see the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī.

2209 The pilgrimage month of Dhū l-Ḥijja, 91, began on September 30, 710. Cf. the account of al-Walīd’s inspection tour in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1232–1234.

2210 Arabic *hādhā baqīyyatu l-nās*, literally, “This is the remnant of (the) men.” Martin Hinds translates, “This is the last of the old school” (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiii, 180), which is possible, but the word *baqīyya* is frequently used for the best of anything, without regard to its being the last of its kind.

2211 In the eyes of the Umayyads’ critics, these constituted violations of protocol. Later codifications of Islamic law state explicitly that the sermon (*khuṭba*) preceding the Friday prayer should be delivered standing. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khuṭba*.

2212 One of the famous “seven jurists of Medina.” See the note to ed. Leiden, 2:286, above.

2213 Arabic *lākin fī l-nufūs mā fihā*. That is, regardless of your words, we know that inwardly you are disaffected.

sermon,<sup>2214</sup> mentioning the threat (of Hellfire). When he reached ʿArafa, he fed the people and set up tables, but he himself did not eat. Khālīd was the one who was looking after the tables, and he set up a table (for himself) but was told, “This is for the Commander of the Faithful.” So Khālīd stood up, but al-Walīd sent a message to him, ordering that he sit, and he did.

Al-Walīd appointed Mūsā b. Nuṣayr to be in charge of al-Andalus in this year—the year 91—and he dispatched along with him his client Ṭāriq.<sup>2215</sup> The latter encountered the king of al-Andalus, who was called al-Adrīq,<sup>2216</sup> a man from among the people of Iṣbahān—they are the Goths, the kings of al-Andalus.<sup>2217</sup> Ṭāriq advanced on him, they fought fiercely, and he conquered al-Andalus. Then Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, angry with his client Ṭāriq on account of certain things he had heard, left for the country. But when Ṭāriq met him, he sought to reconcile him; and he was reconciled. So Mūsā sent him to the city of Toledo, one of the greatest cities of al-Andalus, a twenty days’ journey. There he found a table of gold inlaid with jewels, which was said to be the Table of Solomon, the son of David. He broke off one of its legs, made off with it, and sent it to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr.

Now al-Ḥajjāj had dismissed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab from the governorship of Khurāsān and had appointed | al-Mufaḍḍal (b. al-Muhallab). (At first) he confirmed the appointment of al-Mufaḍḍal, but then he dismissed him and appointed Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, who was his governor in charge of al-Rayy. He wrote to Qutayba, ordering him to secure al-Mufaḍḍal and his brothers and to send them to him. So Qutayba set off from al-Rayy, and when he arrived in Marw, he seized al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab and the rest of the sons of al-Muhallab, and sent them to al-Ḥajjāj, who imprisoned them and demanded 6,000,000 (dirhams) from them.

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Then Qutayba marched to Bukhārā and conquered it, along with a number of towns in the region. He then departed, having deputized Warqāʾ b. Naṣr al-Bāhilī, whom he ordered to collect the tribute specified in the peace agreement.<sup>2218</sup>

2214 Arabic *khuṭba batrāʾ*, a sermon lacking the opening formulas of praise for God and blessings on the Prophet.

2215 On Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, the Berber client of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, responsible for the Muslim conquest of Spain, see the article by L. Molina in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭāriq b. Ziyād.

2216 That is, Roderic, the king of the Visigoths.

2217 It is not clear how the Goths (al-Qūṭīyyūn) are connected with the Iranian city of Iṣbahān, but the same report, including the mention of Iṣbahān, occurs in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:235, attributed to al-Wāqidi.

2218 Arabic *wa-amarahū bi-qabḍ al-ṣulḥ*. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, *Glossarium*, 61, where

Nizak,<sup>2219</sup> the ruler of the Turks, had allied himself with Qutayba, alongside whom he campaigned. When Qutayba left, Ṭarkhūn,<sup>2220</sup> the ruler of the Soghdians, mobilized, along with the cavalry<sup>2221</sup> of Abū Shūkar, the *bukhārākhudāh*,<sup>2222</sup> and Kūrbaghānūn al-Turkī,<sup>2223</sup> with the Turks. Since Qutayba was loath to fight them, he dispatched Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, who entered into a peace treaty with them. Then (Qutayba) marched to al-Ṭālaqān,<sup>2224</sup> where Bādhām<sup>2225</sup> had rebelled and taken control of the region. Now Bādhām's son was with Qutayba, and when the latter heard that Bādhām had fortified himself, rebelled, and apostatized, he seized his son, killed him, and crucified him, along with a group of others with him. Then he met Bādhām in battle, fought him for a number of days, and finally defeated him, killing him, his sons, and his wife. He then appointed his brother 'Amr b. Muslim, as governor of the region.

When Qutayba had conquered Bukhārā and al-Ṭālaqān, Nizak Ṭarkhān asked his permission to return to his land. Nizak had converted to Islam and taken the name of 'Abdallāh. Qutayba gave him permission, and Nizak returned to Ṭukhāristān,<sup>2226</sup> where he rebelled, entering into correspondence with non-Arabs, and gathering armies. Qutayba then advanced on him. Qutayba dispatched to him Sulaym al-Nāṣiḥ,<sup>2227</sup> who was a friend of his. Sulaym set about

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*sulḥ*, normally a peace agreement, is shown also to be used at times for "*summa pecunia secundum tractatum quotannis solvenda*" [a sum of money to be paid by treaty annually], which clearly is the meaning here.

2219 Also known as Nizak Ṭarkhān; see below and the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nizak, Ṭarkhān. Although understood by al-Ya'qūbī as a proper name, *nizak*, like *ṭarkhān*, was a title borne by successive rulers; see C. I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, 67, n. 79; and the article by P. B. Golden in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭarkhān.

2220 The "leader of the native princes" of Soghd, according to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 184, which is followed by M. Hinds, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, *xxiii*, 91.

2221 Reading with M, *wa-khayl*.

2222 *Bukhārākhudāh* (also given as Bukhār Khudāt) was the title borne by the ruling dynasty of Bukhārā. See the article by W. Barthold in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bukhārā.

2223 The text is muddled here; the translation follows the reconstruction proposed by M. Hinds in his translation of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1195 (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, *xxiii*, 143). But cf. Beckwith, *Tibetan Empire*, 77, for Kül Tegin, another possibility.

2224 One of the principal cities of Tūkhāristān, now in northern Afghanistan.

2225 Identified in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1206, as the king of Marw Rūdh.

2226 A region that encompassed all the areas along the Amu Darya (Oxus) that were dependent upon Balkh; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 68, and the article by W. Barthold and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭukhāristān.

2227 *Al-Nāṣiḥ* means "the sincere advisor." It is not clear why Sulaym had this title, which

deceiving him, granting him on behalf of Qutayba whatever he wished, until he went out to Qutayba on condition of safe passage | and stayed with Qutayba for several days. Qutayba then executed him and a nephew of his and sent their heads to al-Ḥajjāj. He seized Nizak's wife, but when he was alone with her, she said to him: "How stupid you are! Did you think I would warm to you, when who have killed my husband and taken away my kingdom?" So he set her free, saying, "Go wherever you wish." 2:343

Qutayba then marched to Soghdia, and the ruler of Soghdia met him in battle. He fought him in ranks for several days, but then he fled. When winter came, Qutayba withdrew.

Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to Qutayba, ordering him to go to Sijistān and fight Rutbīl. He set off in the year 92,<sup>2228</sup> getting as far as Zāliq, which is in the province of Sijistān. Then he advanced on Rutbīl, who wrote to him as follows: "We have already entered into a peace agreement with you, which you accepted. What has led you to break it?" When Qutayba answered that al-Ḥajjāj had disavowed the treaty, Rutbīl responded, "If you accept the treaty, it will be better for you; if you do not, we expect to be victorious over you." Qutayba then said to his men: "This is an ill-omened region, for ʿAbdallāh b. Umayya, Ibn Abī Bakra, and others have perished on it. I fear Rutbīl's stratagems which he has deployed, such as burning crops and fodder, seizing forts and the plains, carrying off whatever [...]."<sup>2229</sup> [So Qutayba appointed] ʿAbd Rabbihi b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī [over them].<sup>2230</sup> Qutayba set off for Khwārazm, where Saʿīd b. Wanūfār (and his men) had killed his governor. Arriving there, he took 100,000 captives and besieged Saʿīd b. Wanūfār until he killed him. When he had secured the region and made off with unheard-of booty, and his soldiers desired to return to their homelands with what they had, he delivered a speech, reminding them of

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seems ironic in this context of his mission of deception. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1220–1223, gives an extensive account of Sulaym's mission.

2228 92 A.H. = October 29, 710 – October 18, 711.

2229 The copyist of M, followed by C, has omitted an undetermined number of words, although no lacuna is visible.

2230 The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1235, makes it possible to reconstruct the sequence of events. The treaty with Rutbīl appears to have involved the payment of a certain amount of tribute by Rutbīl. While Qutayba was still in Sijistān, messengers from Rutbīl arrived with the tribute; Qutayba accepted it and appointed ʿAbd Rabbihi over them. (Martin Hinds' translation in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiii, 183, should be corrected: The messengers did not bring "[a proposal for] a peace agreement," but rather "the tribute [specified in the peace agreement]." This is the meaning of *ṣulḥ* in this passage of al-Ṭabarī; see note 2218, above).

2:344 what they were involved in and informing them that they could not depart. He appointed as his deputy over Khwārazm ‘Abdallāh | b. Abī ‘Abdallāh al-Kirmānī and left for Samarqand.

Now Ghūrak<sup>2231</sup> had killed Ṭarkhūn, the king of Soghdia, and had taken control of the region, and so when Qutayba arrived there, he waged war against him. Fierce battles took place between the two sides, and Qutayba, desiring a peace treaty, wrote to Ghūrak, proposing it. Then a learned man<sup>2232</sup> among the people of Samarqand said, “Why should we enter into a peace treaty with you, when only two men will ever be able to penetrate our land: one of them, it is said,<sup>2233</sup> is named Ukāf?”<sup>2234</sup> Thereupon Qutayba cried out “God is great!” and so too did the Muslims, who said, “Our commander’s name means camel saddle!” So the people of Samarqand submitted to the treaty, the condition being that Qutayba might enter and pray two prayer prostrations.<sup>2235</sup> So he entered through the Kashsh gate and exited by the China gate. Ghūrak, the king of Samarqand, offered food to Qutayba, and Qutayba and his men ate it. Qutayba had the peace treaty written as follows: “These are the terms upon which Qutayba b. Muslim has made peace with Ghūrak, the *Ikhshīd* of Soghdia and the *Afshūn* of Samarqand, concerning Soghdia, Samarqand, Kishsh, and Nasaf:<sup>2236</sup> Ghūrak agrees to yield 3,000 dirhams at the beginning [of each year].<sup>2237</sup> Qutayba grants him God’s compact and protection, and the

2231 According to Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 9:84, Ghūrak was Ṭarkhūn’s brother. According to the account of al-Madā’inī preserved by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1230–1231, the Soghdians deposed Ṭarkhūn for agreeing to pay tribute to the Arabs and installed Ghūrak as ruler, imprisoning Ṭarkhūn, who committed suicide.

2232 Reading with M, *fa-qāla ‘ālimun li-ahli Samarqand*. The word *‘ālimun* (a learned man) has fallen out of C (and ed. Leiden), making it seem that the speaker of the following sentence is Ghūrak.

2233 Reading with M: *fa-qīla*. In ed. Leiden, Houtsma attempted to improve the strained syntax by emending *fa-qīla* to *fa-qablu* (previously, i.e., he is already dead), and adding the words *wa-ammā l-ākhar* (and as for the other).

2234 *Ukāf* in Arabic is a kind of saddle-pad stuffed with straw. Qutayba’s name is the diminutive form of *qatab* (camel saddle), a synonym of *ukāf*.

2235 As a symbolic taking possession of Samarqand for Islam. Note that in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 420, Qutayba is said to have used a similar provision in Bukhārā to allow his men to slip into the city and overpower it.

2236 Accepting Houtsma’s emendation of the manuscript’s *k-s-f*, on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 420; however, Yāqūt lists Kasaf as a town in Soghdia.

2237 The Leiden edition notes that many words have probably fallen out of the text at this point. The sum specified as tribute is improbably low. The parallel in al-Balādhurī,

protection of the commander al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.” Qutayba summoned witnesses for this oath. This took place in year 94.<sup>2238</sup>

Qutayba appointed his brother, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim, governor of Samarqand. The people of Samarqand acted treacherously to him, and Khāqān, the king of the Turks, moved against him. So ʿAbd al-Raḥmān wrote to Qutayba, but the latter made no move until winter ended, when he marched to him, defeating the Turks’ army and restoring Khurāsān to his rule.

When Qutayba sent al-Muhallab’s sons to al-Ḥajjāj, the latter imprisoned them all, [including] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, demanding 6,000,000 dirhams from them and torturing them severely | in order to obtain it. When they saw what they were in for, they asked him that the merchants be brought in to see them, so that they could sell their possessions and estates. They prepared much food, and the people and a group of merchants came in and ate with them in prison. Then the sons of al-Muhallab mixed in with the throngs of people and left along with them—Yazīd, who was a youth, donned a big, long, yellow beard.<sup>2239</sup> He and his brothers rode off to Syria on steeds that he had readied beforehand. Yazīd made his way to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik,<sup>2240</sup> and (partisans of Yazīd) pleaded on his behalf with him. Then (Yazīd) went to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Walīd, who intervened with al-Walīd on their behalf, so that he offered them safe passage and summoned them to his court. He settled with them for half the money—3,000,000 dirhams. The sons of al-Muhallab said, “Provided that we can enlist the aid of our kinsmen among the Syrians,” and he responded, “That is up to you.” So out of their stipends, Yemeni tribesmen from Damascus bore an installment (of the ransom) on their behalf, while the rest of the Syrians bore a share. They petitioned at the door of al-Walīd, and al-Walīd wrote to al-Ḥajjāj about releasing their followers who remained in his prison. He freed them all.

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Al-Ḥajjāj dispatched Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī ʿAqīl al-Thaqafi to al-Sind in year 92, ordering him to remain at Shīrāz in the province of Fārs until the time was ripe for campaigning.<sup>2241</sup> Muḥammad went to Shīrāz and remained there for six months. Then he set out with 6,000 horsemen and reached Makrān, where he remained for a little more than a month.

*Futūḥ*, 441, gives two versions of the amount of tribute exacted from Ghūzak (as he is called there): 2,200,000 dirhams annually, or 700,000 dirhams.

2238 94 A.H. = October 7, 712 – September 25, 713.

2239 The color of the beard, according to the account in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1209, was intended to disguise Yazīd by making him appear to be an old man.

2240 A son of ʿAbd al-Malik and future caliph; see below.

2241 On the conquest of Sind, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1200; and F. Gabrieli, “Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafi and the Arab Conquest of Sind.”

Then he advanced on Fannazbūr,<sup>2242</sup> whose people had gathered an army. He fought them for some months until he conquered the city and took captives and booty. Then he advanced on Armā'il, fought its people for some days, conquered the city, and remained there for some months. Then he advanced on al-Daybul, leading a great host until he reached the city. He prepared his armies, took the enemy on, and besieged the people of al-Daybul, fighting them for a number of months. | They had a Buddha that they worshipped,<sup>2243</sup> which stood 40 cubits in height, which he bombarded with a trebuchet and shattered. Then he set ladders against the wall, had men climb them, took the city by force, and executed those who could take up arms. It was found that the Buddha they worshipped had 700 guards, and he seized a great amount of riches from it. When he conquered Daybul, their largest city, the people of the lands submitted to him. From Daybul he set off for al-Nirūn<sup>2244</sup> and made a treaty with its people.

At this point, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, requesting his permission to continue advancing, to which he responded, "Set out and you shall be commander over whatever you conquer." Al-Ḥajjāj also wrote to Qutayba b. Muslim, the governor of Khurāsān, saying, "Whichever one of you reaches China first shall be governor over it and over the other one." So Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim set out and began to overrun every region and conquer every city that he passed through, either by negotiated treaty or by force. He crossed the Sind River, which is this side of the Indus,<sup>2245</sup> and proceeded to Sahbān and conquered it. He then set off in the direction of the Indus delta. When Dāhir, the king of Sind, learned of his presence, he dispatched a large army against him, which Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim met and defeated in battle. Dāhir himself then advanced against him and confronted him for several months of fighting. In the course of the confrontation, Dāhir, mounted on an elephant, led a

2242 The MSS read Fayrūz, which Houtsma emended to Fannazbūr on the basis of Muqaddasī, *Descriptio* (in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, 3:475). Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 436, where the editor accepts the reading Qannazbūr. The name occurs in al-Ya'qūbī, *Geography*, 286, with similar uncertainty in the MSS.

2243 On the city of Daybul, see the article by A. S. Bazmee Ansari in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Daybul. From the account in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 436–437, it appears that 40 cubits was the height of the stupa housing the statue and that the stupa was surmounted by a mast flying a red flag.

2244 Thus ed. Leiden on the basis of C, al-Nirūn. The reading of M looks like al-Tirūz. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 437, reads al-Birūn.

2245 Arabic *dūna Mihrān* (this side of Mihrān), Mihrān being the usual Arabic term for the Indus river. There was considerable uncertainty about the names of the rivers forming the Indus system. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mihrān.



full-scale assault on him. The battle grew fierce and took its toll on both sides. The elephant on which Dāhir was mounted grew thirsty, defied its mahout, and wallowed in the mud.<sup>2246</sup> So Dāhir dismounted and fought to the death on the ground. His army was defeated, and the Muslims conquered. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim sent notice of the conquest to al-Ḥajjāj, sending Dāhir's head, too. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim continued through the land of al-Sind, conquering region after region and city after city, eventually arriving at al-Rūr,<sup>2247</sup> which is [one of] the greatest cities of al-Sind. He laid a tight siege upon the city, whose people did not know that Dāhir | had been killed. When he had harried them sufficiently, he sent Dāhir's widow to the people of the city, and she said to them, "The king has died; appeal for peace!"—which they did and surrendered to Muḥammad. They opened the gate of the city to him, and he entered. He appointed a deputy and resumed passing through the country, conquering city after city. Al-Ḥajjāj later wrote to him, saying: "I have written to the Commander of the Faithful, al-Walīd, guaranteeing him that I would return as much to the treasury as I have expended. Extricate me from my guarantee!" So Muḥammad sent him more than al-Ḥajjāj had expended. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim remained in the country of al-Sind until the death of al-Walīd and the accession of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

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Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim was 15 years old when he led the raids in the land of al-Sind and al-Hind, commanded the armies, and oversaw the conquests. Ziyād al-ʿAjamī<sup>2248</sup> composed the following:

Courage, generosity, and magnanimity are Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim's:

He led armies at age 15; how young he was to have taken command!<sup>2249</sup>

Al-Walīd wrote to Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, his governor of the Ḥijāz, ordering him to expel the Kufans and Basrans<sup>2250</sup> from there, and to send them on to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. So Khālīd sent ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murri to Medina to

2246 Reading with M, *fa-tawahḥala*; ed. Leiden, *fa-tarajjala* (and he [Dāhir] dismounted).

2247 On al-Rūr (or Arūr, Aror) on the Indus River in northern Sind, south of Multān and to the north of Manṣūra and Daybul, see the article by Derryl N. MacLean in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Arūr.

2248 Usually known as Ziyād al-ʿAjam (d. 100/718), a poet of Persian origin who was closely attached to courts in the east; see the article by Lidia Bettini in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ziyād al-ʿAjam.

2249 The same verses are cited by al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 441, where the author is identified as Ḥamza b. Bayḍ al-Ḥanafī. In al-Balādhurī's version, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim is said to have accomplished his feats at the age of 17, rather than 15.

2250 Literally, "the people of the two Iraqs."

expel the Kufans and Basrans there, and he marched them all, with their companies, off to al-Ḥajjāj in shackles: he spared no one, whether merchant or not. He called out, “Anyone who shelters a Basran or Kufan will have his protection withdrawn.” Whenever he learned that a Basran or Kufan was in the house of a Medinan, he never failed to expel him.<sup>2251</sup>

In the year 95,<sup>2252</sup> al-Walīd expelled [‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās]<sup>2253</sup> to al-Ḥumayma,<sup>2254</sup> which is in the region of al-Sharāt in the military district (*jund*) of Damascus. This was because the mother of Salīṭ b. ‘Abdallāh | b. ‘Abbās had complained to al-Walīd that ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh had murdered her son, had buried him in the garden where he was living, and had built a marker<sup>2255</sup> over the spot. Al-Walīd therefore arrested him and asked him, “Did you kill your brother?” He answered, “He was not my brother, but my slave, and my slaves killed him.”<sup>2256</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās had stipulated in his will that his son ‘Alī should make Salīṭ an heir of his, but that he should not marry him off. And he had said, “I know that he is not my son, but I will not deprive him of the inheritance.”<sup>2257</sup> ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh settled in al-Ḥumayma and remained there, fathering a number of sons. An extended family grew around him—he fathered more than twenty

2251 Whether “him” refers to the Basran or Kufan or to the owner of the house in Medina is unclear. The wording of the command “to expel the Kufans and Basrans” suggests the former.

2252 95 A.H. = September 26, 713 – September 15, 714.

2253 The name has fallen out of the text through a copyist’s error (homeoteleuton), and the copyist of C (followed by ed. Leiden) has compounded the confusion in an attempt to make sense of the remaining text, yielding “al-Walīd went out to al-Ḥumayma ...” The context implies the emended text as translated. ‘Alī was the youngest son of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Abbās (cf. ed. Leiden, 2:314 above) and had been allowed to settle in Damascus in 75/695 by ‘Abd al-Malik (cf. ed. Leiden, 2:327 above). Now this ancestor of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs (the first of whom, al-Saffāḥ, was his grandson) was banished from Damascus by al-Walīd, ostensibly on suspicion of murder, but more likely for political reasons. There are several explanations for why ‘Alī fell out of favor; see Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners from the East*, 123, and the article by Moshe Sharon in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās.

2254 Al-Ḥumayma was in southwest Jordan, halfway between the town of Ma‘ān and the Gulf of ‘Aqaba. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥumayma.

2255 Arabic *dukkān*, meaning “a stone structure over a grave.” See the *Glossarium* to the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, s.v.

2256 Reading with M: *walākinnaḥu ‘abdi qatalahu a’budī*. The word *a’budī* (my slaves) dropped out of C, leading the Leiden editor to emend *qatalahu* (he/they killed him) to *qatalatuhu* (I killed him), and yielding the sense, “... but my slave; I killed him.”

2257 On Salīṭ’s dubious paternity, see Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxviii, 38, n. 169.

sons, most of whom died during his lifetime. His descendants remained in al-Ḥumayma until God abolished the rule of the Banū Umayya.

In this year—the year 95—al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf died at the age of 54, his rule in Iraq having been 20 years in length. Al-Walīd ratified as his successor Yazīd b. Abī Muslim; then he replaced him with Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha al-Saksakī.

Al-Walīd spoke ungrammatically and was given to confusion and perplexity. He was wont to say, “A caliph should be neither asked to swear, nor contradicted; and no one should address him by his name.” He would punish people for such things. He was the first to establish the hospital (*bīmāristān*) for the sick and the guest-house (*dār al-dīyāfa*), to grant stipends to the blind, the poor, and the lepers, and was one of the first to execute the disobedient. He made a count of those enrolled in the registers<sup>2258</sup> and removed a great many, their number reaching 20,000. He was the first to deliver food to the mosques during the month of Ramaḍān. He fasted on Mondays and Thursdays, and was devoted to the practice. He was the first to make arrests on the basis of false accusation and rumor; he even executed people on such grounds. | The land tax (*kharāj*) declined in his days and yielded little: al-Ḥajjāj collected only 25,000,000 dirhams from all of Iraq. During his rule there were earthquakes that destroyed everything, lasting for forty days in year 94.

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The person who exercised the most influence upon him was al-Qārī<sup>2259</sup> b. Rabīʿa al-Ḥarashī; his judge in Kufa was al-Shaʿbī; Abū Nātil Rabāḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ghassānī was in charge of his security force (*shurṭa*), until he dismissed him and appointed Kaʿb b. Ḥāmid al-ʿAbsī; in charge of his guard (*ḥaras*) was Khālīd b. al-Dayyān,<sup>2260</sup> a client of Muḥārib; his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was Saʿīd, his client.

Al-Walīd died on 14 Jumādā 1 96, or, as some have said, on the last day of Jumādā 11, at the age of 43 or, as some have said, 49.<sup>2261</sup> His reign lasted 9 years and 8½ months. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz led the prayers at his funeral. He died at Dayr Murrān and was buried in Damascus. He left seventeen<sup>2262</sup> sons: Muḥam-

2258 Arabic *ahl al-dīwān*. Presumably, a purging of the register of those entitled to military stipends is meant.

2259 The reading, from M, is conjectural. Ed. Leiden reads *al-Fāzī*, otherwise unattested.

2260 Given in the MSS (and in Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrikh*, 312) as Khālīd b. al-Rayyān, but corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of the reading given below, ed. Leiden, 2:359.

2261 14 Jumādā 1 96 = January 25, 715. The last day of Jumādā 11 of that year fell on March 11, 715.

2262 Following M, where the number is clearly written, although only 16 names are listed. Houtsma emended the reading to “nineteen” (the Arabic words for seven and nine are

mad, al-‘Abbās, ‘Umar, Bishr, Rawḥ, Khālīd, Tammām, Mubashshir, Jurayy,<sup>2263</sup> Yazīd, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Ibrāhīm, Yaḥyā, Abū ‘Ubayda, Masrūr, and Ṣadaqa.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule were:

- in the year 86: Hishām b. Ismā‘īl;
- in the year 87: ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz;
- in the year 88: he led the pilgrimage himself;
- in the years 89 and 90: ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz;
- in the year 91: he led the pilgrimage himself;
- 2:350 – in the years 92 and 93: ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz;
- [in the year 94: Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik];
- in the year 95: Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm.

Those who led the summer campaigns during his rule were:

- in the year 86: Maslama, who conquered two forts;
- in the year 88 [...]:<sup>2264</sup> Maslama and al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, who conquered Sūriya, and al-‘Abbās, who conquered Aḍrūliya;
- in the year 90: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Walīd, who conquered a fort;
- in the year 91: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. [al-Walīd ...];
- in the year 92]:<sup>2265</sup> Muḥammad b. Marwān, and Mūsā b. Nuṣayr raided al-Andalus;
- in the year 93: al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, Marwān b. al-Walīd, and Maslama, and they conquered Amāsiya and Ḥiṣn al-Ḥadīd;
- in the year 94: al-‘Abbās and ‘Umar, two sons of al-Walīd;
- in the year 95: al-‘Abbās, who conquered Cyprus;
- in the year 96: Bishr b. al-Walīd.

The learned men in his days were:

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often confused by copyists) to agree with al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1270, where the number is given as 19 and 19 names are listed.

2263 The reading is uncertain. M reads Ḥarb, emended by Houtsma to Jurayy on the basis of De Goeje’s edition of *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, 12.

2264 Although the text in M is written continuously, the notice for 89 has apparently fallen out by homeoteleuton. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1191, 1197, Maslama and al-‘Abbās led campaigns in 88 and 89, but it was in 89 that Sūriya and Aḍrūliya were conquered.

2265 Lacuna in the MSS.

- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥaṭīb,
- Saʿīd [b. al-Musayyab],
- ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr,
- ʿAṭā b. Yasār,
- Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad,
- Saʿīd b. Jubayr,<sup>2266</sup>
- Mujāhid b. Jabr, a client of the Banū Makhzūm,<sup>2267</sup>
- ʿIkrima, a client of Ibn ʿAbbās,<sup>2268</sup>
- Ḥakīm b. Abī Ḥāzim,
- Shaqīq b. Salama,
- Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī,<sup>2269</sup>
- ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī,
- Sālīm b. Abī al-Jaʿd,
- Abū Ishāq al-Sabʿī,
- Abū Ayyūb al-Azdī,
- Abū Tamīm al- ...,<sup>2270</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan,<sup>2271</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Sīrīn,<sup>2272</sup>
- Abū Qilāba ʿAbdallāh b. [Zayd],
- Sulayman<sup>2273</sup> b. Yasār,

2266 He has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:333, as one of the *qurrāʾ* (Qurʾān readers) who sided with Ibn al-Ashʿath in his rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj.

2267 Mujāhid b. Jabr (the MSS incorrectly write the name as Jubayr, perhaps influenced by the preceding name) was a student of ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās and produced a commentary on the Qurʾān later utilized by al-Ṭabarī. See the article by A. Rippin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mudjāhid b. Djabr al-Makkī, Abū l-Ḥadjdjād.

2268 ʿIkrima was one of the main transmitters of interpretations of the Qurʾān attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās. He is said to have traveled widely and to have held Khārījī views. See the article by J. Schacht in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿIkrima.

2269 A Kufan jurist and transmitter of traditions; biography in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:177–179.

2270 The reading is uncertain. Houtsma read the name as al-Ḥ-m-?-nī. The name is otherwise unknown.

2271 That is, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

2272 Ibn Sīrīn was the freed slave of Anas b. Mālīk and became known for his piety and reliability as a transmitter of ḥadīth, although his later fame was based more on his reputation as an authority on dream interpretation. See the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Sīrīn, Abū Bakr Muḥammad.

2273 MSS, *Muslim*; corrected by Houtsma on the basis of the reading found in the list of learned men at the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (ed. Leiden, 2:338). The name is

- 2:351 – | Muwarriq al-‘Ijlī,  
 – Sinān b. Salama,  
 – Abū l-Maliḥ b. Usāma al-Hudhalī,  
 – al-‘Alā’ b. Ziyād,  
 – Abū Idrīs,<sup>2274</sup>  
 – Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa.<sup>2275</sup>

Al-Walid was tall and swarthy, slightly pock-marked, with a touch of grey at the tip of his beard, but no other grey on his head or beard, and snub-nosed.

### The Days of Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose mother was Wallāda b. al-‘Abbās b. Jaz’ al-‘Absiyya, began to rule on the 15th of Jumādā I of year 96.<sup>2276</sup> The Sun was then 6° 40’ in Pisces; the Moon [...]; [Saturn]<sup>2277</sup> 16° 20’ in Virgo, retrograde; Jupiter 25° 40’ in Sagittarius; Mars 11° 3’ in Aquarius; Venus 15° 19’ in Pisces; Mercury 5° 50’ in Pisces; the Ascending Node was in Leo 13° 15’. He succeeded to the caliphate while at al-Ramla,<sup>2278</sup> where his residence was. He it was who built its congregational mosque and governor’s palace. He moved people there

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well-known as that of one of the “seven jurists of Medina.” See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḡahā’ al-Madīna al-Sab’a.

2274 This would seem to Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī, who served as *qāḍī* of Damascus under ‘Abd al-Malik. However, he died in 80/699, and so should have appeared in the list of scholars at the end of the previous reign. See the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khawlānī, Abū Idrīs.

2275 For a full biography of the mawlā who became influential at the Umayyad court, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Radjā’ b. Ḥaywa.

2276 January 26, 715.

2277 The text in the MSS and printed editions reads, “the Moon was 16° 20’ in Virgo, retrograde.” This is impossible, as the moon never displays retrograde motion. The text can be restored by assuming that a copyist skipped from the word *qamar* (moon) to 16° 20’, retrograde, omitting the figure for the position of the moon and the word *zuḥal* (Saturn), which regularly comes between the moon and Jupiter in al-Ya’qūbī’s horoscopes. In fact, the horoscopes for the accession of Sulaymān given in Kennedy and Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā’allāh*, 134, 139, place Saturn, which can display retrograde motion, in Virgo.

2278 Al-Ramla lies 40 km west northwest of Jerusalem. Sulaymān was there as governor of Filasṭīn (Palestine). See the article by E. Honigmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ramla.

from Ludd,<sup>2279</sup> which was the town where the people had resided, and set about razing their houses there and building in al-Ramla. He punished those who resisted, razed their houses, and cut off their provisions until they moved. Ludd fell into ruin.

ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz<sup>2280</sup> received the oath of allegiance to Sulaymān in Damascus on the day that al-Walīd died. Sulaymān then went to Damascus and stayed there a short while. Having decided to make the pilgrimage, he wrote to Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh, | the governor of Mecca, commanding him to channel for him a spring of fresh water that emerged from al-Thaqaba,<sup>2281</sup> so that it would surface between Zamzam and the corner of the Kaʿba with the black stone and so that he might rival Zamzam with it. Khālīd therefore made the basin that is at the mouth of al-Thaqaba—it is called al-Qasrī’s basin and stands to this day at the base of Mt. Thabīr.<sup>2282</sup> He made it out of hewn stones and tapped its water from that spot. From this basin he cut a channel that flowed to the Holy Mosque in a lead pipe, until it surfaced in a fountain that poured into a marble pool between the corner and Zamzam. When the channel flowed and its water surfaced, Khālīd ordered animals for slaughter, and they were butchered in Mecca and divided up among the people. He prepared a feast to which he invited the people, and he ordered a crier to called out, “To prayer in congregation!” Then he mounted the pulpit, and said, “People! Praise God and pray for the Commander of the Faithful, who has given you fresh water to drink after salty, bitter, and unpalatable water”—he meant Zamzam. But hardly anyone gathered to drink from that water, and they continued to drink mostly from Zamzam. When Khālīd saw that, he made a speech and rebuked the people of Mecca, speaking to them with ugly words and berating them for forsaking the water that he had provided and frequenting Zamzam. The pool of his remained as it was throughout the days of the Banū Umayya, but when the Banū Hāshim took power, Dāwūd b. ʿAlī<sup>2283</sup> destroyed it as soon as he arrived in Mecca.

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2279 A town in Palestine, 17 km from the Mediterranean southeast of Jaffa. It appears in the New Testament as Lydda (the Greek version of the Hebrew name Lodd). See the article by M. Sharon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ludd.

2280 ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was Sulaymān’s brother and the next caliph (r. 99/717–101/720); see the article by P. M. Cobb in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿUmar (II) b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

2281 This is Houtsma’s emendation of an unintelligible MS reading, here and in the next sentence, on the basis of al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makka* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 339. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, lists al-Thaqaba as a mountain between Ḥirāʾ and Thabīr in Mecca, and says that there were plantations at its foot.

2282 Mt. Thabīr lies outside of Mecca, on the north side of the valley of Minā.

2283 Dāwūd b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, one of several important uncles of the first ʿAbbāsīd

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Khālīd remained in Mecca only a short time before Sulaymān became angry with him and dismissed him. He appointed Ṭalḥa b. Dāwūd al-Ḥaḍramī, ordering him to flog Khālīd on account of a woman of Quraysh whom Khālīd had foully slandered; | Ṭalḥa was to demand that Khālīd pay restitution and to send him on in chains. Sulaymān also dismissed ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murri, the governor of Medina, and appointed Abū Bakr [b. Muḥammad] b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm. He had ‘Uthmān [b. Ḥayyān] flogged for two *ḥadd* offenses: first for drinking wine and second for slandering ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.

Sulaymān also became angry with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī, the governor of Ifrīqiya who had conquered al-Andalus and the adjacent regions. Mūsā had come to see al-Walīd, but he found him gravely ill—al-Walīd died a few days later. Mūsā’s client Ṭāriq denounced his master to Sulaymān, who confiscated Mūsā’s property and held him for a ransom of 100,000 dirhams. Mūsā said, “When I joined you, I had nothing but a horse, a fur, and a sword: give me those back, and do what you will with the rest.” Sulaymān then appointed Muḥammad b. Yazīd, a client of the Quraysh, as governor of the Maghrib, ordering him to pursue Mūsā’s men, along with his sons and his companions.

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Sulaymān had promoted Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and had favored him and honored him. He sent al-Ḥajjāj’s men to him, along with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī, Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī, al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān<sup>2284</sup> b. Ḥayyān al-Murri, ordering Yazīd to torture them until he extracted the money that they owed. Sulaymān<sup>2285</sup> tracked down al-Ḥajjāj’s men, inflicting terrible torture on them, and (Yazīd) sent al-Ḥajjāj’s deputy, Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, to (Sulaymān). When Sulaymān saw him—Yazīd b. Abī Muslim was short and frail—he said to him, “Are you Yazīd?” “Yes,” replied Yazīd. Sulaymān said, “Al-Ḥajjāj’s right-hand man, the author of the doings that I have heard of, along with your ugly frame that I see?” | Yazīd replied: “That, by God, is because you see me when fortune has favored you and turned its back on me. Had you seen fortune favoring me and turning its back on you, you would have deemed great what you have belittled, and honored what you have just disdained.” “Where,” asked Sulaymān, “would you put al-Ḥajjāj? Will he burn in Hell?” Yazīd replied: “Commander of the Faithful, do not say that of a man who will be gathered on the Day of Resurrection to the right of your father and the left of your brother. Put him where you wish, but you will be putting the two of them with him!” So Sulaymān said to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, “Take him to

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caliph, Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāh (r. 132/749–136/754), was appointed first as governor of Kufa and then as governor of the Ḥijāz. See below, ed. Leiden, 2:420–421.

2284 Perhaps an error for ‘Uthmān (the former governor of Medina).

2285 Perhaps a slip for Yazīd.



you, and subject him to every kind of torture until you extract the money from him.” Yazīd b. al-Muhallab said, “Commander of the Faithful, I know all about him: by God, he neither possesses money nor is he among those who hoard it”—Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was acknowledging a favor Yazīd b. Abī Muslim had done him. So Sulaymān put him in charge of the summer campaign.

Qutayba b. Muslim was al-Ḥajjāj’s governor of Khurāsān. When he heard of what Sulaymān was doing to his counterparts and how he was pursuing the officials of al-Walīd and al-Ḥajjāj, he gathered his brothers and kinsmen and pushed into non-Arab territory until he reached the remotest part of Farghāna. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ahtam al-Tamīmī,<sup>2286</sup> who had been with him, had fled from him to Sulaymān and had accused him.<sup>2287</sup> So Qutayba had seized a number of his kinsmen and had killed them; he had cut off the arms and legs of others. Yazīd b. Muhallab also was Qutayba b. Muslim’s enemy because of what he had done to him and to his family upon succeeding him. So Qutayba knew that he was in disfavor with Sulaymān. He wrote a letter to Sulaymān, who responded abusively, and then he decided to rebel, confident about his position among the Nizāriyya<sup>2288</sup> [...] <sup>2289</sup> [and that] the Yamāniyya would not oppose him. When the tribesmen learned of his plans, they distanced themselves from him; so he delivered a famous speech to them. He rebuked them and said: “People of Tamīm! People of vileness and deficiency! People of al-Azd! You have abandoned boats and mounted steeds; you have thrown away boat-poles and taken up | spears.”<sup>2290</sup> By God, with the non-Arabs on my side I am mightier than you!” So the tribesmen abandoned him and spoke in one voice in favor of attacking [him]. They rallied around al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir and appealed to him to lead them, but he said, “Wakīʿ b. Abī Sūd al-Tamīmī is the right man for you.” So they went to Wakīʿ and prevailed upon him. With the tribesmen at the time was Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, and they attacked Qutayba and killed him. Wakīʿ took control of Khurāsān and appointed his officials. He wrote to Sulaymān,

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2286 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1218, says that Qutayba had appointed ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ahtam as his tax official in Marw in 91/709–710. ʿAbdallāh had intrigued with al-Ḥajjāj against Qutayba and had been forced to flee to Syria. See David Stephan Powers, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXIV, 13, n. 57.

2287 Reading with M, *fa-rafaʿa ʿalayhi*; ed. Leiden, *fa-rafaʿa ilayhi* (he reported to him).

2288 The Nizāriyya here are the faction of the northern Arabs, the Yamāniyya the faction of the southern Arabs.

2289 Text has apparently fallen out of the MSS, although there is no visible lacuna.

2290 Qutayba is referring contemptuously to the origin of one branch of the Azd in Oman, where they had lived as fishermen, seafarers, and merchants. See the article by G. Strenziok in *Et*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Azd.

informing him of what he had done, and sent along the heads of Qutayba and his family. This took place in year 96.<sup>2291</sup>

When Wakī's letter reached Sulaymān, he intended to send him [a letter of appointment over Khurāsān], but someone said to him, "He is a man whom civil war raises up, but whom adherence to the Prophet's example makes low; he is not the right person for Khurāsān." So Sulaymān appointed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to be governor of Iraq and Khurāsān. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was [in] Iraq, torturing al-Ḥajjāj's officials; he appointed a deputy over Iraq and set out for Khurāsān. There he tracked down Qutayba's men and relatives and inflicted terrible tortures on them. He imprisoned Wakī' b. Abī Sūd and put him in chains, arrested the sub-governors whom he had appointed after Qutayba's murder, and demanded the moneys that had come to them. When most of the people of Khurāsān went into open rebellion, he marched to Jurjān<sup>2292</sup> and besieged it until the townspeople surrendered. He killed a great number of them and took the city. He campaigned against the army chief (*iṣbahbadh*) of Ṭabaristān, the king of the Turks, and the king of Daylam, and campaigned against the ruler of Ṭabaristān for some time. Then he lost patience,<sup>2293</sup> became disgusted, and requested a negotiated settlement, but the *iṣbahbadh* refused. So he returned to Jurjān and remained there, but later he left there for Nishāpūr. Yazīd appointed his brothers and sons over the regions: he appointed Makhlad over Samarqand, Mudrik b. al-Muhallab over Balkh, and Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab over Marw. Yazīd's power in Khurāsān became great.

Sind came to be in turmoil. The soldiers who had been with Muḥammad b al-Qāsim al-Thaqafi abandoned their garrisons, and people of every land returned to their native soil. So Sulaymān sent Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab. He entered the land and fought against foes who were in the region of the Indus. He seized Muḥammad b al-Qāsim, dressed him in a hair shirt, placed him in fetters, and imprisoned him.

Abū Hāshim 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2294</sup> came to Sulaymān. Sulaymān said: "I have never spoken to a Qurayshī the like of him. I think he is none other than the one about whom we have been speaking." He offered

2291 96 A.H. = September 16, 714 – September 4, 715.

2292 Or Gorgan; an Iranian province at the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea.

2293 Reading *ghariḍa* with M; ed. Leiden, *'araḍa* (he turned away).

2294 He was the son of 'Alī's son Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and as such the leader of one branch of the Shī'a. The story of his death at the hands of the Umayyads and his bequeathing of the imamate to the ancestor of the 'Abbāsids was used to legitimize the rule of the 'Abbāsids. See the article by S. Moscati in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Hāshim; by B. Lewis in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Abbāsids; and by Elton L. Daniel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abbāsīd Revolution.

him gifts and looked after his needs and those of the people with him. Then ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad departed, heading for Palestine. Sulaymān sent some men to the lands of the tribes of Lakhm and Judhām with poisoned milk. They pitched their tents, and when ʿAbdallāh passed by, they said, “ʿAbdallāh, would you like something to drink?” “Thank you!” he replied. Later he passed others; they said the same thing, and he thanked them. Finally, he passed others and asked them for a drink, and they gave him one. When the milk settled in his stomach, he said to those who were with him: “By God, I am dying. See who those people are.” They looked, but the men had broken camp. So he said to them, “Take me to my paternal cousin, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās; he is in the district of al-Sharāt.” They hurried until they reached Muḥammad b. ʿAlī in al-Ḥumayma in the district of al-Sharāt. When ʿAbdallāh came into his presence, he said:<sup>2295</sup>

Cousin, I am about to die and have come to you. Here is my father’s testament to me. It says that authority will fall to you and to your children. It tells when this will happen, what the sign will be, | and what you are to do, according to what he heard and related from his father, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. So take hold of this. 2:357

These partisans (*shīʿa*)—take good care of them. They are the ones who will make the call on your behalf and assist you; hold them close to you, for I have tested their love and affection for the people of your house.

This man is Maysara:<sup>2296</sup> make him your man over Iraq. As for Syria, it is no country for you. These are his messengers to Khurāsān and to you. Let your call (*daʿwa*) be made in Khurāsān, and let it not go beyond the districts of Marw, Marw al-Rūdh, Bīward, and Nasā. Beware of Nīshāpūr and its districts, Abrashahr, and Ṭūs. I hope that your call will come to pass and that God will make your affairs successful. Know that the master of this affair among your children will be ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārithiyya<sup>2297</sup> and then ʿAbdallāh,<sup>2298</sup> his elder brother. When the Year of the Ass<sup>2299</sup>

2295 For a study of the following text, the so-called Testament of Abū Hāshim, see S. Moscati, “Il testamento di Abū Hāšim.”

2296 Abū Riyāḥ Maysara al-Nabbāl; see Sharon, *Black Banners*, 134; Powers, *The History of al-Ṭabari*, xxiv, 87, and below.

2297 The first ʿAbbāsīd caliph-to-be, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, al-Saffāḥ (r. 132/749–136/754), called here “son of the Ḥārithī woman,” in allusion to his mother, Rāʾīṭa bt. Ziyād of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb.

2298 The second ʿAbbāsīd caliph-to-be, Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr (r. 136/754–158/775).

2299 Arabic *sanat al-ḥimār*, alluding to the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, known as al-Ḥimār (The Ass). See al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, trans. Bosworth, 61.

passes, send your messengers out with your letters. Make preparations before this, without any messenger (*rasūl*) and without any (person to serve as) proof (*ḥujja*).<sup>2300</sup>

As for the people of Iraq, they are your partisans and friends and people of rebellion. Your messenger should come only from among them. Look to the tribesmen of the Rabīʿa. Join them up with the people of Iraq, since they are with them in all matters. Also look to the tribes of Tamīm and Qays: distance them and keep them far off, except for those whom God keeps, which will be very few indeed. Then choose those who will make the call on your behalf. Let them be twelve chiefs (*naqīb*s), for God, the mighty and powerful, gave authority to the Israelites with only that number and seventy men to follow after them, and the Prophet took only twelve chiefs from the Anṣār in accordance with this.

Muhammad asked, “Abū Hāshim, what is the Year of the Ass?” He replied: “A hundred years have never passed after a prophethood without its affairs being accomplished. As God, may He be glorified and exalted, has said: *Or such as he who passed by a city ...*”<sup>2301</sup> So when one hundred years have passed, send your messengers and those who will make the call, for God will perfect your authority.” |

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After giving the document to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Abū Hāshim died. It was in the year 97,<sup>2302</sup> and in this year Muḥammad b. ʿAlī sent Abū Riyāḥ Maysara al-Nabbāl, a client of the Azd, to Kufa.

Sulaymān made the pilgrimage in the year 97, having decided to have the oath of allegiance given to his son Ayyūb as heir apparent. He had written Abū Bakr [b.] Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm to build him a palace to stay in

2300 “Without any proof (*ḥujja*),” that is, without any person to serve as visible “proof” of God’s presence among you. On the development of this technical term in Shīʿī Islam—among the Ismāʿīlīs it came to be used for the chief *dāʿī* (propagandist) for the Imam—although here its exact sense is unclear, see the article by M. G. S. Hodgson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥudjja.

2301 Cf. Qurʾān 2:259: “Or such as he who passed by a city that was fallen down upon its turrets; he said, ‘How shall God give life to this now it is dead?’ So God made him die a hundred years, then He raised him up, saying, ‘How long hast thou tarried?’ He said, ‘I have tarried a day, or part of a day.’ Said He, ‘Nay; thou hast tarried a hundred years. Look at thy food and drink—it has not spoiled; and look at thy ass. So We would make thee a sign for the people. And look at the bones; how We shall set them up, and then clothe them with flesh.’ So, when it was made clear to him, he said, ‘I know that God is powerful over everything.’”

2302 97 A.H. = September 5, 715 – August 24, 716.

at al-Jurf.<sup>2303</sup> When he arrived, he was unhappy with the construction of the palace, but he stayed in it. He distributed gifts among the people of Medina, and singled out the Quraysh for four thousand stipends, including no allies or clients in them. However, the elders of Quraysh decided to pay them to their allies and clients. They went before him and said: "You have granted us four thousand stipends without including any ally or client with us. We have decided to give them to our allies and clients on your behalf, for we are less of a burden upon you than they are." So he awarded them another four thousand stipends.

Then Sulaymān went to Mecca. When he stopped at Baṭn Rābigh,<sup>2304</sup> the sky opened on them and there were bolts of lightning the likes of which had never been seen. Sulaymān took fright, but ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz said to him: "This is (God's) mercy! What do you think (His) punishment will be like?"

Sulaymān summoned a group of learned men, including al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Sālim b. Abdallāh, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, Khārīja b. Zayd and Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, and asked them how to perform the pilgrimage. They differed over it, each saying something with which the next disagreed. So he asked, "How did the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAbd al-Malik, do it?" When he was told, "He did it like this," he said, "I will do as he did and ignore your disagreements."

He later set out from Mecca to Jerusalem. | When lepers circled his camp, ringing their bells so that they prevented him from sleeping, he asked about them. When he was told about the difficulties they caused people, he ordered that they be should be burnt. He said, "If they had any good in them, God would not have afflicted them with this scourge!" But ʿUmar [b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz] interceded with him, so Sulaymān desisted and ordered that they should be banished to an isolated village where they would not mix with people. 2:359

Sulaymān set out for the province of al-Jazīra and stayed in place called Dābiq in the district (*jund*) of al-Qinnasrīn.<sup>2305</sup> He sent Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik to raid the Byzantine lands, commanding him to head for Constantinople and to besiege it and conquer it. So Maslama marched to Constantinople and besieged it so long that he sowed crops and ate what he had sown. He entered and conquered the City of the Slavs.<sup>2306</sup> The Muslims were afflicted by adver-

2303 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, locates al-Jurf at 3 Arab miles from Medina.

2304 Baṭn Rābigh (the Lowland or Plain of Rābigh): Rābigh is a port on the Red Sea half-way between Judda (Jedda) and Yanbuʿ. It was a point at which pilgrims from the north could assume the *iḥrām*. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rābigh.

2305 Dābiq, upstream from Aleppo on the Quwayq, served in this period as a mustering point for troops on the northern frontier. See the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dābiq.

2306 A similarly brief notice (ascribed to al-Wāqidi) about the conquest of the City of the

sity, hunger, and cold, and when news reached Sulaymān of what Maslama and his men were facing, he reinforced them with ‘Amr b. Qays by land, and sent ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī<sup>2307</sup> to raid by sea. This was because the Byzantines had attacked the city of al-Lādhīqiyya in the district (*jund*) of Ḥimṣ and had burned it and carried off spoils. ‘Umar b. Hubayra got as far as the Bosphorus.

The persons with the greatest influence over Sulaymān were: al-Naḍr b. [Abī]<sup>2308</sup> Maryam al-Ḥimyarī and Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa al-Kindī. Kā’b b. Ḥamid al-‘Absī commanded Sulaymān’s security force (*shurṭa*), Khālīd b. al-Dayyān, a client of Muḥārib, his guard (*ḥaras*), and his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was his client, Abū ‘Ubayda.

2:360 Sulaymān was a voracious eater who was rarely satiated.<sup>2309</sup> He was attractive and eloquent [...],<sup>2310</sup> a tall man, white, and with a body that could not bear hunger. He never went grey, and he was the one who said while looking at himself in the mirror, “I’m a youthful king!”—but he died before the week was out. His decease took place in Ṣafar of the year 99.<sup>2311</sup> He had appointed ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz his successor and had written a document (to this effect). | He summoned his family and said, “Take the oath to the one who is named in this document.” They all took the oath. Then he gave the document to [Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa, who took the document to]<sup>2312</sup> the Dābiq mosque and called upon Sulaymān’s family members, saying, “Take the oath!” They said, “We have already taken the oath!” So he said, “Take the oath to the one who is named in

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Slavs can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1317. The notice includes the information that Maslama was attacked by “Burjān,” which normally refers to the state founded in the Balkans by the Turkic Bulgars and South Slavs. This would place the City of the Slavs somewhere in the Balkans. See the article by I. Hrbek in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bulghār. C. E. Bosworth, on the other hand, argues that this City of the Slavs was more likely in Anatolia; see his article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Şakālība.

2307 On this military leader and later governor of Iraq under Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, see the article by J.-C. Vadet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Hubayra.

2308 Corrected on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2556. On Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Radjā’ b. Ḥaywa.

2309 For anecdotes about Sulaymān’s gluttony and luxurious clothes, see al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:400–404 (§ 2154–2158).

2310 Lacuna, although there is no gap in the MSS.

2311 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1336, gives two dates: 19 Ṣafar 99 (October 1, 717) or 10 Ṣafar 99 (September 22, 717). As Powers notes in his translation, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiv, 61, n. 234, the discrepancy is apparently due to confusion over whether Sulaymān died ten days into Ṣafar or ten days before its end.

2312 The words in brackets have fallen out of the text by homeoteleuton, but can be reconstructed from the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1341–1345.

this document.” So they took the oath, and when they were finished he said, “Stand up in honor of your leader, for he has died.” He read out the document, and when he reached the name of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Hishām<sup>2313</sup> said, “No, by God! I will not take the oath.” Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywa replied, “Then I will cut off your head.” Then he took ʿUmar by the arm and sat him on the pulpit. When they had finished giving the oath, they buried Sulaymān. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz went down into his grave with three of (Sulaymān’s) sons, but when they grasped his body, it moved in their hands. Sulaymān’s sons then said, “By the Lord of the Kaʿba, our father is alive!” But ʿUmar said, “By the Lord of the Kaʿba, no; rather your father has been hastened away [to death].” Some who wished to impugn ʿUmar would say about him that he had buried Sulaymān alive.

Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik’s rule lasted two years and eight months. He left ten sons: Yazīd, al-Qāsim, Saʿīd, ʿUthmān, ʿAbdallāh,<sup>2314</sup> ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, al-Ḥārith, ʿAmr, ʿUmar, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule were as follows:

- in the year 96: Abū Bakr b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm;
- in the year 97: Sulaymān himself;
- in the year 98: ʿAbd al-ʿAziz [b. ʿAbdallāh] b. Khālīd b. Asīd.

The leaders of the raids during his rule were as follows:

- in the year 96: Maslama, who conquered Ḥiṣn al-Ḥadīd,<sup>2315</sup> and wintered in Byzantine territory; and ʿUmar b. Hubayra by sea, moving between the Bosphorus and Constantinople, and conquering the city of the Slavs. Sulaymān sent ʿAmr b. Qays | al-Kindi and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Walīd b. ʿUqba 2:361 as reinforcements.
- in the year 97:<sup>2316</sup> Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik dispatched his son Dāwūd to Byzantine territory while Maslama was besieging Constantinople. Dāwūd conquered Ḥiṣn al-Marʾa in the region of Malatya.

The learned men during his days were the same as those in the days of al-Walīd.

<sup>2313</sup> That is, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Sulaymān’s younger brother, who had been passed over in the succession.

<sup>2314</sup> ʿUbaydallāh in M.

<sup>2315</sup> More commonly called Khanjara in Arabic, a town in north-central Anatolia; see the article by J. H. Mordtmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Çankırı.

<sup>2316</sup> Ed. Leiden reads *tisʿ wa-tisʿin* (99), but this is unlikely for two reasons. First, there is the ease with which *tisʿ* (9) and *sabʿ* (7) are confused in Arabic script. In fact, M writes

### The Reign of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz

Then ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān, whose mother was Umm ‘Āṣim bt. ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, came to rule on the 10th day of Ṣafar in the year 99.<sup>2317</sup> On that day the Sun was 28° in Virgo; Saturn 25° 40’ in Libra; Jupiter 2° in Pisces, retrograde; Mars 23° 30’ in Cancer; Mercury 22° in Libra; and the Ascending Node 23° 26’ in Gemini. He was given the oath of allegiance in Dābiq. The document written by Sulaymān read as follows:

This is a document from the servant of God, Sulaymān, the Commander of the Faithful, to ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. I appoint you caliph after me. Listen to him<sup>2318</sup> and obey! Fear God and do not quarrel!

When the letter was read out, all the Umayyads in attendance gave the oath of allegiance, except ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who was absent. He then claimed the caliphate for himself, and some people gave him the oath of allegiance. When news of ‘Umar’s accession reached him, he came, and ‘Umar said to him, “I have heard that you claimed the caliphate for yourself and that you intended to enter Damascus.” ‘Abd al-‘Azīz said, “It was because I feared civil war, and I heard that the caliph had appointed no one to succeed him.” To this ‘Umar said, “Had you secured power, I would not have opposed you.” ‘Abd al-‘Azīz replied, “I had no desire that anyone but you should assume this authority.” |

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When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab heard of ‘Umar’s accession and received his letter, he departed from Khurāsān, having appointed his son, Makhlad, in his place. He carried away with him everything of his that he feared the people of Khurāsān (might take).<sup>2319</sup> Some had counseled him not to depart, but he did

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the word with dots for an initial *tā’*, followed by a mark to indicate a dotless *sīn*, as if to indicate the reading *tīs’*, but adds a dot under the line to indicate that one of the “teeth” is a *bā’*, as if to indicate the reading *sab’*. More importantly, the notice in al-Ya’qūbī is almost the same as that given by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:1305–1306, at the beginning of A.H. 97. However, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:1335, also gives a notice that Ḥisn al-Mar’a was conquered in 98, which suggests that the copyist of al-Ya’qūbī’s history may have omitted a notice for 98.

2317 September 22, 717.

2318 “To him” (*lahu*) is in M, but omitted in ed. Leiden.

2319 Following the apparent meaning of M: *kull mā kāna yakhāfuhu min ahl khurāsān ma’ahu*. Ed. Leiden emends to *kull mā kāna [lahu] makhāfatan min ahl khurāsān ma’ahu* (everything he had, for fear of the people of Khurāsān, with him).



not take the advice. He traveled to Basra, where ʿAdī b. Arṭāt, ʿUmar's governor, met him. He passed to him ʿUmar's letter (of appointment) and said, "Listen and obey!" He then took him, secured in fetters, to ʿUmar, who said to him: "I have found a letter of yours to Sulaymān, in which you mention that you have amassed 20,000,000 (dirhams).<sup>2320</sup> Where are they?" First he denied having it; then he said, "Let me go and gather it." "Where?" asked ʿUmar. Yazīd said, "I will go to the people." ʿUmar replied, "Take it from them a second time? No, you won't have that pleasure!" Then ʿUmar appointed al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥakamī governor of Khurāsān and ordered him to seize Makhlad b. Yazīd and to secure him in fetters that would not prevent him from praying.<sup>2321</sup> Al-Jarrāḥ therefore gave him an honorable confinement and then sent him to ʿUmar. Makhlad entered (the caliph's presence) with his robes tucked up, wearing a tall, white hat. ʿUmar said to him, "This is unlike what I have heard about you." Makhlad replied, "You are the leaders: when you let your garments hang loose, so do we; when you tuck them up, so do we."

Al-Jarrāḥ conducted himself well. Envoys from Tibet came to him, requesting that he send them someone who would explain Islam to them, so he dispatched al-Salīṭ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥanafī to them. He dispatched ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿammar al-Yashkurī to Transoxiana; there Ibn Muʿammar encountered an army of Turks, but he was defeated and turned back. ʿUmar (later) heard of matters concerning al-Jarrāḥ that he found offensive, such as his collecting the poll-tax from people who had converted to Islam, sending converts (*mawālī*) on campaigns without granting them stipends, and engaging in factional politics.<sup>2322</sup> So he wrote to him, summoning him and ordering him to appoint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym al-Ghāmīdī as caretaker. Al-Jarrāḥ did so. ʿUmar then sent a letter of appointment over Khurāsān to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ordering him to bring back | the Muslims in Transoxiana, along with their offspring, to Marw. He put this to them, but they refused, and he wrote to ʿUmar that they were content to remain there. ʿUmar praised God for that.

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2320 A version of the letter is given in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1334–1335. In al-Ṭabarī's version (from al-Madāʾinī), Yazīd's scribe advised against mentioning so large a sum in the letter, lest the caliph attempt to mulct Yazīd of it; which, in the event, was what happened, though not during the reign of Sulaymān.

2321 That is, in a way that would not prevent him from making the bows and prostrations required for Islamic prayer.

2322 Arabic *wa-annahu yuḏhiru l-ʿaṣabiyya*, literally, "that he was making a display of tribal loyalty or chauvinism." According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1353–1354, al-Jarrāḥ's fault was his declared preference for Arab tribesmen over non-Arab clients.

When ‘Umar received word of the difficulties and want facing those who were with Maslama in Byzantine territory, he dispatched ‘Amr b. Qays to command the summer campaign, and with him he sent garments, food, and stipends for the Muslims who were with Maslama. ‘Umar then dispatched ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ḥātim [b. al-Nu‘mān] al-Bāhilī, who attacked the Turks; only the stray runaway made it away safely. He took fifty of the captives to ‘Umar, and one of the Muslims said to ‘Umar about one of the captives, “Commander of the Faithful, had you seen this man killing Muslims, you would have seen a devastating killer!” ‘Umar said, “Stand up and strike off his head!”

### The Death of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn<sup>2323</sup>

‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib died in the year 99, although some say 100, at the age of 58.<sup>2324</sup> He was the most virtuous and most devout of people. He was called “the Adornment of the Worshippers”<sup>2325</sup> and “the One with the Calluses,” due to the imprint of prayer-prostrations on his forehead—he used to pray a thousand prostrations each day and night. When he was washed (for burial), scars resembling those on the back of a camel were discovered on his shoulders, and when his family was asked about them, they said that they were from his carrying food at night, when he would take it round to the lodgings of the poor.

Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab said: “I never saw anyone more virtuous than ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. Every time I saw him, I would despise myself. I never once saw him laughing.”

His mother was Ḥarār, the daughter of the emperor Yazdagird. This was because when ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was brought two daughters of Yazdagird, he gave one of them | to al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, who named her Ghazāla. When mention was made of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, one nobleman used to say, “Everyone would wish to have a slave-woman as a mother!” Others have said that his mother was from among the captives taken in Kābul.

<sup>2323</sup> The grandson of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, known as *Zayn al-‘Ābidīn* (The Adornment of the Worshippers), the fourth Imam of the Twelver Shī‘ite line. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zayn al-‘Ābidīn*.

<sup>2324</sup> There is much variation in the date given for his death, ranging from 92 to 100 A.H. The year 99 A.H. = August 14, 717 – August 2, 718; 100 A.H. = August 3, 718 – July 23, 719.

<sup>2325</sup> The translation follows ed. Leiden and C (*Zayn al-‘Ābidīn*); M reads *Sayyid al-‘Ābidīn*, (The Master of the Worshippers).

Abū Khālid al-Kābulī said: “I heard ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn say: ‘He who abstains from the things forbidden by God is worshipful; he who is satisfied with God’s share for him is rich; he who is a good neighbor to his neighbor is a Muslim; and he who treats people as he would wish them to treat him is just.’”

ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn said: “When the Day of Judgment comes, a crier will call, ‘Let the people of virtue arise!’ and some of the people will do so. They will be told to set off for Heaven without being called to account. The angels will meet them and ask wherein their virtue consisted, and they will say, ‘When we were treated recklessly, we were forbearing; when we were wronged, we were patient; when we were mistreated, we were forgiving.’ The angels will say, ‘Enter Heaven—how great is the reward of those do right!’ Then a crier will call, ‘Let the people of steadfastness arise!’ and some of the people will do so. They will be told to set off for Heaven without being called to account. The angels will meet them and ask wherein their steadfastness consisted, and they will say, ‘We made ourselves steadfast in obeying God, and we were steadfast in avoiding acts of disobedience towards God.’ The angels will say, ‘Enter Heaven—how great is the reward of those do right!’ Then the crier will cry out, ‘Let the neighbors of God arise!’ and some of the people will do so—the fewest in number. They will be asked about how they had been neighborly to God in His house, and they will say, ‘We used to sit together for the sake of God, meet together to make mention of God, and visit each other for the sake of God.’ The angels will say, ‘Enter Heaven—how great is the reward of those who do right!’”

He said: “How evil are people who use religion to cheat the world! How evil are people who perform their actions seeking worldly ends!”

He said: “One knows a perfect man by his forswearing talk of things that do not concern him, by his lack of quarreling, by his forbearance, and by the excellence of his character.”

The Byzantine emperor wrote a threatening letter to ʿAbd al-Malik, who had difficulty | formulating an answer; so he wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, who at this time was governor of the Ḥijāz, saying, “Summon ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn with threats, intimidation, and impudence; see how he responds to you, and write to me about it.” Al-Ḥajjāj did so, and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn said to him: “In every day there are 360 moments that belong to God. I hope that He will protect me from you in the first of His moments.” So he wrote that to ʿAbd al-Malik, who wrote saying this to the Byzantine emperor. When the latter read it, he said, “These are not his words; they belong to the issue of his Prophet.”<sup>2326</sup>

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<sup>2326</sup> Arabic *ʿitrat nubuwwatihi*, literally, “the issue, or people closest to, his prophecy or prophetic mission.”

He fell ill three times, making his last will and testament each time. When he recovered and became healthy, he issued it, saying: "Each of you will become a report (after his death). Let him who is able to be a good report do so."

He used to say: "Son of Adam, you will not cease to be well as long as you have an admonisher in your soul, as long as self-examination is part of your intention, and as long as fear is your innermost garment and sadness your covering."

ʿAbd al-Malik had written to al-Ḥajjāj while the latter was governor of the Ḥijāz, saying, "Spare me the blood of the family of the sons of [Abū] Ṭālib, for I have seen how the family of Ḥarb<sup>2327</sup> came to failure when they attacked them."<sup>2328</sup> ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn therefore wrote to him: "I saw the Messenger of God in a dream on a certain night in a certain month, telling me that ʿAbd al-Malik had written to al-Ḥajjāj on that night about a certain matter, and that I should tell him that God was grateful to him for it and would lengthen his rule for a time."

He had the following sons: Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad, al-Ḥusayn, and ʿAbdallāh—their mother was Umm ʿAbdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī—and ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn the Younger, Sulaymān (who died as a child), and Zayd.<sup>2329</sup>

2:366 One day ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz made mention of him, saying, "The light of the world, the beauty of Islam, and the adornment of the worshippers has gone." When someone told him that his son, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī<sup>2330</sup> retained some part of that, ʿUmar wrote | to test him. Muḥammad replied with a letter in which he admonished ʿUmar and caused him to fear. ʿUmar therefore ordered that they should take out his letter to Sulaymān. When it was taken out, he found that he had extolled and praised him. ʿUmar then wrote to the governor of Medina, saying to him, "Summon Muḥammad and say to him, 'Here is your letter to Sulaymān, where you praise him, and here is your letter to me, despite all the justice and benevolence that I have displayed!'" So the governor of Medina summoned him and told him what ʿUmar had written. Muḥammad replied: "Sulaymān was a tyrant to whom I wrote as one writes to tyrants. Your master rules more purely,<sup>2331</sup> and so I wrote to him in a fashion appropriate to him." ʿUmar's governor wrote back informing him, and ʿUmar said, "God does not make this family destitute of a single virtue."

2327 That is, the Umayyads, named here with reference to their progenitor Ḥarb b. Umayya.

2328 The text is uncertain.

2329 This is the Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn whose revolt and death will be narrated by al-Yaʿqūbī below, ed. Leiden, 2:390–391.

2330 Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bāqir, the fifth Imam of the Twelver Shiʿite line.

2331 Following M, *aṭharu amran*; ed. Leiden, *aḏharu amran* (is more apparent as to rule).

ʿUmar repudiated the deeds committed by members of his family, which he branded as acts of injustice. He wrote to all of his governors as follows: “The people have been afflicted with trials and hardships, with wrongdoing with respect to God’s ordinances, and with evil traditions imposed on them by evil governors who rarely have pursued the path of the truth, gentleness, and kindness. As for whoever wishes to perform the Pilgrimage, speed his stipend to him so that he can provision himself with it. Do not perform any amputations or crucifixions until you have consulted me.” He abandoned the cursing of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib from the pulpits,<sup>2332</sup> writing to that effect to all the provinces. Kuthayyir<sup>2333</sup> said:

You assumed power, and you did not revile ʿAlī, or threaten  
an innocent man, or follow the view of a sinner.

He granted the Banū Hāshim the Fifth,<sup>2334</sup> and he restored (the revenues from) Fadak<sup>2335</sup> to them; Muʿāwiya had granted it to Marwān, who had granted it to his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from whom ʿUmar had inherited it. He restored it to Fāṭima’s descendants, in whose hands it remained until Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik

2332 Reading the plural *manābir* with M; ed. Leiden has the singular, *minbar* (pulpit).

2333 The MSS read *Jarīr*; Houtsma emended the text on the basis of the attribution of the verse in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 5:31, and in the *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum* (ed. De Goeje), 620; to which one may add Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa l-shuʿarāʾ* (ed. De Goeje), 317–320, where the verse begins a 17-line panegyric of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz recited in his presence by Kuthayyir. A 19-line version of the poem occurs in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 8:153–154, also ascribed to Kuthayyir.

2334 The “fifth” (*khums*) consisted of one-fifth of the booty of war or other specified forms of income, set aside for various designated beneficiaries. Islamic law eventually settled on the principle that the Prophet’s next-of-kin and their descendants were entitled to a fifth of this fifth. See the article by A. Zysow and R. Gleave in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khums*.

2335 Fadak was a small town two or three days’ journey from Medina. After the town was conquered in the days of the Prophet (al-Yaʿqūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:78), its revenue was assigned to Muḥammad personally, who devoted it to support needy travelers and poorer members of the Banū Hāshim. After Muḥammad’s death, Abū Bakr insisted that the revenue should revert to the public treasury, as “prophets have no heirs” (al-Yaʿqūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:142); Fāṭima, on the other hand, maintained that the revenue from Fadak should go to her as her father’s heiress, and the controversy continued to be a source of bad feeling between the Banū Hāshim and the Umayyads. Al-Yaʿqūbī has already mentioned that Muʿāwiya granted the Fadak revenue to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam “so as to gall the Family of the Prophet” (ed. Leiden, 2:265). See the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fadak.

2:367 came to rule, when he seized it. ‘Umar also restored the giving of gifts at the festivals of Nayrūz and Mihrajān,<sup>2336</sup> cash<sup>2337</sup> and stipends | according to what one merited in accordance with the Sunna; he also fixed the inheritance for dependents according to the prescriptions of the Sunna. However, he confirmed the land grants that members of his family had made, along with the stipends reckoned according to high status, which he neither reduced nor increased. He increased the stipends granted to the Syrians by 10 dirhams, but he did not do the same for the Iraqis.

He used to say: “For the Muslim who is enduring rough treatment by the authorities and the devil’s mischief, I have seen nothing more helpful to his religion than granting him his due.” To that end, he used to have day-long sessions to look into the Muslims’ affairs. Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa once said to him, “Commander of the Faithful! You’re busy the whole day—[take] a part of the evening in conversation with us!” He replied: “Rajā’, meeting face to face with men is a fecundation for those responsible for their affairs.<sup>2338</sup> Consultation and disputation are two doors to (God’s) mercy and a key to (His) blessing; with these two things, one’s judgment does not go astray, nor does one’s resolution weaken.”

He used to say: “Everything has a place where it can be found. The place where the fear of God can be found is the hearts of those who are mindful, because they are mindful of God and fear Him in His commands and prohibitions.”

He wrote to his governor of Yemen: “Forsake what you reject as false, but take hold of what you know to be right, whatever it costs you. If it reaches us, God knows that [if] you deliver to me nothing more than a handful of dye, I shall be happy with that, provided that it is just.”

2336 Nayrūz (or Nawrūz) was the first day of the Persian solar year at the vernal equinox; Mihrajān, around the autumn equinox, was a Persian festival dedicated to Mithra/Mihr.

2337 Arabic *sukhar* (pl. of *sukhra*). Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v., records two meanings for the word, and it is not clear which is relevant here. It can refer either to a corvée, uncompensated labor (to which a landowner would be entitled) or simply a cash payment. Cf. also the glossary to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, s.v.

2338 Arabic *mulāqāt al-rijāl talaqqūh li-awliyā’ihim*. The sense is that it fecundates their intellect. The metaphor is taken from the practice of artificially fertilizing the flowers of a date palm using the male pollen-bearing spathe. Cf. the proverb cited in Lane, *Lexicon*, 7:2668: *al-naẓar fī ‘awāqib al-umūr talqīh al-‘uqūl*, “Consideration of the results of things is a means of fecundation of the intellects.”

Al-Zuhrī said: “One day I went to ʿUmar, and while I was with him a letter from a governor of his arrived, informing him that their city required repair. So I told him that one of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib’s governors had written similarly, and that ʿAlī had responded to him, saying, ‘Fortify it with justice, and cleanse its streets of injustice.’ So ʿUmar wrote that to his governor.”

ʿUmar dispatched workers to the mosque of Damascus to remove its marble, | mosaics, and gold, saying, “People are being distracted from their prayer by looking at it.” But when he was told that it served as a deception for the Enemy, he left it.<sup>2339</sup>

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He traveled to Khunāṣira,<sup>2340</sup> which is in the steppe on the fringes of the district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn, and resided there—he was loathe to reside in the residences that the members of his family had built with God’s money and the Muslims’ revenues (*fayʿ*). But people spoke to him about it, saying that his residing in the steppe was a hardship for the Muslims, so he left for Damascus and resided in his father’s house next to the mosque. He stayed there for twenty days, but was overwhelmed by the number of people, and so he made his way to Aleppo. Overwhelmed again by people, he set off for Ḥimṣ on his return journey, intending to stay there, but when he reached its outskirts, he grew ill. So he turned aside to a place called Dayr Samʿān<sup>2341</sup> and stopped there; it is also said that he went there on purpose, intending to settle, because he had inherited a piece of land there from his mother.

When he reached Dayr Samʿān, news reached him of the rebellion of Shawdhab the Khārijite,<sup>2342</sup> so he ordered that an army be dispatched against him. Shawdhab, for his part, dispatched two men to dispute with ʿUmar. They said to him, “You have done good deeds and fine works; what we disapprove of is your failure to curse members of your family and disavow them.” He replied, “Why must I curse them?” They replied, “Because they committed crimes and acts of disobedience, nothing else will do for you.” He then asked, “When have you ever cursed Pharoah?” “We cannot recall ever cursing him,” they replied. He said:

2339 Arabic *inna fīhi makīdatan lil-ʿadūw* (in it there is a deception/strategem/device for the enemy). The sense is that the splendor will serve to distract Satan, the enemy of mankind.

2340 Khunāṣira was an ancient site, about 60 km southeast of Aleppo and 100 km northeast of Ḥamāt; on the stronghold that ʿUmar constructed there, see the article by the editors in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khunāṣira*.

2341 Presumably the Dayr Samʿān (St. Simeon’s Monastery) located about 40 km northwest of Aleppo; see the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dayr Samʿān*.

2342 Arabic *al-ḥarūrī*. Shawdhab (also called Bistām) al-Yashkurī was a member of the Khārijite sect called Ṣufriyya. See the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṣufriyya*.

“How then is it permissible for you to fail to curse him, when he was a person who committed crimes and acts of disobedience? You are people who have desired something but missed the mark. You mean well and your preaching is compelling, but your power is weak.” So one of the men came over to him; the other left.

2:369 Abū l-Ṭufayl ‘Āmir b. Wāthila,<sup>2343</sup> who was one of ‘Alī’s partisans, came to ‘Umar, asking why he had withdrawn his stipend. He said, “I have been told that you have polished your sword, | sharpened your spear, tipped your arrows, and shouldered<sup>2344</sup> your bow, waiting for the Imam who is to rise up, until he comes forth; when he does, he will deliver you your stipend.”<sup>2345</sup> He replied, “God will ask you about this.” ‘Umar was abashed by this and granted him his stipend.

Rayṭa bt. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī had been married to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who died leaving her a widow. Later, al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik married her, but he divorced her before consummating the marriage. So Muḥammad b. ‘Alī,<sup>2346</sup> who was on his way to the summer campaign, came to ‘Umar and asked for her hand, saying: “My cousin<sup>2347</sup> was married to your family. If you permit, I will marry her.” ‘Umar replied, “Who will come between you and her, when she can take care of herself?” So he married her, and consummated the marriage with her in the house of Ṭalḥa b. Mālīk al-Ṭā’ī in the outskirts of Qinnasrīn, where she became pregnant with Abū l-‘Abbās.

At the beginning of year 100,<sup>2348</sup> Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās sent Maysara Abū Riyāḥ to Iraq, and he sent Muḥammad b. Khunays, Abū ‘Ikrima al-Sarrāj, and Ḥayyān al-‘Aṭṭār to Khurāsān, which was being governed

2343 He has been mentioned briefly above, ed. Leiden, 2:254, as “a companion of ‘Alī who transmitted knowledge from him.”

2344 Reading *allaqta* with M; ed. Leiden, *ghallafta* (sheathed).

2345 ‘Umar is accusing Abū l-Ṭufayl of believing in *raja’a* (return) the doctrine held by some Shī’ite groups that one or more of the Imams—‘Alī, al-Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya are mentioned—would return to earth. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Radj’a.

2346 That is, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, to whom Abū Hāshim ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is reported to have bequeathed the leadership of the Shī’a. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:356–357. His son by Rayṭa, Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, will become the first ‘Abbāsīd caliph, surnamed al-Saffāḥ.

2347 The Arabic specifies “my mother’s sister’s daughter.”

2348 100 A.H. = August 3, 718 – July 23, 719.



by al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥakamī, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's governor. There they met with certain people and then left, having sown seeds.<sup>2349</sup>

ʿUmar's ruled for 30 months. The person who exercised most influence upon him was Rajā' b. Ḥaywa al-Kindī. The commander of his security force (*shurṭa*) was Rawḥ b. Yazīd al-Saksakī, his client.

He died with six nights remaining in Rajab of the year 101,<sup>2350</sup> at the age of 39. He was brown-skinned, with a slender face, a fine beard, sunken eyes, and callused on his forehead.<sup>2351</sup> He had appointed as successor Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. It has been said, however, that Sulaymān had appointed him to succeed ʿUmar, and that nearing his death, ʿUmar had said, "If | the matter were up to me, I would appoint Maymūn b. Mihrān or<sup>2352</sup> al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad." Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik led the prayers at his funeral. He was buried at Dayr Samʿān. It is also said that members of his family<sup>2353</sup> poisoned him for fear that the caliphate might pass from them.<sup>2354</sup>

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Two nights before ʿUmar's death, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab fled and reached Basra. There the governor, ʿAdī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī, had seized and imprisoned his family. ʿUmar dispatched messengers to track him down, but he escaped them.

ʿUmar left nine sons: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿAbdallāh, ʿUbaydallāh, Zayd, Maslama, ʿUthmān, Sulaymān, ʿĀsim, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his reign were:

- in the year 99: Abū Bakr [b.] Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm;
- in the year 100: Abū Bakr again.

<sup>2349</sup> That is, for the ʿAbbāsīd revolution.

<sup>2350</sup> That is, the 24th day of the month, corresponding to February 9, 720 (one day before the first date given in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1361).

<sup>2351</sup> From much prostration in prayer.

<sup>2352</sup> Reading with M, *aw*; ed. Leiden reads *wa-* (and) but suggests emending it to *aw* in a note.

<sup>2353</sup> Following ed. Leiden, [*ahl*] *baytihi*; but in M the word that Houtsma read as *baytihi* (necessitating the addition of the word *ahl*, which is not in the MSS) is completely undotted and could stand for *banihi* (his sons), which may be the correct reading.

<sup>2354</sup> This report, introduced by *qīla* (it has been said), follows logically from the previous report (also introduced by *qīla*) that ʿUmar would have preferred designating Maymūn b. Mihrān (a leading jurist in the Jazīra and a tax-collector for ʿUmar; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:2554, trans. Ella Landau-Tasseron, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIX, 322, n. 1491) or al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, the grandson of the first caliph, neither of whom was a member of the Umayyad family.

During his rule, the summer campaign was led in 99 by ‘Amr b. Qays al-Kindī.  
The learned men during his days were:

- Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit,
- Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [b.] Ḥāṭib,<sup>2355</sup>
- Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān,
- Sālīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr,
- ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd,<sup>2356</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraṣī,<sup>2357</sup>
- ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda,<sup>2358</sup>
- Nāfi‘, the client of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,<sup>2359</sup>
- Sa‘īd b. Yasār,<sup>2360</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī,<sup>2361</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Dīnār,<sup>2362</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī,
- ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr [b.] Muḥammad b. ‘Amr,<sup>2363</sup>
- ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ,<sup>2364</sup>
- Muḥāhid b. Jabr,<sup>2365</sup>

2355 Died 104/722–723; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:249–250.

2356 ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd al-Hudhalī, one of the “Seven Jurists of Medina,” is said to have been a teacher of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in Medina. Beside being a collector of traditions, he was a poet (the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* devotes a chapter to him). See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḳāḥā’ al-Madīna al-Sab’a.

2357 Muḥammad b. Ka‘b b. Sulaym al-Quraṣī (d. 118/736) is said to have written a commentary on the Qur’ān and historical books. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:32.

2358 ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda al-Madanī (d. 120/737) was known as an expert on the Prophet’s military campaigns (*maghāzī*). He is said to have taught in the Mosque of Damascus at the command of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:279–280.

2359 A major transmitter of ḥadīth from ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, he lived in Medina and died sometime between 117/735 and 120/738. See the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nāfi‘.

2360 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2496, Sa‘īd b. Yasār Abū l-Ḥubāb was a client of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. He lived in Medina, where he died in 117/735.

2361 Died c. 120/738; he was the grandson of an Emigrant. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:5–7.

2362 Died 127/744; biography in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:201.

2363 A Medinan scholar of history and ḥadīth, d. 130/747; see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:284.

2364 A prominent Meccan jurist, d. 114/732 or 115/733. See the article by Harald Motzki in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ.

2365 The MSS read Jubayr, but Muḥāhid b. Jabr is the normal form of the name. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:350.

- ʿIkrima, the client of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās,
- ʿĀmir b. | Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī, 2:371
- Sālim b. Abī l-Jaʿd,
- Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit,<sup>2366</sup>
- ʿAbd al-Malik b. Maysara al-Hilālī,<sup>2367</sup>
- Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī,
- Al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,
- Muḥammad b. Sīrīn,
- Abū Qilāba ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd,
- Muwarriq al-ʿIjlī,
- ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yaʿlā al-Laythī,<sup>2368</sup>
- Zayd b. Nawfal,
- ʿAlqama b. ʿAbdallāh al-Muzanī Abū Ḥāzim,<sup>2369</sup>
- Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywa,
- Makḥūl al-Dimashqī,<sup>2370</sup>
- Rāshid b. Saʿd al-Muqriʾ (the Reader),
- Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb al-Muḥāribī,<sup>2371</sup>
- Maymūn b. Mihrān,<sup>2372</sup>
- Yazīd [b.] al-Aṣamm,<sup>2373</sup>
- Abū Qabīl al-Maʿāfirī,<sup>2374</sup>
- Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī.<sup>2375</sup>

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- 2366 A Kufan transmitter of ḥadīth, d. 119/773; see Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:178–180.
- 2367 Listed by Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 351, under the year 120/738 as having died during the governorship of Khālīd al-Qasrī in Iraq.
- 2368 Mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1438, 1461, as being in charge of the judiciary in Basra in 103/721–722 and in 104/722–723.
- 2369 Died 100/718; see Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:275.
- 2370 Makḥūl b. Abī Muslim Shuhrāb al-Dimashqī, was a transmitter of ḥadīth and a jurist. The date of his death is given either as 112/730 or 119/737. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:404.
- 2371 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1266, he was appointed chief judge of Damascus by al-Walīd in 94/712–713. According to Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, 3:210–212, he also served as judge over Ḥimṣ for ʿAbd al-Malik as well as serving under ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Hishām.
- 2372 A jurist who held various offices and was close to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He settled in the town of Raqqa in the Jazīra, where he died in 117/735–736. See the article by F. M. Donner in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maymūn b. Mihrān, Abū Ayyūb.
- 2373 Died between 101 and 104 (between 719 and 723); see Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:313–314.
- 2374 Abū Qabīl Ḥuyayy b. Hānīʾ b. Nāḍir al-Maʿāfirī was a collector and transmitter of historical reports concerning Egypt. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:341.
- 2375 Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān al-Yamānī died c. 106/724–725; see the biography in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:2487–2488; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:8–10.

### The Days of Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān came to rule.<sup>2376</sup> His mother, ‘Ātika bt. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, was closely related to ten Umayyad caliphs: Mu‘āwiya, her grandfather; Yazīd, her father; Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, her husband’s father;<sup>2377</sup> al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd, and Hishām, the sons of ‘Abd al-Malik, all<sup>2378</sup> sons of her husband; Yazīd, her son; al-Walīd b. Yazīd, her grandson; and Yazīd b. al-Walīd, her husband’s grandson.

His rule began in Rajab of the year 101, when the Sun was 21° 20’ in Aquarius, the Moon 4° 30’ in Capricorn, Saturn 29° 30’ in Scorpio, Jupiter 14° 20’ | in Taurus, Mars 3° 40’ in Libra, Venus 15° 10’ in Pisces, Mercury 15° 40’ in Capricorn, and the Ascending Node 7° 20’ in Taurus.

Yazīd dismissed all of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s governors. He wrote to ‘Adī b. Artāt, ordering him to seize Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, so he did battle with him inside Basra in the month of Ramaḍān.<sup>2379</sup> But Yazīd defeated and captured him, and took him in chains to Wāsiṭ, where he imprisoned him, along with others who had been with him. Yazīd (b. al-Muhallab) thus took control of Basra and its adjacent districts. Having put Marwān b. al-Muhallab in charge of Basra, he departed for Kufa. Yazīd (b. ‘Abd al-Malik) dispatched Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik and al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd against him. Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik set out and, having reached Iraq, began to say, “I fear that Ibn al-Muhallab will wear us out,<sup>2380</sup> fleeing so that we have to pursue him.” Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī,<sup>2381</sup> who was with him, said, “Commander, that’s not true.” “Why?” he asked. He said: “I heard him say: ‘Woe to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath! Granted that he conquered Basra, did he conquer patience? What harm would it have done him if he had thrown the edge of his robe over his face and advanced until he was killed?’” Maslama then said, “How likely it is that he will stand

2376 Often called Yazīd II, to distinguish him from Yazīd (I) b. Mu‘āwiya. See the article by H. Lammens and Kh. Y. Blankinship in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yazīd (II) b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

2377 Reading with M, *abū zawjihā*; ed. Leiden omits *abū*, yielding “Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, her husband,” which is incorrect.

2378 Reading with M: *sawā’an*; the word is omitted in ed. Leiden.

2379 Cf. the more detailed parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1379 ff.; also al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:34–37 (§ 2206–2209).

2380 Reading with M, *an yut‘ibanā*; ed. Leiden reads *an yata‘ayyā* (that he will become difficult).

2381 Perhaps to be identified with Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, who appears as the standard bearer of the Syrian army in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1402 (trans. Powers, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiv, 135).

his ground!" So the two met in Maskin<sup>2382</sup> and fought fiercely—Yazīd (b. al-Muhallab) was suffering from a grave stomach malady and Maslama used to call him "the yellow locust."<sup>2383</sup> He stood his ground until he was killed, this being in year 102.

Now Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was in Wāsiṭ, and when the news of his father reached him, he took out ʿAdī b. Arṭāt and those with him | and executed them. He set off in a boat with his kinsmen and supporters and made his way to Qandābil<sup>2384</sup> in al-Sind, where they were overtaken by Hilāl b. Aḥwaz al-Māzinī, who had been sent by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Muʿāwiya was killed, along with all of those with him, except for a few whom Hilāl took captive and sent on Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who killed them in Damascus; among them was ʿUthmān b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab. Hilāl also sent him fifty of the Muhallabids' women, and Yazīd imprisoned them in Damascus.

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Maslama sent Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz<sup>2385</sup> to govern Khurāsān, and the latter headed for Soghdia, battled the Soghdians fiercely, and made Samarqand his base. Then the Queen of Farghāna came to him and said, "If you pledge not to send an army against me, I will show you something that will lead you to victory." When he granted her wish, she said: "The Soghdians have evacuated their land and have settled in Khujanda."<sup>2386</sup> They have asked us to let them into our lands until either they enter into a peace treaty with the Arabs or whatever else happens. They have no food, drink, or preparations for a siege in Khujanda. If you want them, now is the time." So Saʿīd b. [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz] sent Sawra b. al-Ḥurr al-Dārimī, commanding the cavalry; then (Saʿīd) himself joined them and besieged them in the city. When they began to fear for their lives, they sued for

2382 It is not clear whether this is the Maskin that lies on the Dujayl (Kārūn) River or the Maskin that lay to the north of the future site of Baghdad on the Dujayl (Canal).

2383 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1398 (trans. Powers, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiv, 130) and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 4:34 (§ 2206), where it is Yazīd b. al-Muhallab who calls Maslama "the yellow locust," among other colorful expressions he uses to pour contempt on the Syrians. The text of al-Yaʿqūbī may have been disturbed; it would be easy to emend to give the translation, "and he (sc. Yazīb b. al-Muhallab) used to call Maslama 'the yellow locust.'"

2384 Qandābil is the modern Gandava in northeastern Baluchistān in modern Pakistan. See the article by N. A. Baloch in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qandābil; and W. Barthold, *Historical Geography of Iran*, 75.

2385 Parallel, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1417 ff.

2386 Parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1439 ff. On Khujand or Khujanda, a town on the Sir Darya (the ancient Jaxartes) river at the entrance to the Farghāna valley in modern Tajikistan, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khudjand(a).

2:374 peace on terms that they would return to their lands. He said, "Provided that every last one of you leaves." Then he dug a trench for them and told them to leave. They all did, except a man named Julayḥ, who afterward came out armed and attacked the Muslims with some men. Saʿīd and the Muslims fought back, massacring them. Saʿīd blocked up the trench (with their bodies),<sup>2387</sup> took their children captive, and took unprecedented amounts of plunder. |

In this year, after hostilities with Ibn al-Muhallab ended and they<sup>2388</sup> had been killed, Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik made ʿUmar b. Hubayra governor of Iraq in place of Maslama. ʿUmar met a group of members of the al-Muhallab family whom Maslama had sent in chains, and he said to the messengers (accompanying them), "Return them."<sup>2389</sup> When they refused, he said, "Maslama, on the day he sent you, was your commander [...]."<sup>2390</sup> So they returned them with him. He then wrote a favourable letter to Yazīd regarding them, saying that an approach<sup>2391</sup> to them should include their men generally. But Yazīd responded, saying: "You bastard! What business is this of yours?" He then wrote back, "I have no kinship ties to them; I only wanted to counsel the Commander of the Faithful to placate their kinsmen so that their hearts remain true and their loyalty intact." Yazīd wrote to him, "May God bless you with their love, if that is what you want!"

ʿUmar b. Hubayra confirmed Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as governor of Khurāsān, and the latter discovered messengers belonging to Abū [Riyāḥ] Maysara, the propagandist<sup>2392</sup> on behalf of the Banū Hāshim, dressed up as merchants. He was told that they were propagandists,<sup>2393</sup> so he summoned them and asked them what they were doing. When they replied that they were merchants, he freed them, and they left Khurāsān. Then Yazīd b. Jurhum,<sup>2394</sup> the propagandist,

2387 Reading *kabasha*, for MSS undotted *kabasa*: WKAS cites this passage for *k-b-sh*.

2388 That is, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and his supporters.

2389 That is, free them.

2390 There is a lacuna, with a blank space in the MSS. The context implies something like, "but now he has been removed from the governorship."

2391 Arabic *ṣanʿa*, in the sense of 'favor'; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., and Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 82f.

2392 Arabic *dāʿiya*, an intensive form meaning "someone who calls to, or makes propaganda for a cause," in this case the ʿAbbāsīd *daʿwa*. Parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:1434.

2393 Reading with M, *innahum duʿāt*; ed. Leiden reads *innahu daʿāhum* (that he had summoned them).

2394 An otherwise unattested name. *Yazīd ibn* is clearly written in M, undotted in C. *Jurhum* is undotted in M; in C it is also undotted, and has been run together with two undotted letters that Housma surmised were a miscopying of *b-n* (*ibn*).

appeared. When ʿUmar b. Hubayra heard the news, he dismissed Saʿīd, and appointed Muslim b. Saʿīd al-Kilābī to be governor of Khurāsān. He went to Khurāsān and led campaigns that led to nothing, and when he made his way back from Farghāna, the Turks and Farghānīs followed in pursuit and fought him fiercely. Now Muslim had appointed Naṣr b. Sayyār<sup>2395</sup> governor of Balkh, and he wrote to him, asking him to reinforce him with foot soldiers and to rally the people to his aid. Naṣr b. Sayyār called on them to do so, but they refused | and fought him. The battle that took place between them and Naṣr is called the Battle of al-Barūqān.<sup>2396</sup> 2:375

Yazīd appointed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri as governor of Medina, and he wrote to him, ordering him to adjudicate between ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murri and Abū Bakr [b.] ʿAmr b. Ḥazm on the matter of the two *ḥadd* floggings<sup>2397</sup> that Abū Bakr had inflicted on ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān: if he found that Abū Bakr had flogged him unjustly, he was to retaliate for ʿUthmān against Abū Bakr; which he did: he went for Abū Bakr and flogged him with two *ḥadd* punishments in retaliation for his flogging of ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān proposed marriage to Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn b. [ʿAlī], and sent word to her, swearing by God that if she did not agree, he would flog the eldest of her children.<sup>2398</sup> She then wrote to Yazīd, and when he read the letter, he fell out of his bed and said: “This son of a cupper has reached the heights of outrage! Who is a man who will make me, here on this very bed of mine, hear his being flogged?” So he wrote to ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bishr al-Naḍri, who was in al-Ṭāʾif, appointing him governor of Medina: he was to demand 40,000 dinars from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and to torture him so that he made Yazīd hear the sound of his flogging; which he did. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was (later) seen with a wool rag hanging from his neck, begging from people.

Yazīd dispatched al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥakamī to campaign against the Turks, and in the year 104 he conquered Balanjar and took a large number

2395 On the career of Naṣr b. Sayyār, later to serve as the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Naṣr b. Sayyār.

2396 After al-Barūqān, which originally served as the Arabs' garrison near Balkh, which lay about 12 km away.

2397 The *ḥadd* is a 'right' or 'claim' of God, and applies to acts such as fornication, false accusation of fornication, the drinking of wine, theft, and highway robbery for which the Qurʾān specifies punishment. The incident has been narrated above, ed. Leiden, 2:353; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:1281–1282, 1374–1375.

2398 Parallel with more details in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:1449–1452.

2:376 of captives.<sup>2399</sup> He got as far as the Rübās River,<sup>2400</sup> then he marched as far as the Rān River. He engaged in battle the Khāqān's son, the leader of the Khazars,<sup>2401</sup> | He fought and defeated him, killed his soldiers and took many captives. Having conquered Balanjar, he set off and began to descend on town after town, pursuing Khāqān, the king of the Khazars, until he reached the Dabīl River<sup>2402</sup> in the province of Azerbaijan. There they fought, and al-Jarrāḥ and all his men were killed.

Having been appointed governor of Ifrīqiya, Yazīd b. Abī Muslim went there, where ‘Abdallāh b. Mūsā al-Lakhmī was imprisoned, and said to him, “Out of your own money, pay the army their stipends owed to them for five years.” When he answered that he could not, Yazīd imprisoned him again, and seized Mūsā b. Nuṣayr’s clients, tattooed their wrists, and returned them to slavery, making most of them serve in his personal guard. Then one of them, a young slave called Jarīr, assaulted him: he went in while Yazīd was eating grapes and killed him. When the news reached Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, he appointed Bishr b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī, who remained governor of the province for the rest of Yazīd’s reign.<sup>2403</sup>

Yazīd wrote to ‘Umar b. Hubayra, who was governor of Iraq, ordering him to survey the Sawād,<sup>2404</sup> which he did in the year 105<sup>2405</sup>—the Sawād had not been surveyed since ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf had surveyed it in the time of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb until ‘Umar b. Hubayra surveyed it. He levied (taxes) on date palms and other trees, causing harm to the people who paid the land-tax (*kharāj*). He also levied taxes on the land owned by absentee landlords and reinstated (the giving of) cash and gifts and what used to be taken at the festivals of Nayrūz and Mihrajān. The survey that is followed is the survey of Ibn Hubayra.

Yazīd had made Hishām<sup>2406</sup> his heir-apparent, but then he decided to have allegiance sworn to his own son al-Walīd as heir-apparent—Hishām was in the

2399 104 A.H. = June 21, 722 – June 9, 723. On unsuccessful earlier attempts (in 22/642 and 32/652) to take this city in the eastern Caucasus, see al-Ya‘qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:180, 195.

2400 The Rübās runs into the Caspian Sea just south of Darband.

2401 The Khazars were a Turkic people who, by the middle of the seventh century, had gained hegemony on the steppe north of the Caucasus. See the article by W. Barthold in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khazar*.

2402 Presumably the Araxes, on which the town of Dwin (Arabic, Dabīl) was located. See the article by M. Canard in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dwin*.

2403 Cf. the somewhat different report of the death of Yazīd b. Abī Muslim in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1435.

2404 That is, for purposes of taxation.

2405 105 A.H. = June 10, 723 – May 28, 724.

2406 Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik was Yazīd’s half-brother.



Jazīra at the time. Yazīd therefore dispatched Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, who was to persuade Hishām to abdicate in exchange for receiving the Jazīra as a lifetime grant (*tuʿma*). Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh said: | “I came to him, and when I mentioned it to him he was quick to respond. I said to him, ‘Listen! If you ask me for advice and promise me that you will keep my role secret, I will advise you.’ He said, ‘I do ask your advice, and you have an oath before God that I will keep your role secret.’ So I said, ‘In just a few days the Jazīra will become one of your tax districts.’ ‘How, God preserve you, from Yazīd?’ he exclaimed. ‘Leave it to me,’ I said. He said, ‘Do what you think is best, and it will earn you my gratitude.’ I then went back to Yazīd and said: ‘Commander of the faithful! I went to a difficult man. I beg you by God not to stir up enmity and evil between the two of you, and thus pave the way for people to attack you and disagree about you. Do make al-Walīd heir-apparent, but only in succession to your brother.’ He agreed to this and did it.” Hishām remained grateful to Khālīd for this until he acceded to the caliphate, at which time he made him governor of Iraq.

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The person who exercised the most influence upon Yazīd was Saʿīd b. Khālīd b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. The chief of his security force (*shurṭa*) was Kaʿb b. Ḥamid al-ʿAbsī, and Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha al-Saksakī commanded his personal guard (*ḥaras*). His chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was Khālīd, his client.

He ruled for four years, and he died with four nights remaining in Shaʿbān of the year 105 at the age of 37.<sup>2407</sup> Al-Walīd b. Yazīd led the prayers at his funeral, and he was buried in al-Balqāʾ in the district of Damascus. He left ten sons: al-Walīd, Yaḥyā, Muḥammad, al-Ghamr, Sulaymān, ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Dāwūd, Abū Sulaymān, al-ʿAwwām, and Hāshim.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his reign were:

- in the year 101: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays;
- in the year 102: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, again;
- in the year 103: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, again;
- in the year 104: ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bishr al-Naḍrī. |

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Those who led the campaigns during his reign were:

- in the year 102: al-Walīd b. Hishām,<sup>2408</sup> who campaigned in Byzantine territory<sup>2409</sup> and encamped at the ford near Antioch. ʿUmar b. Hubayra engaged the Byzantines in Armenia Quarta, defeated them, and took 700 captives.

<sup>2407</sup> January 29, 724.

<sup>2408</sup> He is al-Walīd b. Hishām al-Muʿayṭī; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1349.

<sup>2409</sup> M adds the words “in Armenia,” but there appears to be a deleting stroke through them.

- in the year 103: al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, campaigned. Soldiers were attacked in raiding parties, and the Turks attacked the land of the Alān.<sup>2410</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Kalbī and ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murī campaigned, laying siege to a fort that they subsequently conquered.
- in the year 104: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Kalbī, led the eastern summer campaign, and ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murī the western.
- in the year 105: Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān campaigned and then returned and campaigned in the Turkish front, reaching the fortified enclosure of Qaṭan [b. Qutayba].<sup>2411</sup> Al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī raided Bāb al-Lān,<sup>2412</sup> and then exited the pass.

The learned men during his reign were:

- Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥaṭīb,
- Sālīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr,
- Muḥammad b. [Muslim b.] Shihāb al-Zuhrī,
- Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraṣī,
- ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda,
- Nāfi‘, the client of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,
- Sa‘īd b. Yasār,
- Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī,
- ‘Abdallāh b. Dīnār,
- ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad [b. ‘Amr] b. Ḥazm,
- Ṭawūs al-Yamānī,
- ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ,
- Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit,
- ‘Abd al-Malik b. Maysara,
- Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī.

<sup>2410</sup> An Iranian people of the northern Caucasus; see the article by W. Barthold and V. Minorsky in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Alān.

<sup>2411</sup> Inferred from al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1512 (trans. Blankinship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxv, 50); Qaṭan was a sub-governor of Junayd’s (see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 137, and below).

<sup>2412</sup> The Gate of the Alāns: the Dariel pass in the mid-Caucasus. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bāb al-Lān.

### The Days of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān

Then Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose mother was Umm Hishām, the daughter | of Hishām b. Ismāʿīl b. Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, began to rule.<sup>2413</sup> He acceded to the caliphate when he was in a village called al-Zaytūna<sup>2414</sup> in the Jazīra: the postal messenger came and greeted him as caliph, so he rode out of al-Ruṣāfa,<sup>2415</sup> arriving in Damascus in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 105, which is Kānūn in the months of the non-Arabs.<sup>2416</sup> The Sun was 6° 58' in Aquarius, the Moon 7° 9' in Sagittarius, Jupiter 6° 50' in Libra, retrograde, Mars 21° 39' in Scorpio, Venus 20° 3' in Sagittarius, Mercury 21° 20' in Aquarius, and the Ascending Node 20° 20' in Aquarius.

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He appointed Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī governor of Iraq, returning the favor that he owed him. Hishām had written to al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,<sup>2417</sup> ordering him to exchange letters with Khālīd, and he did so.<sup>2418</sup> Al-Junayd's power in lands of al-Sind grew great, and he subjugated it, going as far as the land of al-Jurz,<sup>2419</sup> and then into the land of China. He summoned its king to convert to Islam, but the latter fought him. Al-Junayd held firm against him, and

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- 2413 For an overall treatment of his reign, see the article by F. Gabrieli in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hishām.
- 2414 The exact location is uncertain. The usual identification of it is the Umayyad palace at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, in the Syrian desert some 60 km south-southwest of Palmyra. See the article by N. Elisséeff in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī.
- 2415 Often called Ruṣāfat Hishām, or Ruṣāfat al-Shām, to distinguish it from other places of the same name, its ruins lie 30 km south of the Euphrates on the road from Ḥimṣ to al-Raḥba. See the article by C.-P. Haase in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ruṣāfa.
- 2416 As Nöldeke noted on p. 159 of his 1884 review of Houtsma's edition, there is a problem here. Ramaḍān 105 began on February 1, 724, while Kānūn is the Syriac name of two months in the Julian calendar: Kānūn I (December) and Kānūn II (January). Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1466, dates Hishām's accession to late in Shaʿbān, the month before Ramaḍān, which can be reconciled with a date in Kānūn II (late January).
- 2417 On the career of this Umayyad general and governor of Sind and later of Khurāsān, see the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djunayd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Murri (the name ʿAbd Allāh is incorrect), and Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 98.
- 2418 The Arabic is vague about the purpose of this exchange of letters. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 442, has the same wording. It seems to imply some sort of grant of authority to Khālīd over the Arab conquests in Sind. The wording of the report below, that it was Khālīd who eventually removed al-Junayd from his governorship, implies that al-Junayd was to serve at Khālīd's pleasure.
- 2419 Probably referring to the territory of the Gurjara dynasty with its capital at Kanawj (in modern Uttar Pradesh); see the article by M. Longworth Dames in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kanawdj.

then mounted an attack and bombarded his fort with naphtha and fire. When the king extinguished the fire, al-Junayd said, "There must be some Arabs in the fort; it was they who extinguished the fire." He kept fighting the king until the latter sued for peace. Junayd granted him a peace treaty and entered the city. He found two Arabs in it and executed them. Al-Junayd remained there for some days. Then he raided al-Kīraj;<sup>2420</sup> with him was King Ashandarābīd<sup>2421</sup> with his fighters. Al-Rāh, the king of al-Kīraj, fled, and al-Junayd conquered it | and took captives and booty. Now fully in charge, he sent his (tax) agents  
2:380 out to al-Marmadh, al-Mandal, Dahnaj, al-Burūṣ, Surast, al-Bilamān, al-Mālība, and other lands.<sup>2422</sup> Hishām wrote to him of his victory over the Byzantines, informing him that the Muslims had taken many captives and had plundered donkeys and cattle. Al-Junayd wrote back: "I have looked into my account book and have found that what God has granted me since I left the region of al-Sind amounts to 350,000<sup>2423</sup> captives. I carried away 80,000,000 dirhams, and distributed a like sum to the army several times over."

Al-Junayd stayed on for several years. Then Khālid replaced him with Tamīm b. Zayd al-ʿUtbi,<sup>2424</sup> who sent on (to Khālid) 18,000,000 Ṭaṭarī<sup>2425</sup> coins that al-Junayd had left behind in the treasury. However, Tamīm's authority was not firm: opposition to him among the land's people grew, warring increased, and the killing spread among his own men. So he left the country, heading for Iraq. Khālid then wrote to Hishām, requesting that he appoint al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwāna al-Kalbī<sup>2426</sup> as governor. By the time that al-Ḥakam arrived, the land of al-Hind had been overrun, aside from the people of Qaṣṣa,<sup>2427</sup> who said to him, "Build us a stronghold for the Muslims to take refuge in." So he built a citadel (*madīna*), which he named al-Maḥfūza.<sup>2428</sup> After fierce fighting, he drove out those who had overrun the land, and the country became calm and quiet. ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī had accompanied al-Ḥakam with a group

2420 For the problem of Kīraj's location, see Blankinship, *The End of the Jihad State*, 319, n. 78.

2421 The King of Kashmir, Chandrapīda; see Blankinship, *ibid*.

2422 For Junayd's campaigns in Rajasthan and Gujarat, see Blankinship, *The End of the Jihad State*, esp. 133.

2423 Following M; ed. Leiden, 650,000.

2424 A Syrian protégé of Khālid's; see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 148 (where Qaynī becomes ʿUtbi in al-Balādhurī; M has Qaysī).

2425 A Ṭaṭarī coin equalled the value of 1½ silver dirhams.

2426 Another of Khālid's men, and a former governor of Khurāsān; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 147.

2427 Kaccha, modern Cutch.

2428 The name means "The Protected."

of notables, and he remained with him in the land until Khālīd was dismissed and Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaqafī was appointed (in his stead).<sup>2429</sup>

Hishām appointed Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik over Armenia and Azerbaijan in | the year 107,<sup>2430</sup> and Maslama sent Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī to lead his vanguard.<sup>2431</sup> The latter engaged an army of Khazars, which had 10,000 Muslim prisoners. He fought and defeated the Khazars, killing most of them, and freed the prisoners. He did this time after time, killing the Khāqān's son and conquering several cities. However, when he sent the Khāqān's son's head to Hishām without Maslama's approval, Maslama was angered and wrote to him, reprimanding him and dismissing him, and replacing him with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muslim<sup>2432</sup> al-ʿUqaylī, whom he ordered to bind Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī and imprison him in a town called Qabala.<sup>2433</sup> Maslama arrived in the country, summoned al-Ḥarashī, insulted him, relieved him of his command, and sent him to the prison in Bardhaʿa. But Hishām wrote to Maslama reprimanding *him* for this and sending messengers of his, who released Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī from prison and brought him to Hishām.

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Maslama proceeded through Khazar lands until he reached Jurzān.<sup>2434</sup> He conquered it and killed its people. Then he went on to Sharwān, whose people made peace with him, then to Masqaṭ whose people sued him for peace. He sent his cavalry to the land of the Lakz,<sup>2435</sup> whose people sued him for peace, and wrote to Ṭabarsarān,<sup>2436</sup> whose people did likewise. He went through the region, meeting no opposition, until he reached Warthān, where he was met by Khāqān, the king of the Khazars.<sup>2437</sup> Maslama was accompanied by a group made up of kings of lands that he had conquered. He put Marwān

2429 This took place in 120/738 (in Jumādā I, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:1658); see al-Yaʿqūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:387–388, below.

2430 107 A.H. = May 19, 725 – May 7, 726.

2431 On Saʿīd, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 144 f.

2432 M reads Sulaym, but see Crone, *ibid.*, 106.

2433 Apparently in eastern Transcaucasia; see the article by V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shakkī*.

2434 Jurzān is generally taken to mean Georgia. However, the evidence of al-Yaʿqūbī, *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 364, where the text speaks of *madīnat Jurzān* (the city of Jurzān) as forming part of the third division of Armenia, implies that al-Yaʿqūbī took it to be the name of a city.

2435 A people of southern Dāghistān, also called Lezgins; see the article by W. Barthold in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dāghistān*.

2436 Ṭabarsarān is a district in the eastern Caucasus, the basin of the Rubās River, which runs into the Caspian just south of Derbend; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṭabarsarān*.

2437 For these campaigns, see Blankinship, *End of the Jihad State*, 123 ff.

b. Muḥammad<sup>2438</sup> in charge his vanguard, and the latter engaged the enemy and continued to fight them for days. At one point Marwān was missing, and Maslama was told that he had been killed, to which he replied, “By God, before he has been greeted as caliph? Never!” He conquered the greater part of the territory.

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[Hishām] dismissed Maslama and appointed Marwān b. | Muḥammad, who came to the fortress where the “King of the Throne” was.<sup>2439</sup> This was a golden throne that had been sent by one of the Persian kings; it is said that Anūshirwān had sent it to him, and so he was named for it. The king entered into a truce with Marwān, agreeing to give him 1,500 dark-haired male slaves.<sup>2440</sup> Marwān then headed for Tūmānshāh, whose king sued for peace. Then he entered the land of Zirikirān, whose king did the same. Then he went to Ḥamzīn, and made war against the people there, killing a large number of them. He conquered most of the country and gathered food into the citadel of al-Bāb, where he stayed.

Bishr b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī was governor of the Maghrib. When Hishām acceded to the throne, Bishr sent him huge sums of money and gifts, and Hishām therefore confirmed his appointment over Ifrīqiya, where he remained until he died. When Bishr b. Ṣafwān died,<sup>2441</sup> Hishām appointed ‘Ubayda b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qaysī governor of Ifrīqiya. He remained there, sending raiding parties on sea and taking much booty. He left to go to Hishām, taking great sums of money with him, along with 20,000 slaves, and asked to be relieved of his post. Hishām did this and appointed ‘Uqba b. Qudāma al-Tujībī in his place. The latter remained there only a short time before he was dismissed and ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb was appointed, who carried out many raids. [...] <sup>2442</sup>

2438 This is Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the grandson of Marwān I. After serving as governor in Armenia and later in Iraq, he succeeded to the caliphate in Ṣafar 127/December 744, and had the sad distinction of being the last Umayyad caliph. See the article by G. R. Hawting, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marwān II.

2439 Arabic *malik al-sarīr*. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 196–197, preserves the story of how the Sasanian Shāh Khusraw Anūshirwān (r. 531–579) constructed a defensive wall in the Caucasus and then assigned various districts to vassal kings. The Khāqān of the mountains, also called the Wahrāzān-Shāh, received a golden throne (the detail of its being made of gold is peculiar to al-Ya’qūbī). Confusingly, the district he ruled came to be called Sarīr, after the word for throne. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḳabḳ.

2440 The parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 208, describes the tribute as “500 male slaves and 500 female slaves with black-hair and eyebrows and long eyelashes every year.”

2441 In 109/727–728, according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 231.

2442 Although the text in M shows no sign of a lacuna and reads, “although some have said that it was Kulthūm b. ‘Iyāḍ b. Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī,” this is impossible, as the

Kulthūm b. ʿIyād was killed. [Then he appointed] Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī. By the time he arrived in Ifrīqiya, ʿUkkāsha b. Ayyūb al-Fazārī had overrun some districts, but Ḥanzala defeated him and remained there until the reign of Marwān b. Muḥammad.<sup>2443</sup>

In year 111,<sup>2444</sup> Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī and his companions in Khurāsān came out of hiding, making the call for the Banū Hāshim.<sup>2445</sup> Their call became public, and many people responded to it. Bukayr b. Māhān<sup>2446</sup> arrived; many answered his call (*daʿwa*) to depose the Banū Umayya and swear allegiance to the Banū Hāshim, and his supporters grew in number. When Bukayr b. Māhān was about to die, he appointed as his successor Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl.<sup>2447</sup> He wrote to this effect to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh, informing him that he favored Abū Salama. So Muḥammad confirmed him and wrote to his companions, ordering them to be loyal and obedient, and they all acknowledged him. Now Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh had appointed his brother Asad b. ʿAbdallāh governor of Khurāsān, and when news of them<sup>2448</sup> reached him, he arrested a group of them, cut off their arms and legs, and crucified them. They therefore remained fearful until Asad died and Jaʿfar b. Ḥanzala al-Bahrānī was appointed governor of Khurāsān.

Yazīd b. al-Gharīf al-Hamdānī was appointed governor of Sijistān. When he arrived there, he comported himself badly and sinned openly. He therefore was killed by some Khārijites, who took him by surprise while he was sitting in his assembly. He was attended by five hundred fully armed men and the Khārijites were only five in number, but one of them came forward and struck him with a sword, killing him. The soldiers rushed at them and killed them, but not before they had killed several soldiers. When the news reached Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh, he appointed al-Aṣḥab b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kalbī, who set out in the winter for al-

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parallel sources (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 231–232, and Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 354–355) agree that Kulthūm b. ʿIyād and Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān were two successive governors, that Kulthūm was killed (read *qutila* with ed. Leiden, for *M qila*), and that Ḥanzala succeeded him and defeated ʿUkkāsha, a leader of the Ṣufriyya sect of Khārijites.

2443 On ʿUkkāsha's rebellion, see Blankinship, *End of the Jihad State*, 214 f., also the article by R. Basset in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān.

2444 111 A.H. = April 5, 729 – March 25, 730.

2445 See the article by Patricia Crone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sulaymān b. Kathīr.

2446 On Bukayr b. Māhān (d. 126/744), one of the most important leaders of the Hāshimiyya in Kufa, see the article in *ET*<sup>3</sup> by Saleh Said Agha, s.v. Bukayr b. Māhān.

2447 On Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl, the director of the ʿAbbāsīd *daʿwa* in Kufa, see the article by Elton L. Daniel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl.

2448 That is, the ʿAbbāsīd propagandists.

2:384 Nih,<sup>2449</sup> enrolling people on the campaign. But a local elder named ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir came to him and said, “Commander, this is no time for raiding.” He replied, “I know better than you when it is time to raid,” and went ahead. When he had come to the head of one of the mountain passes, ‘Amr b. Bujayr came up to him and said: “God make the commander prosper! This is no time to enter this pass.” He answered, “Had I punished yesterday’s loud mouth, | I shouldn’t have heard this today.” So he plunged into the pass, but once he had pushed into it, the enemy hemmed him in, closed in, and massacred the entire force; no one survived. When news reached Khālīd of the killing of al-Aṣṣāḥ and the Muslims who had been with him, he appointed as governor ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Burda b. Abī Musā, who stayed there for the duration of Khālīd’s term.

### The Death of Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī<sup>2450</sup>

Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was Umm ‘Abdallāh, the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, died in 117<sup>2451</sup> at the age of 58. He himself said, “My grandfather al-Ḥusayn was killed when I was four, and I remember his being killed and what befell us at that time.”<sup>2452</sup> He was called Abū Ja‘far al-Bāqir because he diligently sought knowledge.<sup>2453</sup>

Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī said:<sup>2454</sup> “The Messenger of God said to me, ‘You will live long enough to see from among my progeny a man who resembles me more than anyone else and who is named after me; when you see him, you will have no doubt that it is he; greet him on my behalf.’” When Jābir grew old and

2449 West of Lake Zarah, between Sijistān and Qūhistān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 340; M has al-Tih.

2450 Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the fifth Imam according to the Imāmī and Ismā‘īlī Shī‘a; see the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, Abū Dja‘far, called al-Bāqir.

2451 117 A.H. = January 31, 735 – January 19, 736.

2452 This would place his birth four years before 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680, implying that he was about 60 years old at his death.

2453 Arabic *baqara l-ilm*, explaining the name *al-Bāqir*. The meaning “search diligently” is rare for Arabic *baqara*, which normally means “rip open,” but regular for its Aramaic cognate.

2454 As a young boy, Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh (already mentioned by al-Ya‘qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:231, 265, 325) accompanied his father, one of the 70 who swore allegiance to Muḥammad at the second pledge of al-‘Aqaba. As Jābir died in 78/697, he could have lived to see the young al-Bāqir. See the article by M. J. Kister in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dja‘bir b. ‘Abd Allāh.



feared death, he took to saying, “O Bāqir, O Bāqir, where are you?” Finally he saw him, and threw himself at his feet, kissing his hands and feet and saying: “By my father and mother! The likeness of his forefather, the Messenger of God! Your forefather sends you his greeting.”

Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī<sup>2455</sup> said: “I heard Muḥammad b. ʿAlī say, ‘God, may He be glorified and exalted, says: “If My servant makes his concern for Me a sole concern, I will set riches within his soul, remove poverty from before his eyes, satisfy his every need, and decree for him a commerce more profitable than the commerce of every trader. But if he makes his concern for Me a divided concern, I will set his preoccupation in his heart and his want before his eyes; I will scatter his affairs | and leave him to his own devices, heedless of whatever 2:385  
vale of this world he perishes in.”’”

Somebody once asked Muḥammad, “Do you know anything better than gold?” He answered, “Yes; its Giver.”

He said: “Have fortitude during hard times, do not ignore obligations, and do not give away to anyone anything whose harm to you will outweigh its benefits to him.”

He said: “To see one’s enemy disobey God—that is help enough from God.”

He said: “The worst father is one whose beneficence drives him to excess, and the worst son is one whom parsimony drives to disobedience.”

When Abū Jaʿfar was asked about the words of God, may He be glorified and exalted, *And speak good to men*,<sup>2456</sup> he replied, “Say to them the best that you would want said to you.” Then he said, “God, may He be glorified and exalted, hates those who constantly curse, malign, impugn, cause outrage, speak obscenely, and beg; but He loves those who are modest, gentle, abstemious, and chaste.”

He also said, “If I fasted all day without eating, and prayed all night without ceasing, and spent my wealth for God’s sake, coin by coin, but my heart were empty of love for His friends and hatred for His enemies, all of that would be of no use to me.”

He had five sons: Abū ʿAbdallāh, Jaʿfar, ʿAbdallāh, Ibrāhīm, ʿUbaydallāh, who died young, and ʿAlī, who also died young.

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<sup>2455</sup> Sic ed. Leiden. M has al-Yamānī, but Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī is well known in Shīʿite tradition, with a commentary to his name; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*.

<sup>2456</sup> Qurʾān 2:83.

‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib died in year 118.<sup>2457</sup> He was born in the night preceding the day on which ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed, and he died in al-ljhīr,<sup>2458</sup> between al-Ḥumayma and Adhruḥ in the district of Damascus, at the age of 78. His mother was Zur‘a bt. Mishraḥ b. Ma’dikarib, one of the four kings of Kinda. He was a man of wealth, virtue, and honor.

2:386 As for what he transmitted from his father—he said: “I heard my father say, ‘He whose soul overpowers him into doing what it wants | will not make it desire what he wants.’”

He said: “I heard my father say, ‘People lived together in piety (*taqwā*) for a time. Then that came to an end, and they lived together in manliness (*murūwwa*). Then that came to an end, and they lived together in shame (*ḥayā*). Then that came to an end, and the veil was torn open.’ And he used to say: ‘The noble man softens when a plea is made to him, and the base man becomes harsh when treated kindly.’”

He said: “The soul’s relinquishing its desire for what others possess is better than its giving extravagantly.”

“Contentment is the pleasure of life, and satisfaction with one’s lot is greater than the manliness (*murūwwa*) of generosity.”

“He who keeps his soul safe from four things—haste, stubbornness, pride, and indolence—is unlikely to have what befalls others befall him.”

‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās had twenty-two sons: Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, whose mother was al-‘Āliya bt. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abbās; Dāwūd and ‘Īsā, both by a concubine; Sulaymān and Ṣāliḥ, by a concubine; Aḥmad, Bishr, Mubashshir, Ismā‘īl, and ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, by concubines;<sup>2459</sup> ‘Abdallāh the Elder, whose mother was Umm Abihā bt. ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib, and who left no progeny; ‘Ubaydallāh, whose mother was *So-and-so*<sup>2460</sup> daughter of al-Ḥarīsh; and ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Uthmān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Abdallāh the Younger,<sup>2461</sup> Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Ya‘qūb, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Ismā‘īl the Younger, and ‘Abdallāh the Midmost al-Aḥnaf,<sup>2462</sup> by various concubines.

2457 On ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās, the grandfather of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, see the article by Moshe Sharon in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās. 118 A.H. = January 20, 736 – January 7, 737.

2458 Sic M, but such a place is otherwise unknown.

2459 In the list of children of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh given by al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 29–30, all these are said to have been born to a single concubine.

2460 Arabic *Fulāna*: a woman whose name was unknown.

2461 The MSS insert at this point the words, “who is al-Saffāḥ,” but as the Leiden editor noted in his *Addenda et emendanda*, they have been misplaced by the copyist and belong in the next paragraph after “Abū l-‘Abbās.”

2462 The surname means “the Lame.”

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh came to Hishām, accompanied by his son, Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, who was a youth. When he left Hishām’s presence, he said to one of his companions, “I complained to the Commander of the Faithful about my heavy debts and large family, but he made fun of me and said, ‘Just wait for the son of the Ḥārithī woman,’ meaning this youth.”<sup>2463</sup>

Hishām was dogged in pursuing the Khārijites. [...] <sup>2464</sup> sat down one day and gathered the Khārijites | around him. He said, “People, fear God and do not give up the *jihād*.” So they gave him the oath of allegiance, and he stayed there for a time. When death approached, he said to them, “There is nobody I trust more than al-Buhlūl b. ʿUmayr al-Shaybānī.” When he died, al-Buhlūl rebelled, reaching the outskirts of Kufa. News of this reached Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh, who sent cavalry after him; they pursued him from ʿAyn al-Tamr to Mosul, where he was killed.<sup>2465</sup>

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There came to Hishām’s attention certain things about Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh that he held against him. [One of these was] that he distributed huge sums, amounting to 36 million dirhams, a sum that [Hishām] considered enormous; [another was] that he had said, “Umayya exceeds Qasr<sup>2466</sup> in nobility no more than this”—and he held two of his fingers together. So Hishām wrote to him: “I have heard what you have said. You belong only to the low and contemptible Bajīla. You son of a Christian woman! You will come to know that the one who raised you up will humble you!”

Khālid continued to govern Iraq for fourteen or fifteen years. When Hishām decided to dismiss him, he summoned Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī, who had been looking into the entire affair of Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh. Hishām threatened Ḥassān with death, and swore to him by the one and only God that either Ḥassān would tell

<sup>2463</sup> Ironically, Hishām’s contemptuous remark—“Wait for the lad to grow up,” and make your fortune—turned out to be true in a way that Hishām certainly did not intend. As the future first ʿAbbāsīd caliph, Abū l-ʿAbbās would indeed make the fortunes of his family—and almost exterminate the Umayyad family.

<sup>2464</sup> One or more words, perhaps giving the name of the Khārijite, have dropped out of the MSS.

<sup>2465</sup> On the rebellion of al-Buhlūl, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1622–1628, where he is called (al-) Buhlūl b. Bishr. The Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī originally vocalized the name as Bahlūl, and Blankinship followed suit in his English translation, but the *Addenda et Corrigenda* of the Leiden edition corrected the reading to Buhlūl, and the Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī shows this reading, which is more likely to be correct.

<sup>2466</sup> Qasr was Khālid’s own clan, a subtribe of the Bajīla. On the relatively low status of the latter, see the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Badjīla; also the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī.

him the truth or he would kill him. So Ḥassān brought him chests of documents against Khālid, thereby becoming the first secretary to denounce the governor of his own district. Having secured all he needed regarding Khālid, Hishām wrote a letter in his own hand to his governor in Yemen, Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī, which he let nobody else see, ordering him to make his way to Iraq and to conceal his presence until he drew near. He was to seize Khālid and his men, and demand that he repay the 36 million dirhams. So, having kept his mission secret, Yūsuf left Yemen in the company of seven men and came to Iraq; this was in the year 120.<sup>2467</sup>

2:388 Yūsuf b. ‘Umar arrived by night and made his way with five men | to the congregational mosque.<sup>2468</sup> When the announcement to begin the prayers came, Khālid moved forward to pray,<sup>2469</sup> but Yūsuf grabbed him and pulled him out, and then moved forward himself and recited, *When the Terror descends*,<sup>2470</sup> at his first prostration, and then, at the second, *A questioner asked of a chastisement about to fall*.<sup>2471</sup> Then he turned his face to the people and made himself known to them. He took Khālid and his men away, subjected them to various kinds of torture, and demanded the money of them. Then all the *dihqāns*<sup>2472</sup> and wealthy people of Iraq came together and said, “We will bear the burden of this money for him and pay it.” Yūsuf is said to have accepted this from them, and when they brought him the money, Yūsuf called for Khālid. (One of Yūsuf’s agents) took Khālid, dressed him in a woolen cloak, bound his hand[s] to his neck, and brought him to Yūsuf, who was sitting on a bench. Yūsuf gave him a tug so that he fell on his face. (Someone who had been present said: “I saw Khālid do the same thing to ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī when he dismissed him from Iraq. So let whoever is appointed to an office behave himself well.”) Yūsuf terrorized Khālid and his agents, imposed charges on them, and tortured them so that most of them died by his hand. He imposed a charge of 10 million (dirhams) on Abān b. al-Walīd al-Bajalī, 20 million on Ṭāriq b. Abī Ziyād, the governor of Fārs, 20 million on al-Zubayr, the governor of Isfahan, al-Rayy, and Qūmis, and less on others. He extracted most of the money. Bilāl b. Abī Burda

2467 120 A.H. = December 29, 737 – December 17, 738.

2468 That is, the main mosque of Kufa; cf. the more detailed report in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1468 ff.

2469 That is, to lead the prayers in his capacity as governor.

2470 Qur’ān 56:1.

2471 Qur’ān 70:1.

2472 In the Islamic period, the term *dihqān* is generally used in to describe the rural, landed gentry of formerly Sasanian lands.

b. Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, Khālīd's governor of Basra, escaped from Yūsuf's prison and made his way to Hishām, but Yūsuf wrote to Hishām about him, and the latter returned him to Yūsuf, who tortured him to death. He turned his house in Kufa into a prison and confiscated his house in Basra.

When al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwāna, the governor of Sind, heard what Yūsuf had done to the governors | serving Khālīd, he pressed into enemy territory, saying, 2:389 "Either it will be a conquest that will satisfy Yūsuf, or it will be a martyrdom whereby I shall find relief from him." So he met the enemy and kept fighting until he was killed. Now al-Ḥakam had appointed ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī as his deputy over the cavalry, and when al-Ḥakam was killed in al-Sind, ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī and Ibn ʿArrār<sup>2473</sup> disputed over his succession. He<sup>2474</sup> wrote to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar about the matter, and the latter wrote to Hishām, who responded by saying, "If ʿAmr b. Muḥammad has reached middle age, then appoint him governor." Yūsuf favored ʿAmr owing to Thaqafī kinship, and so he appointed him and sent him his letter of appointment. He<sup>2475</sup> seized Ibn ʿArrār, imprisoned him, and put him in chains.

ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim subsequently built a town this side of the lake, which he named al-Manṣūra,<sup>2476</sup> and took up residence in the governor's residence. The enemy proved tenacious; they crowned a king, and then they marched on al-Manṣūra and besieged it. ʿAmr wrote to Yūsuf, who dispatched four thousand men to him. The king then withdrew, his authority broken. ʿAmr then made ready to attack the enemy and put Maʿn b. Zāʿida b. al-Shaybānī<sup>2477</sup> in charge of his vanguard. Maʿn made a surprise attack on the king's army by night; his men stood firm, and a great many of the enemy were killed. This endangered the king; a group of his men passed by him—the Muslims did not recognize him—and, seeing him, they called out "*al-Rāh! al-Rāh!*" (that is, "the

2473 Thus in M and ed. Leiden; the name is otherwise unknown.

2474 Apparently, ʿAmr b. Muḥammad is the antecedent of the pronoun, as Hishām's reply mentions only him.

2475 Again the antecedent is vague: either ʿAmr b. Muḥammad seized Ibn ʿArrār, or Yūsuf b. ʿUmar *had* him seized.

2476 The ruins of the town are located 47 miles northeast of modern Hyderabad, Pakistan. The precise significance of *dūna l-buḥayra* (this side of/near/beside the lake) is unclear, although same phrase is applied to al-Manṣūra in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 444. It may refer to the fact that the city was surrounded by a branch of the Indus and therefore looked like an island. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 331, and the article by Y. Friedmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Manṣūra.

2477 On the colorful career of this military commander and governor of late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsīd times, see the article by H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maʿn b. Zāʿida.

King!") and rescued him. The king and his men took to their heels, and 'Amr took firm control of the lands. With 'Amr in his army was Marwān b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who rebelled, leading a group of like-minded commanders, and made off with 'Amr's provisions | and riding animals. 'Amr, along with Ma'n b. Zā'ida and 'Aṭiyya b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, went out to engage him, defeated him, and scattered his men. Marwān fled. 'Amr proclaimed clemency to everyone except Ibn al-Muhallab, who was turned in and executed.

Hishām sent for Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn<sup>2478</sup> and said to him, "Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī has written, mentioning that Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī told him that you were holding 600,000 dirhams in trust (for him)." He answered, "I don't have anything of Khālīd's." Hishām said, "You must be sent to Yūsuf b. 'Umar so that he can bring you and Khālīd together." Zayd replied, "Don't send me to the slave of Thaqīf so that he can toy with me!" Hishām replied, "You must be sent to him." Zayd then made a lengthy speech to him, whereupon Hishām said, "I have heard that you consider yourself qualified for the caliphate—you, the son of a slave girl!" To this Zayd said, "What a thing to say! My mother's rank disqualify me? By God, Isaac was the son of a free woman, and Ishmael the son of a slave-girl, yet God, who is mighty and exalted, bestowed His favor upon the sons of Ishmael, from whom He brought forth the Arabs, and that line continued until it produced the Messenger of God." Then he said, "Fear God, Hishām!" Whereupon Hishām replied, "Does someone like you command me to fear God?" "Yes," said Zayd, "no one is too low to command it, and no one is too high to heed it." Hishām then sent him out, accompanied by messengers from him. When he left, he<sup>2479</sup> said: "By God, I know that no one has ever loved life without being humiliated." Hishām wrote to Yūsuf b. 'Umar: "When Zayd b. 'Alī reaches you, bring him him and Khālīd together, but don't let him stay with you for a single hour, because I have seen that he is sweet-tongued, very eloquent, and able to dissemble, and the people of Iraq are quick to rally to the like of him."

When Zayd arrived in Kufa, he went before Yūsuf and said to him, "Why have you summoned me from the presence of the Commander of the Faithful?"

2478 On the revolt of Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, the eponym of the Zaidī line of Shī'ites, see the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

2479 The antecedents of both pronouns are ambiguous, but the maxim makes better sense if spoken by Zayd. In al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1675, the maxim in a slightly different wording is unambiguously attributed to Zayd. It occurs in another context in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:33, where the sense is clearer: It is better to die with one's honor intact than to accept humiliation because one loves life too much.

Yūsuf replied, “Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh said that you had 600,000 dirhams of his.” 2:391  
 “Then summon Khālīd,” replied Zayd. Yūsuf summoned him, wearing heavy  
 irons, and said, “This is Zayd b. ʿAlī; tell us about the money of yours that is with  
 him.” Khālīd responded, “By the one and only God, he has nothing of mine great  
 or small, and the only reason you have summoned him is to mistreat him.” Yūsuf  
 then turned to Zayd and said, “The Commander of the Faithful has ordered  
 me to send you out of Kufa the moment you arrived.” Zayd replied, “Then I’ll  
 rest for three nights and then leave.” “That is impossible,” said Yūsuf. “Then just  
 today?” said Zayd; but Yūsuf said, “Not a single hour!” Yūsuf then sent him out,  
 accompanied by messengers. On leaving, he quoted these verses:

His soles in shreds, bemoaning his sore feet,  
 worn down by edges of sharp flints:  
 Fear drove him away and made him to be despised—  
 thus it is for whoever loathes the heat of battle.  
 In death there was rest for him:  
 and death is a fate decreed for all men.

When Yūsuf’s messengers reached al-ʿUdhayb,<sup>2480</sup> they returned. Zayd turned  
 back to Kufa, where the Shīʿa there rallied to him. When news of this reached  
 Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, he attacked them and a bloody battle took place. In the end,  
 Zayd b. ʿAlī was killed. His body was loaded onto a donkey, brought into Kufa,  
 and his head was displayed on a pole. Then his body was put together and  
 burned. Half of the ashes were scattered into the Euphrates, and half onto  
 the fields. “By God,” said Yūsuf, “I’ll have you Kufans eating him in your food  
 and drinking him in your water!” The killing of Zayd took place in the year  
 121.<sup>2481</sup>

When Zayd was killed and his rebellion ended,<sup>2482</sup> the Shīʿa began to stir  
 in Khurāsān. Their movement became public, and increasing numbers joined  
 them or sympathized with them. They took to reciting to people the actions of  
 the Umayyads and how badly they had treated the Prophet’s family, until there  
 was not a town | where the news had not spread. Missionaries appeared, visions 2:392  
 were dreamt, and people came together to study books about apocalyptic

2480 The springs and village of al-ʿUdhayb lay in the desert region to the west of Kufa, along  
 the alluvial plain of the Euphrates.

2481 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:1698 ff., places Zayd’s death early in 122, dating the beginning of the  
 revolt to 1 Šafar 122 (January 6, 740). Zayd was killed one or two days later.

2482 Literally, “and what took place in his affair took place.”

battles.<sup>2483</sup> Yaḥyā b. Zayd<sup>2484</sup> fled to Khurāsān and then went to Balkh, where he remained in hiding. Yūsuf wrote to Hishām about him, and the latter wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār an account of him. Naṣr sent an army under the leadership of Hudba b. ʿĀmir al-Saʿdī to Balkh. They tracked Yaḥyā down and captured him, and they took him to Naṣr, who imprisoned him in the citadel in Marw.

When news of the disturbances in Khurāsān and of the great numbers of those involved reached Hishām, he wrote to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, saying, “Send me someone with knowledge of Khurāsān.” So he sent him ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Salīṭ b. Aṭīyya al-Ḥanafī. Hishām asked him about Khurāsān and its people and about who there would make a good governor. ʿAbd al-Karīm named a number of men from Qays and Rabīʿa, but whenever he named a man from Rabīʿa, Hishām would say, “The mountain passes cannot be defended by Rabīʿa.” Then he named Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī, and he said, “He will be victorious and drive forwards.”<sup>2485</sup> Then he said, “Page, write out his letter of appointment.” So he wrote out the appointment, and Hishām ordered him to make his way quickly to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar. Naṣr had earlier governed a district in Khurāsān, and when Jaʿfar b. Ḥaṇḏala was dismissed, he became governor of the province.<sup>2486</sup>

Yūsuf had arrested and imprisoned Khālīd’s tax agents. Among those whom he arrested were ʿĪsā b. Maʿqil al-ʿIjlī and ʿĀṣim b. Yūnus al-ʿIjlī. Abū Muslim,<sup>2487</sup> whose name had been Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān before Muḥammad b. ʿAlī named him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was serving ʿĪsā b. Maʿqil, and heard them discussing the call on behalf of the Banū Hāshim, and he came to understand the matter.<sup>2488</sup>

2483 Arabic *kutub al-malāḥim*. On evidence for such works in early Islam, based in part upon ḥadīths of the Prophet describing the signs of the Last Hour and in part upon esoteric knowledge that the Shīʿa claimed to have been handed down among the descendants of ʿAlī, see the article by U. Rubin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sāʿa, and the article by T. Fahd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djafr*.

2484 The son of Zayd b. ʿAlī, who, having joined his father in rebellion, was later killed in battle near Herat in the summer or fall of 125/743; see below, ed. Leiden, 2:397–398. See also the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.

2485 Punning on the meaning of the name: *Naṣr* (God’s help, or victory) and *Sayyār* (one who travels much).

2486 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1638 and 1666, gives two dates for the appointment: Rajab of 121 (June–July 739) or Rajab of 120 (June–July 738), and gives several accounts of the search for a suitable governor of Khurāsān, *ibid.*, 1659–1666.

2487 This is the first mention of Abū Muslim, a man of obscure origins, who became the leader of the ʿAbbāsīd movement in Khurāsān. See the article by Saleh Said Agha in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī.

2488 From the first of the parallel accounts in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1726–1728, from al-Madāʾinī, it appears that ʿĀṣim and ʿĪsā were arrested by the new governor because



Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Mālik b. al-Haytham, and Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb arrived on their way to Mecca.<sup>2489</sup> They entered the prison to see ʿĪsā b. Maʿqil and ʿĀṣim b. Yūnus, and there they saw how Abū Muslim would frequent them and their retinue | and confer with them about the matter. So they took him with them and introduced him to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who, having spoken with him, said: 2:393  
 “I believe that this youth is our man. He is the very one! Heed his words, accept his leadership, and seek his advice, for there is no doubt that he is the man for the job.” Some of those knowledgeable about the Revolution<sup>2490</sup> say that Abū Muslim joined not Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, but rather his son, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī.

Because Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik had appointed his son al-Walīd b. Yazīd as heir apparent, there was continual friction between al-Walīd and Hishām. One day, al-Walīd went to see Hishām, but instead of finding him holding court, he found his maternal uncle, [Ibrāhīm b.] Hishām b. Ismāʿīl al-Makhzūmī. Pretending ignorance of who he was, al-Walīd said, “Who is this man?” [Ibn] Hishām became angry, and replied, “Someone such that your grandfather’s honor became complete only by his becoming related to him by marriage.” “And who are you to talk, you son of an uncircumcised woman?” replied al-Walīd, and they exchanged ugly words. Having heard the conversation, Hishām came in, and they fell silent. Al-Walīd did not stand up (to honor him), and so Hishām said to him, “How are you, Walīd?” [“Well!” he said.]<sup>2491</sup> Hishām went on, “And how are your lutes doing?” “Lusty!” replied al-Walīd.<sup>2492</sup> Hishām then

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of their position as tax agents of the former governor and that their conversion to the ʿAbbāsīd cause took place in prison, where, coincidentally, the ʿAbbāsīd propagandist Bukayr b. Māhān had been incarcerated. Bukayr converted ʿĀṣim and ʿĪsā to the cause (the second of al-Ṭabarī’s accounts includes ʿĪsā’s brother Idrīs among the prisoners). Abū Muslim then heard the new converts discuss the cause and was so visibly moved that they invited him to join the movement.

2489 They were members of the ʿAbbāsīd *daʿwa* who had set out from Khurāsān and were passing through Kufa on their way to Mecca, presumably for the Pilgrimage. The translation follows M, *wa-qadīma Sulaymān ...*; in C the last letter of the first word has fallen out, leading Houtsma to supply a verb to complete the sense, *wa-qad [irtaḥala] Sulaymān ...* (Sulaymān ... had departed ...). On Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb, see the article by M. Sharon in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaḥṭaba.

2490 Arabic *al-dawla*. This is the first occurrence in al-Yaʿqūbī’s history of the term, which originally was a general term for “change,” or “alteration,” or perhaps, “time of success.” See the article by F. Rosenthal in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dawla.

2491 The words, or something similar in meaning, have dropped out of the MSS and were supplied by the Leiden editor.

2492 Al-Walīd b. Yazīd, who eventually did succeed to the caliphate, was famous as a poet

asked, “And what have those evil companions of yours been doing?” Al-Walīd said, “God’s curse on them if they’re any worse than yours!” “Take him away!” said Hishām, and so he was seized and taken out.

Hishām was among the most resolute and manly of the Umayyads; but he was also miserly, envious, coarse, ill-mannered, unjust, extremely harsh, seldom merciful, and sharp-tongued. There was an outbreak of the plague during his reign, and very many people perished, as well as riding animals and cattle. The person with the greatest influence over him was al-Abrash b. al-Walīd al-Kalbī. The head of his security force (*shurṭa*) was Kaʿb b. Ḥāmid al-ʿAbsī. Leading his personal guard (*ḥaras*) was al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād b. Sābūr. His chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was his client, al-Ḥarīsh. He had embroidered silk bands produced, and other such kinds, along with embroidered silk, Armenian silk |  
2:394 and different kinds of garments.<sup>2493</sup>

He ruled for five months short of twenty years and died on Wednesday, the ninth day of Rabīʿ I in the year 125,<sup>2494</sup> at the age of 53. Al-Walīd b. Yazīd’s agents denied access to the storerooms, and so no burial shroud could be found for him until one of his servants shrouded him. Some say that it was al-Abrash al-Kalbī who did so. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd led the funeral prayers, although some say that al-Abrash did so. Hishām was buried in al-Ruṣāfa. He left ten sons: Maslama, Yazīd, Muḥammad, ʿAbdallāh, Sulaymān, Marwān, Muʿāwiya, Saʿīd, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Quraysh.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his reign were:

- in the year 105: Ibrāhīm b. Hishām;
- [in the year 106: Hishām] b. ʿAbd al-Malik
- in the year 107: Ibrāhīm b. Hishām;
- in the years 108, 109, 110, 111, [and 112]: Ibrāhīm again;
- in the year 113: his son, Sulaymān;
- in the year 114: Khālīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam;

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and musician, especially in the genres of love poetry and wine songs, hence Hishām’s contemptuous remark. See the article by Renate Jacobi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walīd.

2493 Hishām was famous for his love of luxurious clothing. Although the word *ṭirāz* does not occur here, Hishām is the first caliph specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having established factories to manufacture the inscribed textiles known as *ṭirāz* used as official sashes of office; see the article by Y. K. Stillman and P. Sanders in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṭirāz*.

2494 That is, January 8, 743. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1728 dates his death to the next month, 9 Rabīʿ I 125 (February 6, 743), as do Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 356, and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 4:49 (§ 2236).

- in the year 115: Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl;
- in the year 116: al-Walīd [b. Yazīd] b. ʿAbd al-Malik;
- [in the year 117: Khālīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik] b. al-Ḥārith;
- [...] <sup>2495</sup>
- in the year 119: Abū Shākīr Maslama b. Hishām;
- in the years [120,] 121, and 122: Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl;
- in the year 123: Yazīd b. Hishām;
- in the year 124: Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl.

Those who led the campaigns during his rule were:

- in the year 106: Muʿāwiya b. Hishām led the campaign and sent Waḍḍāḥ, leader of the Waḍḍāhiyya, <sup>2496</sup> to burn crops and villages because the Byzantines had burned pasture land. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik led the western summer campaign, and al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥakamī campaigned against al-Lān.
- in the year 107: likewise Muʿāwiya.
- in the year 108: Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik led the eastern summer campaign, and ʿĀṣim b. Yazīd | al-Hilālī the western. 2:395
- in the year 109: Muʿāwiya b. Hishām, with al-Baṭṭāl, who led the vanguard, conquered Khanjara. <sup>2497</sup> Maslama campaigned against the Turks, taking Bāb al-Lān, and engaging the Khāqān.
- in the year 111: Muʿāwiya b. Hishām led the western summer campaign, and Saʿīd b. Hishām the eastern. The Turks advanced to Azerbaijan, where al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr al-Ṭāʿī, engaged them and defeated them.
- in the year 112: the Turks reached the territory of Ardabīl; <sup>2498</sup> al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbd[allāh] al-Ḥakamī campaigned against them, engaged the king of the Turks, and killed him. Muʿāwiya b. Hishām campaigned against the Byzantines, but was unable to enter their lands, so he posted a mobile force at al-ʿAmq <sup>2499</sup> in the district of Marʿash.
- in the year 114: Muʿāwiya b. Hishām and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

<sup>2495</sup> A year has dropped out, probably by copyist's error. The parallel in Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 360, lists Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik as leader of the pilgrimage in 118.

<sup>2496</sup> A militia; see K. Athamina, "Non-Arab Regiments and Private Militias during the Umayyad Period."

<sup>2497</sup> Modern Çankırı in north central Anatolia.

<sup>2498</sup> Modern Ardabil of north-west Iran, about 210 km east of Tabriz.

<sup>2499</sup> A large alluvial plain north east of Antioch.

- in the year 115: Mu‘āwiya and Sulaymān, sons of Hishām. ‘Abdallāh al-Baṭṭāl,<sup>2500</sup> who led the vanguard, engaged Constantine,<sup>2501</sup> took him captive, and defeated the Byzantines.
- in the year 116: Mu‘āwiya b. Hishām.
- in the year 117: Mu‘āwiya and Sulaymān, the sons of Hishām. Marwān b. Muḥammad campaigned in the lands of the Turks.
- in the year 118: Mu‘āwiya and Maslama, the sons of Hishām.
- in the year 119 [...] campaigned in the lands of the Byzantines, and the campaign in the lands of the Turks was conducted by Marwān b. Muḥammad.<sup>2502</sup>
- in the year 121: Maslama b. Hishām, who reached Malatya.
- in the year 122: Marwān b. Muḥammad in Armenia, and Sulaymān b. Hishām in the region of Malatya.
- in the year 123: Sulaymān b. Hishām led the summer campaign, and Marwān b. Muḥammad (campaigned against) Jilān and Mūqān<sup>2503</sup> in Armenia.
- in the year 124: Sulaymān b. Hishām, who engaged the Byzantine emperor Leo and Artabasdos.<sup>2504</sup> He withdrew, and so there was no fighting between them.
- in the year 125: al-Ghamr b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

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2500 On the development of a popular legend around this fighter against the Byzantines, see the article by Khalil Athamina in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Baṭṭāl, ‘Abdallāh.

2501 Perhaps to be identified as the son of the emperor Leo III. In 123/740, Leo III and Constantine routed an expedition led by al-Baṭṭāl and the governor of Malatya, and both Muslim commanders were killed.

2502 The copyist of C, the basis of ed. Leiden, skipped by homeoteleuton from the word “Turks” at the end of the entry for 118 to the word “Turks” in the entry for 119. Almost all of the notice for the year 119 can be recovered from M, except for the name of the leader of the campaign in Byzantine territory.

2503 Jilān (Gīlān) is the low-lying region along the southwestern coast of the Caspian Sea. See the article by B. Spuler in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Gīlān. Mūqān (Mūghān) is a steppe area north of Gīlān and to the south of the lower course of the Araxes (Aras) River, stretching from northern Iran into Azerbaijan. See the article by V. Minorsky in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūqān.

2504 In M the names have been copied as, first, al-Būn, but by adding one dot one can easily get Aliyyūn, a reasonable match for Leo(n), i.e., Leo III. The next name has been copied as Arṭayās, but by subtracting one dot one can easily get Arṭabās, a reasonable match for Artabasdos, Leo’s son-in-law, who became emperor by deposing Leo’s son, Constantine V, in 742, ruling until November 2, 743 (early in 126 A.H.). Since Leo III died on June 18, 741, and 124 A.H. did not begin until November 15, 741, al-Ya‘qūbī’s chronology is impossible, at least as regards Leo’s presence; Artabasdos, however, is chronologically possible. See Vasiliev, *History of Byzantine Empire*, 260.

The learned men during his days were:

- Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar,
- al-Haytham<sup>2505</sup> b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr,
- Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, |
- Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī,
- Nāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar,
- ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda,
- Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. [Muhammad b. ʿAmr b.] Ḥazm,<sup>2506</sup>
- Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī,
- Rabīʿa b. [Abī] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,<sup>2507</sup>
- ʿAtāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ,
- ʿAmr b. Dīnār,<sup>2508</sup>
- ʿAbdallāh b. [Abī] Najīḥ,<sup>2509</sup>
- Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit,
- ʿAbd al-Malik b. Maysara,
- Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī,
- al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,<sup>2510</sup>
- [ʿUbaydallāh] b. ʿAbdallāh [b. ʿUtba] b. Masʿūd,
- Simāk b. Ḥarb al-Dhuhli,<sup>2511</sup>
- al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna al-Kindī,<sup>2512</sup>
- Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān,<sup>2513</sup>

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- 2505 Perhaps a copyist's error for *al-Qāsim*. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:378.
- 2506 A judge in Medina, died 132/749–750; biography in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, 3:2505–2506.
- 2507 Died c. 136/753–754; biography in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, 3:2506; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:258–259.
- 2508 Meccan jurist, d. 125 or 126 (742–744); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:28–30; Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaqāt*, 5:353 f.; and the article by Harald Motzki in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAmr b. Dīnār.
- 2509 Meccan, d. 131/748–749; transmitter of a recension of the Qurʾān commentary by Mujāhid; see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:29; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, 3:2506; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:54–55.
- 2510 Al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāmī, Damascene, d. 112/730; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:322–324.
- 2511 Kufan, d. 123/740–741; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:232–234.
- 2512 If the reading ʿUyayna is correct, he was a judge (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:372); but the correct reading may be ʿUtayba. For al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba al-Kindī, d. 115/733–734, see the biography in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, 3:2496.
- 2513 Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān al-Ashʿarī was a Kufan jurist who died c. 120/738; see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:404–405.

- Abū Ma‘shar Ziyād b. Kulayb,<sup>2514</sup>
- Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif al-Hamdānī,<sup>2515</sup>
- Nu‘aym b. Abī Hind al-Ashja‘ī,<sup>2516</sup>
- Ash‘ath b. Abī l-Sha‘thā’,<sup>2517</sup>
- Sa‘īd b. Ashwa‘,<sup>2518</sup>
- Abū Ḥāzim al-A‘raj,
- Qatāda b. Di‘āma al-Sadūsī,<sup>2519</sup>
- Bakr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Muzanī,<sup>2520</sup>
- Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī,<sup>2521</sup>
- Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr,<sup>2522</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr,<sup>2523</sup>
- Makḥūl al-Dimashqī,
- Rāshid b. Sa‘d al-Muqrī’,
- Maymūn b. Mihrān,
- Abū Qabil al-Ma‘āfirī,
- Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm.

### The Days of al-Walīd b. Yazīd

Then al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik came to rule.<sup>2524</sup> His mother was Umm al-Ḥajjāj bt. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, and the caliphate come to him

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- 2514 Died c. 120/738; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:182.
  - 2515 Died c. 112/730–731; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:25–26.
  - 2516 His death is dated by Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 351, to the beginning of the governorship of Khālīd al-Qasrī, which would put it c. 105/723–724.
  - 2517 A Kufan traditionist; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2551.
  - 2518 Correctly written in M, but miscopied in C as Usbū‘. See Ibn Sa‘d and Wakī‘. According to Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 361, he served as judge in Kufa during the governorship of Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh.
  - 2519 On this blind scholar renowned for his prodigious memory, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qatāda b. Di‘āma.
  - 2520 Died 108/726; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:484–485.
  - 2521 Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīma Kaysān al-Sakhtiyānī, a traditionist and ascetic, died in 131/748; see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:87–88.
  - 2522 Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr al-Ḥarashī, Basran, d. 108/726–727, according to Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 338.
  - 2523 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr, d. 118/736; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:154.
  - 2524 Often called al-Walīd II, to distinguish him from al-Walīd (I) b. ‘Abd al-Malik. For a general discussion of both, see the article by Renate Jacobi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walīd.

while he was in Damascus, ten days after the death | of Hishām. This was 2:397  
on Friday, ten days remaining in the month of Rabīʿ 1 of the year 125.<sup>2525</sup> On  
that day the Sun was 26° 20' in Aquarius, the Moon 5° 20' in Virgo, Mars 4°  
in Capricorn, Venus 16° 45' in Capricorn, Mercury 12° 10' in Pisces, and the  
Ascending Node 11° 45' in Aquarius.

Al-Walīd dismissed Hishām's governors, subjecting them to all manner of  
torture, except Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaqafī, the governor of Iraq. This was because  
he had found in Hishām's chancellery (*dīwān*) letters written by the gover-  
nors, urging him to depose al-Walīd—all except Yūsuf, who had advised against  
doing so; al-Walīd therefore confirmed him in his post. He wrote to him con-  
cerning Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, and Yūsuf continued to torture him.<sup>2526</sup>

He made his son al-Ḥakam the heir apparent, appointing him governor of  
Damascus, and as next in line after al-Ḥakam he appointed his son ʿUthmān  
(b. al-Walīd), making him governor of Ḥimṣ and joining to him the jurist Rabīʿa  
b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, to exercise authority on his behalf.<sup>2527</sup>

He dismissed Hishām's maternal uncle, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl al-  
Makhzūmī, from the governorships of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭāʾif, and ap-  
pointed his own maternal uncle, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī, governor of  
Medina and Mecca.

Naṣr b. Sayyār had arrested Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn during the reign  
of Hishām, and had taken him to Marw, where he had imprisoned him in the  
citadel. He had written to Hishām about the matter, but the letter had arrived  
just at the time of Hishām's death. Al-Walīd now wrote to him, ordering him  
to release Yaḥyā—others say that Yaḥya managed to escape from the prison.  
Yaḥyā made his way to Bayhaq<sup>2528</sup> in the district of Abrashahr, | where certain 2:398  
men of the Shīʿa rallied to him, saying, “How long will you (and your family) be  
satisfied with humiliation?” About 120 men came over to him, and he made his  
way back to Nishāpūr. ʿAmr b. Zurāra al-Qasrī, the governor of Nishāpūr, came  
out to fight him, but Yaḥyā defeated ʿAmr and his men. They made off with their  
weapons; then they pursued them until they overtook ʿAmr b. Zurāra and killed  
him. Yaḥyā then set out for Balkh. Naṣr b. Sayyār dispatched Salm b. Aḥwaz al-

2525 That is, 20 Rabīʿ 1 125 (January 21, 743). Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1740, citing three authorities, dates his accession to the next month, Rabīʿ 11. The day of the week and the day of the month do not coincide.

2526 Ed. Leiden indicates a lacuna, but there is none in M.

2527 Possibly because ʿUthmān was still a minor.

2528 Bayhaq was west of Nishāpūr, on the main highway connecting Khurāsān and western Persia. See Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 110, and the article by A. K. S. Lambton in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Bayhaq.

Hilālī against him. Salm set out and went to Sarakhs, and Yaḥyā set off and went to Bādghīs,<sup>2529</sup> reaching Marw al-Rūdh first. When word of this reached Naṣr, he himself set out against him at the head of his forces and engaged him in al-Jūzjān. He fought him ferociously, and Yaḥyā was felled by a stray arrow; the soldiers rushed in and cut his head off. His men fought on after his death until they were killed to the last man.

In this year Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Mālīk b. al-Haytham, and Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb, the leaders of the movement calling for the rule of the Banū Hāshim, brought money and gifts to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās. Abū Muslim was present with them, too. Muḥammad said to them, “You will not meet me hereafter, for I shall die this year.”—This was at the beginning of year 125.—“Your leader shall be my son Ibrāhīm, who will be killed. When God has carried out His decree with regard to him, your leader shall be ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārithiyya<sup>2530</sup>—he shall have authority over this matter and leadership of this movement. God will give him sovereignty,<sup>2531</sup> and by his hand will the Umayyads be destroyed.” Then he brought ‘Abdallāh out so that they could see him, and they kissed his hands and feet. Then he said: “‘Abd al-Raḥmān is your leader.”—He meant Abū Muslim—“Listen | to him and obey, for he is the one who is leading this revolution.”<sup>2532</sup> At the end of the year 125, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī died at the age of 67.<sup>2533</sup>

When the people heard about the death of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, they took Abū Muslim to Ibrāhīm, who made Abū Muslim their commander and told him that he should be master of their affairs. Then he said to Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb: “And you, by God, are the one who will engage and defeat Nubāta b. Ḥanzala and ‘Āmir b. Ḍubāra. You will fight their armies, and God will grant you victory all the way to the Euphrates, without a single one of your standards being forced back.” So they left for Khurāsān, where tribal strife had broken out between

2529 Bādghīs is in historical eastern Khurāsān, north of Herat, in present-day Afghanistan. See the article by W. Barthold in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bādghīs or Bādghīs.

2530 The future caliph al-Saffāḥ.

2531 The Arabic (*yu’tīhi Allāhu l-mulk*) echoes a frequent Qur’ānic topos; e.g., Qur’ān 2:247, 251, 258, and 3:26.

2532 The terminology used here deserves mention. Abū Muslim is to be ‘your *ṣāḥib*’ in this context, something like ‘master.’ He is to be *al-qā’im bi-hādhihi l-dawla*, something like ‘the one who rises up to undertake this shift/change/revolution.’ *Al-Qā’im* later becomes a technical term in Shī’ī Islam. For its varying uses, see the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qā’im Āl Muḥammad.

2533 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1769, he died on the first night of Dhū l-Qa’da, 125 (July 25, 743). Other dates are reported.



Muḍar and al-Yaman.<sup>2534</sup> This was because Naṣr b. Sayyār had moved against the Yamanīs and Rabīʿa and had favored the Muḍar faction. So Judayʿ b. ʿAlī al-Kirmānī al-Azdī, who at the time was the leader of the Azd<sup>2535</sup> and their boldest, challenged him and said, “We will not let you get away with what you are doing!”—and the Yamanī faction and Rabīʿa rallied to him. Naṣr b. Sayyār arrested him and jailed him, but the Yamanīs and Rabīʿa came and took him out through a privy outlet and then rallied round him. Naṣr tried to trick him into coming to him, but he would not—Naṣr was somewhat unskillful in his dealings. When Judayʿ realised that the Yamanīs and Rabīʿa had rallied to him against Naṣr b. Sayyār, he rebelled against him, fought him, and bested him. Abū Muslim then went to al-Kirmānī and asked him to propagandize on behalf of the Family of the Prophet. He<sup>2536</sup> began to sway his troops and summon them to this, until they eventually made public the propaganda on behalf of the Banū Hāshim in Khurāsān.

When al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwāna, the governor of the Sind, was killed, ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī and Yazīd b. ʿArār<sup>2537</sup> fought over his succession. Hishām wrote to | Yūsuf b. ʿUmar concerning the matter, and Yūsuf, because of his partiality toward the tribe of Thaqīf,<sup>2538</sup> favored ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, so Hishām appointed him governor. But when al-Walīd came to power, he dismissed ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim from al-Sind, and appointed Yazīd b. ʿArār. He made eighteen raids, and was blessed with good fortune.

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The regions were all in an uproar. Al-Walīd was neglectful of his affairs and unconcerned about his outlying regions. He was given to amusements and singing-girls, to undisguised killing and oppression, to distractions from public affairs, and to drinking and dissoluteness. He went so far in his dissoluteness that he decided to have a booth built atop the Kaʿba in which he might sit for amusement, and he dispatched an architect for that purpose. When all this became apparent, along with his execution of Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, his torture to death of Hishām's sons Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad, and his inviting censure by his treatment of the people, his family, and nearby Arabs, Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik courted the support of a group of his family members, and they sided with him; and the sons of Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, along with

2534 The two tribal factions, “northern” (or Qays) and “southern” respectively.

2535 The Azd belonged to the “southern” faction (al-Yaman).

2536 The ambiguity of the pronouns makes it unclear whether Abū Muslim or al-Kirmānī is the subject.

2537 For the confusion about the name, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 159.

2538 Yūsuf's own tribe.

a group of Yamanīs, also took up his cause—to depose al-Walīd and swear the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik. A large group rallied to him. A client of al-Walīd’s left to see al-Walīd<sup>2539</sup> and reported the news to him, but al-Walīd gave him one hundred lashes. Yazīd b. al-Walīd advanced on him slowly, making his way to a village called al-Bakhrā’,<sup>2540</sup> putting his soldiers up in a fortification there, with the men coming one group after another. Then they did battle; al-Walīd was killed, and the men rushed toward him with their swords and cut off his head and hand. His head was mounted in Damascus.

2:401 He was killed five days before the end of Jumādā 11 in year 126.<sup>2541</sup> His reign was 1 year and 5 months long. | ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd al-Kalbī was the head of his security force (*shurṭa*), and Qaṭarī his client commanded his personal guard (*ḥaras*). His chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was Qaṭan his client. He left fourteen sons: ‘Uthmān, Yazīd, al-Ḥakam, al-‘Abbās, Fihir, Lu’ayy, al-‘Āṣ, Mūsā, Quṣayy, Wāṣil, Dhu’āba, Faṭḥ, al-Walīd, and Sa’īd.

Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Thaqafī led the pilgrimage in his reign in the year 125.

### The Days of Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Then Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik,<sup>2542</sup> whose mother was Shāhfarīd<sup>2543</sup> bt. Fayrūz bt. Kisrā, came to rule on the first day of Rajab in year 126, five days after the murder of al-Walīd. On that day the Sun was 11° 40’ in Aries, the Moon 20° in Pisces, Saturn 20° in Virgo, Jupiter 3° 50’ in Gemini, Mars 25° 40’ in Gemini, Venus 10° in Capricorn, Mercury 21° 30’ in Aries.

2539 That is, the client left Damascus, where the plot against al-Walīd was being hatched, and made his way to al-Walīd’s desert retreat.

2540 Al-Bakhrā’ lay 25 km south of Palmyra; see the article by J. Sourdel-Thomine in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Bakhrā’.

2541 April 12, 744; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1810, cites three reports giving the date as three days later.

2542 Often called Yazīd III, to differentiate him; see the article by G. R. Hawting in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yazīd (III) b. al-Walīd (I).

2543 The reading and vocalization of the name are uncertain. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1874, she was a concubine (*umm walad*) named Shāh-i Āfrīd, and her genealogy was Shāh-i Āfrīd bt. Fayrūz bt. Yazdagird bt. Shahriyār bt. Kisrā. Al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:63 (§ 2262), gives her name as Shāhfrīd. According to various reports, Muslim b. Qutayba captured two daughters of Fayrūz in Transoxiana and sent them back to al-Ḥajjāj, who gave one of them to al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

Yazīd reduced soldiers' stipends and therefore was called "Yazīd the Reducer."<sup>2544</sup> The provinces went into rebellion against him. Among those who rebelled against him were al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd in Ḥimṣ, whom the people of city supported,<sup>2545</sup> Bishr b. al-Walīd in Qinnasrīn, ʿUmar b. al-Walīd in Jordan, and Yazīd b. Sulaymān in Palestine. Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and Sulaymān b. Hishām came to the aid of al-ʿAbbās. |

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Three days into his reign, Yazīd made his brother Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd his heir-apparent and sent him to Jordan, where the men had made Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik their commander, but they defied<sup>2546</sup> Ibrāhīm. Then he sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maṣād to them, saying: "Why will you slay yourselves? Come to us, and we will deliver to you the benefits of this world and the next. I guarantee each man a thousand dinars." And so they dispersed.

Yazīd ruled for five months. Civil war prevailed everywhere, to such an extent that the people of Egypt killed their commander, Ḥaṣṣ b. al-Walīd al-Ḥaḍramī, and the people of Ḥimṣ killed their governor, ʿAbdallāh b. Shajara al-Kindī, and the people of Medina expelled their governor, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

The person with the greatest influence over him was Yazīd b. Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī. Yazīd b. al-Shammākh al-Lakhmī was in charge of his security force (*shurṭa*), Sallām his client commanded his personal guard (*haras*), and his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was Jubayr his client. On the day of al-Walīd's death there were 47 million dinars in his treasury, but Yazīd dissipated it down to the last dinar. He was a Qadarī.<sup>2547</sup> He died on the last day of Dhū l-Qaʿda.<sup>2548</sup> Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd led the prayers at his funeral, and he was buried in Damascus. It is said that his brother Ibrāhīm give him poison to drink.

2544 Arabic *Yazīd al-Nāqīs*. This is the primary sense of the epithet, but Arabic historians were aware that it could also mean "Yazīd the Deficient."

2545 But cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1826, where al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd, far from leading the revolt in Ḥimṣ, is its victim. Indeed, the next sentence in al-Yaʿqūbī, about how Sulaymān b. Hishām (who certainly was loyal to Yazīd) "came to the aid of al-ʿAbbās," assumes the same. The most likely inference is that the text of al-Yaʿqūbī, particularly the phrase "whom the people of the city supported," has suffered corruption.

2546 Reading *wāqafūhu*, instead of the MSS *wāfaqūhu* (they agreed with him).

2547 *Qadarī* is a disparaging term for those who held to some form of a doctrine of human free will, against those who asserted that all human actions were predetermined by divine decree (*qadar*). Confusingly, the term was applied to those who were accused of denying God's *qadar*. See the article by J. van Ess in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qadariyya*.

2548 October 12, 744.

2:403 In this year—126—‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān led the Pilgrimage; according to others it was al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>2549</sup> Then Thābit b. Nu‘aym al-Judhāmī rebelled | against Marwān, who was in Armenia. Marwān defeated him and reproached him for his ingratitude.<sup>2550</sup> Marwān left Armenia, putting ‘Aṣim b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Hilālī in charge. He put Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī in charge of Bāb al-Abwāb.<sup>2551</sup> Then he added Armenia to Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī’s governorship.

### The Days of Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid

Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose mother was a concubine named Su‘ār,<sup>2552</sup> assumed office on the same day that Yazīd b. al-Walid died. He retained office for four months before Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān came [from] Armenia to depose him. Upon arriving in Ḥarrān, Marwān announced his claim to the caliphate; the people of the Jazīra secretly swore allegiance to him, and he advanced amid throngs of the people of the Jazīra. He engaged Bishr and Masrūr, the sons of al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who were encamped at Aleppo, routed their armies and took them both prisoner. He then pressed on until he reached Ḥimṣ, which was controlled by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.<sup>2553</sup>

2549 “According to others it was al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik.” This is the reading of M and of C, but the Leiden editor deduced from the parallel in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 5:243, (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1875) that a considerable amount of text had fallen out. He therefore printed, “According to others [...] al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik [...]” On the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, he suggested filling the first lacuna with “‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz” (the name occurs in al-Ṭabarī as given by some authorities for the leader of the pilgrimage in 126). He suggested that the second lacuna was to be filled by a now unrecoverable notice about ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj.

2550 Arabic *fa-manna ‘alayhi*; for this meaning see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *manna*.

2551 Arabic *al-Bāb wa-l-Abwāb* (The Gate and the Gates), later usually *Bāb al-Abwāb* (The Gate of Gates), was the Arabic name for a pass and fortress at the eastern end of the Caucasus, Persian Darband (modern Derbent). See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bāb al-Abwāb.

2552 Sic M, C, and ed. Leiden. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1875, identifies her as a concubine (*umm walad*), but provides no name; similarly Ibn Ḥazm, *Ummahāt al-khulafā’*, 17. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:63 (§ 2262), gives her name as Budayra, but the MSS of al-Mas‘ūdī vary. For an account of the brief caliphate of Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid, see the article by V. Cremonesi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid.

2553 That is, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik, whom, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1870, Yazīd b. al-Walid had designated as next in line for the caliphate after Ibrāhīm.

When the news reached Ibrāhīm, he dispatched Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who engaged Marwān and the forces with him from the Jazīra, Qinnasrīn, and Ḥimṣ. The armies met at ‘Ayn al-Jarr,<sup>2554</sup> in the district of Damascus; they skirmished on Wednesday, the 7th of Ṣafar in the year 127,<sup>2555</sup> and then turned away from each other. On the following day, Sulaymān b. Hishām and his forces were defeated. They rejoined Ibrāhīm, and Marwān advanced and encamped at Dayr al-‘Āliya.<sup>2556</sup> The people of Damascus swore allegiance to him, and he entered the city. Ibrāhīm abdicated and swore the oath of allegiance to Marwān on Monday, the 15th of Ṣafar, in the year 127.<sup>2557</sup> He remained with Marwān until he drowned in the Zāb River during the battle against ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī.<sup>2558</sup>

### The Days of Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān and the *Da‘wa*<sup>2559</sup> of the Banū l-‘Abbās 2:404

Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān, whose mother was a concubine named Rayyā,<sup>2560</sup> assumed office in the month of Ṣafar in the year 127. Those of the Banū Umayya and others who were in Damascus swore the oath of allegiance

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- 2554 In the Biqā‘ Valley on the road from Damascus to Baalbek; it is the site of significant Umayyad ruins. See the article by J. Sourdél-Thomine in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ayn al-Djarr.
- 2555 November 18, 744.
- 2556 The location of the site, which is not mentioned by the other sources, is unknown.
- 2557 The day of the week and day of the month do not accord.
- 2558 The mss read *hattā ghazā* (until he attacked), but Houtsma’s emendation (*hattā ghariqa*) is supported by other sources. On Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd’s drowning in the Zāb River during the decisive battle between the Umayyads and the ‘Abbāsīd forces commanded by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī in 132/750, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:41. For a synopsis of the career of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās and his unsuccessful bid for the caliphate after the death of al-Saffāh (see ed. Leiden, 2:237–238, below), see the article by Jacob Lassner in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī.
- 2559 Arabic *da‘wa* means “an act of calling, summoning, or inviting.” It has religious overtones, as “the invitation, addressed to men by God and the prophets, to believe in the true religion, Islam” (M. Canard in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Da‘wa*). By extension, the ‘Abbāsīds used the term to justify their movement as a call to restoring the leadership of the community to a religiously acceptable leader. For a summary of the literature on the ‘Abbāsīd revolution, see the article by Elton L. Daniel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abbāsīd Revolution.
- 2560 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ummahāt al-khulafā’*, 18, notes disagreement over his mother’s name and status, as does al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:71 (§ 2273), who mentions, besides Rayyā, the name Ṭarūba.

to him. He wrote to the governors of the provinces and received their letters of loyalty, obedience, and submission. When he received word that the people of Ḥimṣ were continuing their disobedience, he marched against them, having appointed ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik as his deputy in Damascus, and laid siege to them until he took the city. Al-Simṭ b. Thābit b. al-Aṣḥab b. Dhu‘āla escaped from him, but he managed to capture Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Abdallāh al-Saksakī.<sup>2561</sup>

Marwān received word that Yazīd b. Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī had killed Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī. The latter had been imprisoned; however, when ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik saw that Muḥammad b. Marwān's hold on power was unsettled, [he ordered]<sup>2562</sup> Yazīd b. Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī to go to the prison and kill Yūsuf b. ‘Umar along with ‘Uthmān and al-Ḥakam, the sons of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. He did so.

Marwān intended to return (to Damascus) but was told that al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays the Khārījite<sup>2563</sup> had wrested control over the region of Iraq, had fought ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in Wāsiṭ, and had marched to the Jazīra, passing Mosul, and gone on to Naṣībīn, where ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān was (governor), and had besieged him. Ishāq b. Muslim's governor in Bāb al-Abwāb<sup>2564</sup> was a man named Musāfir,<sup>2565</sup> who shared the views of the Khārījites. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk wrote appointing him to the governorship of Armenia, where the people had killed ‘Āṣim b. ‘Abdallāh b. | Yazīd al-Hilālī, the governor of Armenia. Musāfir marched to the province. Marwān went to Ḥarrān, where he built himself a residence at a site called Dabāb al-Bayn.<sup>2566</sup> When word of this reached al-Ḍaḥḥāk, he marched toward him. Passing near Mosul, he laid siege to the city; then, not wanting the matter to drag on,<sup>2567</sup> he went on to Naṣībīn and besieged it. He then marched towards Ḥarrān, where he engaged Marwān's forces. Though Marwān fought him fiercely, al-Ḍaḥḥāk defeated him

<sup>2561</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1892–1893.

<sup>2562</sup> Amending as suggested by the Leiden editor.

<sup>2563</sup> Arabic *al-Ḥarūrī*. The Khārījites received this name because their original secession from the camp of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had occurred at a place called Ḥarūrā’. On the revolt of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī, see L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī.

<sup>2564</sup> Arabic *al-Bāb wa l-Abwāb*. Derbent in the Caucasus.

<sup>2565</sup> The name is unclear in M and C; the reading is uncertain.

<sup>2566</sup> The reading is unclear. In M, the initial letter appears to be Dh, and the second letter is undotted. The location is unknown.

<sup>2567</sup> According to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 378, al-Ḍaḥḥāk took Mosul and then besieged Marwān's governor in Naṣībīn unsuccessfully for two months.

repeatedly until he dislodged Marwān from his throne and sat on it.<sup>2568</sup> Then al-Ḍaḥḥāk was killed in the year 127, and the Khārījites broke up into small groups.

Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik and those of the Yamāniyya who had been supporters of Yazīd b. Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh but had escaped went with them.<sup>2569</sup> Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik marched toward Syria. Marwān encountered him at Khusāf<sup>2570</sup> and defeated him. Sulaymān went with the supporters of al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who were now led by al-Khaybarī; the latter marched with a large force and engaged Marwān. When Marwān killed him, the Khārījites chose Abū l-Dhalfā’<sup>2571</sup> al-Shaybānī as their leader. He led his followers back to Mosul, but Marwān pursued him and fought him for a month; finally Abū l-Dhalfā’ was defeated. Marwān sent ‘Āmir b. Ḍubāra al-Murī after him. Abū l-Dhalfā’ made his way to Oman, where he was killed by al-Julandā b. Mas‘ūd al-Azdī. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk’s successor, Abū ‘Ubayda, set out for Kufa. Marwān appointed Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī over Iraq. Yazīd arrived there in the year 128 and killed al-Ḍaḥḥāk’s successor. Thābit b. Nu‘aym al-Judhāmī rebelled in the region of Jordan. Marwān sent al-Rumāḥis b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz against him and appointed ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān | b. ‘Abd al-Malik over Medina and Mecca. 2:406

‘Abd al-Wāḥid arrived in Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. The Khārījites<sup>2572</sup> arrived, along with Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ‘Awf al-Ḥarūrī al-Azdī, and stood on Mount ‘Arafāt. Abū Ḥamza was there on behalf of ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, who was known as Ṭalīb al-Ḥaqq.<sup>2573</sup> When they stood at ‘Arafāt, they so frightened and alarmed the people that ‘Abd al-Wāḥid sent a messenger to them to remind them of the respect due to the sacred territory, the solemn days, and the greatest day of the pilgrimage. They made an agreement with them

2568 This detail is also found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1941, and in Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 380, although in these accounts the person who broke into Marwān’s tent in Marwān’s absence and sat on his throne (or bed, Arabic *sarīr* has both meanings) was not al-Ḍaḥḥāk, but his successor, al-Khaybarī, who performed his exploit after al-Ḍaḥḥāk had been killed and who in turn was killed soon afterward.

2569 The referent of the pronoun is unclear; apparently, they went over to the Khārījites.

2570 Khusāf lies in the desert roughly midway between al-Raqqā and Aleppo.

2571 The reading is uncertain. The mss read *al-Dalqā*; ed. Leiden emends to al-Dalfā’ on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1943, where his full name is given as Shaybān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Yashkurī.

2572 Here called Ḥarūriyya.

2573 The name means “Seeker of Truth.” ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī was an Ibāḍī Khārījite leader who encouraged a revolt against the Umayyads in Ḥaḍramawt in the south of the Arabian peninsula. See the article by T. Lewicki in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ibāḍiyya.

for the day of 'Arafa and four days after it.<sup>2574</sup> (The Khārijites) proceeded to Minā and encamped in the vicinity. Following their departure, 'Abd al-Wāḥid went to Medina and summoned the people to arms.<sup>2575</sup> He dispatched the army under the command of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. They met<sup>2576</sup> at Qudayd<sup>2577</sup> in Ṣafar of the year 130.<sup>2578</sup> 'Abd al-'Azīz was killed, along with the people of Medina who were with him. The Quraysh accused the Khuzā'a of having conspired with the Khārijites against them.

Ten days before the end of Ṣafar, the Khārijites arrived in Medina. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik fled, and Abū Ḥamza took over the city and delivered a famous sermon to its people. The people of Medina would pray behind him and then repeat the prayer. The Khārijites then marched towards Syria and were met by Marwān's cavalry led by 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. 'Aṭīyya al-Sa'dī, who attacked them at Wādī l-Qurā. The Khārijites, defeated, limped back to Medina. The people of Medina came out to attack them and inflicted a great slaughter on them, and then [Ibn] 'Aṭīyya caught up with them and routed them. He pursued them first to Mecca and then to Yemen, where 'Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā was killed. As they neared Ṣa'da,<sup>2579</sup> Ibn 'Aṭīyya killed so many of them that the people trampled on their bodies. Then he<sup>2580</sup> entered Ṣan'a', where he received a letter from Marwān appointing him to lead the pilgrimage. He set out to do so, but died along the way amid his army.

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Marwān intended to go directly to Iraq, but on receiving news that the people of Ḥimṣ had rebelled, he set out against them. He deployed a trebuchet against the city until he destroyed its outer wall. The people sought a guarantee of safe-conduct; he granted it to all except three men to whom he did not grant safe-conduct and whom he executed.

When Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra arrived in Iraq, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr<sup>2581</sup> fled to al-Sind, where Ibn 'Arrār, the governor of al-Sind, was his relative. He was at the

2574 The words "after it" (*ba'dahu*) are missing from C and ed. Leiden.

2575 Literally, "he summoned the people to the *dīwān*," that is, to register their names on the military payroll. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1983, he gave each man a pay raise of ten dirhams.

2576 The word *fa-ltaqaw* (they met) is missing from C and ed. Leiden.

2577 Qudayd is north of Mecca, slightly less than halfway to Medina.

2578 Ṣafar 130 = October 11 – November 8, 747.

2579 A town and district (*mikhlāf*) about 240 km/150 mile north of Ṣan'a' (see the article by G. R. Smith in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣa'da).

2580 Reading with M, *dakhala*; C and ed. Leiden, *dakhalū* (they entered).

2581 Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, a leader of the Kalb, had been involved in the murder of al-Walīd



river's edge when Ibn 'Arrār sent word to him: "Proceed no further." He replied: "I wanted only to reside with you, but now may God sever your ties of kinship and bar from your company all to whom you are related! You will hear from me soon enough." He had boats constructed in Sadūsān<sup>2582</sup> that he loaded onto camels and launched in the Indus.<sup>2583</sup> Then he engaged Ibn 'Arrār in battle, forcing him to retreat to al-Manṣūra,<sup>2584</sup> where he besieged him. Ibn 'Arrār appealed for a guarantee of safe-conduct. Ibn Jūmhūr replied, "I will grant you safe-conduct only on condition that you submit to my judgment." So Ibn 'Arrār submitted to Ibn Jūmhūr's judgment. Ibn Jūmhūr ordered that a column be constructed over him while he was still alive.<sup>2585</sup>

Manṣūr (b. Jūmhūr) took up residence in al-Manṣūra and sent his brother Manzūr to Qandābīl and al-Daybul. Manṣūr remained resident in al-Sind until Abū Muslim appeared in Khurāsān. Abū Muslim dispatched a man from Sijjīstān named Mughallis to al-Sind. As soon as he drew near, the companions of Manzūr, the brother of Manṣūr b. Jūmhūr, rose against Manzūr and killed him. They wrote to Mughallis and he came to them. Manṣūr b. Jūmhūr engaged him, fought him, and defeated him. Mughallis was captured and brought to Manṣūr, who killed him along with most of his brother's murderers.

Al-Kirmānī's strength increased in Khurāsān, and fighting persisted between him and Naṣr b. Sayyār. Finally al-Kirmānī gained the upper hand over Naṣr b. Sayyār. Abū Muslim wielded the greatest influence over al-Kirmānī. A number of our elders (*ashyākhinā*) related to me that Abū Muslim used to say, "When al-Kirmānī and Naṣr b. Sayyār meet in battle, O God, endow them each with tenacity but deprive them of victory." Al-Kirmānī<sup>2586</sup> then was stabbed and killed, and Naṣr had his body gibbeted. Abū Muslim gained sway over his

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and was rewarded by Yazīd b. al-Walīd with the governorship of Iraq. He now fled from Marwān's newly appointed governor. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1778, 1800, 1809, 1836, 1895.

2582 MSS *Sandūsān*, corrected by Houtsma on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 438; modern Sehwan, on the west bank of the Indus, about 130 km north of modern Hyderabad.

2583 Arabic *Mīhrān*.

2584 The residence of the governors of Sind; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:389.

2585 Arabic *uṣṭuwāna*: a column of brick or stone. Ibn 'Arrār apparently was immured and left to die.

2586 Both MSS read *Ibn al-Kirmānī* (al-Kirmānī's son). However, the detail of the gibbeting of the body makes it clear that al-Kirmānī is the subject (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1975). Al-Kirmānī's sons 'Alī and 'Uthmān were later done away with by Abū Muslim; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1997–2001.

forces and, as his authority mounted, increased his following. He engaged Naṣr b. Sayyār in pitched battle and handed him a series of defeats. He then publicly proclaimed the rightful leadership of the Banū Hāshim.<sup>2587</sup> This took place in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 129.<sup>2588</sup>

When Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab rebelled in al-Ahwāz, Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra sent Nubāta b. Ḥaṇẓala al-Kilābī against him. The two forces fought bitterly. Sulaymān, defeated, fled to Fārs, and Yazīd b. ʿUmar therefore dispatched ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra al-Murri to Fārs.

As Naṣr b. Sayyār's authority in Khurāsān weakened, Abū Muslim's increased. Naṣr therefore wrote to Marwān describing his situation, the weakness of those who remained with him, and the emergence and strength of Abū Muslim. He wrote at the close of his letter:<sup>2589</sup>

Amid the ash I see the glowing coals  
about to blaze into a roaring flame.  
With but two sticks a fire can be lit,  
and words are oft the prelude to the deed.  
Amazed I ask, and would that I might know:  
Umayya, are you wakeful or asleep?

Marwān therefore wrote to Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, his governor in Iraq, to supply Naṣr b. Sayyār with troops. When Yazīd failed to act, Marwān sent more letters with threats. Yazīd finally sent his son, Dāwūd b. Yazīd, with a large army that included ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra al-Murri, al-Juwayriya b. Ismāʿīl, and Nubāta b. Ḥaṇẓala al-Kilābī. As Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. ʿUmar was young, Marwān wrote to Ibn Hubayra, complaining of his appointing his son Dāwūd despite his youth and ordering him to dispatch to him someone who would untie his banner<sup>2590</sup> and place the army under ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra. | Ibn Hubayra did so. The army set out with Nubāta b. Ḥaṇẓala al-Kilābī in command of the vanguard.

<sup>2587</sup> Arabic *aḏhara daʿwata Banī Hāshim* (he made manifest the call of the Banū Hāshim).

<sup>2588</sup> Ramaḍān 129 = May 16 – June 14, 747.

<sup>2589</sup> The verses, by Naṣr himself, are cited with variants in many sources: e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1973; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 4:79 (§ 2286) (two extra verses); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 356 (two extra verses).

<sup>2590</sup> Arabic (following C and ed. Leiden), *man yaḥullu līwāʾahu*, that is, relieve him of his command. M appears to read, *man yaḥillu līwāʾuhu* (someone whose banner would be respected). However, the dot under the *jīm* is suspicious.

Marwān searched for Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās on receiving word that Abū Muslim’s campaign (*da‘wa*) was being conducted in his name as the one deemed most worthy of the caliphate. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Urwa b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir reported: “I was with Abū Ja‘far ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad in al-Ḥumayma, and with him were his two sons, Ja‘far and Muḥammad, who were still boys. I was joking and playing with them, but he said to me: ‘What are you doing with these two boys? Don’t you see what we are facing?’ I looked and there were Marwān’s messengers searching for Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. I said, ‘Let me go out.’ He said, ‘Will you leave my house?—you, a descendant of ‘Ammār b. Yāsir!’”<sup>2591</sup> ‘Uthmān b. ‘Urwa continued: “They barred the doors of the mosque, and Ibrāhīm was identified so that they could lay hold of him. But the description they had been given was actually that of Abū l-‘Abbās—Abū l-‘Abbās had been described as the one who would kill them.”<sup>2592</sup> When Ibrāhīm was brought before Marwān, Marwān said, ‘But he does not fit the description.’ The messenger replied, ‘By God, I saw someone who fit the description, but you said Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, and this is Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad.’ So Marwān sent them back to seek out Abū l-‘Abbās, but they found that he had disappeared. Marwān ordered that Ibrāhīm’s face be covered with a blanket until he died.” Others have said that his head was thrust into a bag of lime<sup>2593</sup> until he died. About Ibrāhīm, Ibn Harma said:<sup>2594</sup>

I thought myself stout-hearted, but a tomb in Ḥarrān,  
 where religion’s defense<sup>2595</sup> lies interred, has rendered me weak.  
 Within it lies the Imam, the calamity of whose end has encompassed us  
 all,  
 and has deprived everyone, wealthy man and beggar alike.

2591 The point of the exchange is clearer in the parallel text of the report of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Urwa in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:25, where ‘Uthmān says, “Let me go out to *them*.” ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, an early convert to Islam, was a strong partisan of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and died at the battle of Ṣiffin. Thus it would be unwise for a descendant of his to be seen coming out of the house of an ‘Abbāsīd.

2592 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:25: “When Marwān had ordered them to seize Ibrāhīm, he had described the appearance of Abū l-‘Abbās, as he found it in books that such a one would kill the Umayyads.”

2593 Arabic *nūra*, used as a depilatory.

2594 Parallel with two more verses in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:44.

2595 Arabic *‘iṣmat al-dīn* (the protection, or defense of religion), that is, the Imam whose presence guarantees the survival of true religion.

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Abū Muslim publicly proclaimed the rightful claims of the Banū Hāshim. When Naṣr b. Sayyār sought a truce from him and asked him for a reconciliation, Abū Muslim sent Lāhiz b. Qurayḡ<sup>2596</sup> to him with a group of | his men. Lāhiz b. Qurayḡ was one of the *nuqabāʾ*.<sup>2597</sup> (Abū Muslim) had ordered (Naṣr)<sup>2598</sup> to come forward to swear the oath of allegiance. Lāhiz went to him and said, “Reply to the commander,” but then he recited: *The Council are conspiring to slay thee. Depart; I am one of thy sincere advisers.*<sup>2599</sup> Naṣr replied: “I will go inside to put on my clothes and come back to you.”<sup>2600</sup> But Naṣr went into a garden of his, mounted his horses,<sup>2601</sup> and, setting off, escaped. He died in a village called Sāwa. Abū Muslim took Lāhiz b. Qurayḡ and had him beheaded.

Abū Muslim arrived in Nīshāpūr in the month of Ramaḍān or Shawwāl and sent out his governors. He appointed Sibāʿ b. Muʿammar<sup>2602</sup> al-Azdī over Samarqand, and Abū Dāwūd Khālīd b. Ibrāhīm over Ṭukhāristān. He put Abū Naṣr Mālīk b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʾī in charge of his security forces (*shurāṭ*), sent Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʾī to al-Ṭabasayn and Fārs, and sent al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba to be in charge of his vanguard. Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb then arrived bearing the commission<sup>2603</sup> of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and a plan of action that he was to follow. Abū Muslim ratified it for him and sent

2596 Here and below the MSS write the name as *Lāhin b. Qurṭ*, but the Leiden editor restored the usual form of the name.

2597 The term *naqīb* (pl. *nuqabāʾ*) originally meant “chief” or “leader.” Its most striking use prior to the ʿAbbāsīd revolution was in the time of Muḥammad, when the Medinans negotiating with him over his possible emigration to their city were asked by Muḥammad to appoint twelve *nuqabāʾ* as representatives. In the ʿAbbāsīd revolution, Abū Muslim is said to have appointed twelve *nuqabāʾ* in Marw as a kind of inner circle. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Naqīb.

2598 Although the pronouns in al-Yaʿqūbī are ambiguous, the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1990, makes the meaning clear.

2599 Qurʾān 28:20.

2600 Reading with M: *adkhulu albasu thiyābī*. In C (and ed. Leiden following it) the graphically similar *ilā bustānī* (into my garden) from the next sentence has replaced the phrase.

2601 Sic. The plural may indicate that he was accompanied by one or more persons.

2602 Possibly *Maʿmar*; in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:2001, the name is given as Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān al-Azdī.

2603 Arabic *ʿahd*, literally “a promise, covenant,” but regularly used for the writ or document appointing a governor to office. In this case, the reference might be to a commission appointing Qaḥṭaba supreme commander in the war against the Umayyads, and the context supports this interpretation. For other possibilities, see the article by M. Sharon in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb.

him to fight the army of the Umayyads. Qaḥṭaba marched to Jurjān, where he met Nubāta b. Ḥanzāla, and war broke out. Qaḥṭaba killed Nubāta, defeated his army, and took possession of everything in his camp. He sent the spoils to Khālīd b. Barmak,<sup>2604</sup> who divided them among his men.

Qaḥṭaba stayed on until the first day of Muḥarram of the year 131.<sup>2605</sup> Then he sent his son, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, to Qūmis at the head of his vanguard; then he caught up with him and sent him from al-Rayy to Hamadhān. He dispatched al-‘Akki to Qumm and Isfahan. Qaḥṭaba himself marched until he arrived there—‘Amir b. Ḍubāra al-Murrī was there.<sup>2606</sup> He sent a message to al-Murrī to call on him to swear the oath of allegiance to the Family of Muḥammad. Ibn Ḍubāra sent back a message, saying, “You louts!<sup>2607</sup> By God, I hope to bind you in ropes!” He was accompanied by forty thousand Syrian troops. Qaḥṭaba fell on him and killed him and his companions who were with him. Only a few of them survived, and they fled to Ibn Hubayra, who at the time was in Jalūlā’.

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Qaḥṭaba proceeded to Nihāwand, where Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhili<sup>2608</sup> was with a group of those who had rallied to him. Qaḥṭaba laid siege to it for three months until, having annihilated most of them, he overran it and then marched to Ḥulwān. Qaḥṭaba would say, “There is nothing that I have done that the Imam did not inform me of (beforehand), except that he told me that I would not cross the Euphrates.”<sup>2609</sup>

Qaḥṭaba sent Abū ‘Awn ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd to Shahrzūr, where he engaged and defeated ‘Uthmān b. Ziyād and plundered his camp.

2604 This is the only appearance in al-Ya‘qūbī’s history of Khālīd b. Barmak, the father of Hārūn al-Rashīd’s famous vizier, Yaḥyā b. Khālīd. He appears here as an administrator for Qaḥṭaba, responsible for the division of spoils. The parallel sources mention that Qaḥṭaba appointed him to various military commands. See the article by Kevin van Bladel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids.

2605 August 31, 748.

2606 That is, in Isfahan. The battle of Jābalq, fought near Isfahan, was a decisive defeat for the Umayyads. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:4–6, where the battle is dated to 23 Rajab 131 (March 18, 749).

2607 Arabic *yā ‘ulūj*. The exact meaning of the term *‘ulūj* (pl. of *‘ilj*), apart from its being an insult, is hard to determine. Originally, it meant a sturdy or brawny man, but it quickly came to be applied to peasants. Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. gives evidence that it was later applied to persons who had changed their religion. That meaning would fit here, with Ibn Ḍubāra calling attention to the presence of non-Arab converts to Islam in the ‘Abbāsīd army. However, one cannot be sure.

2608 In al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:6, his name appears as Mālik b. Adham b. Muḥriz.

2609 That is, everything in the Imam’s predictions has come to pass, with only the last part of it, the prediction of Qaḥṭaba’s death, remaining to be fulfilled.

Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba reported that his father once said to him: “I entered the mosque of Kufa, during the days of the Banū Umayya, wearing a thick fur garment, and joined a circle of people. An old man at the head of the group was addressing them. He mentioned the days<sup>2610</sup> of the Banū Umayya, and then he spoke of the color black<sup>2611</sup> and those who wore it. He said, ‘Certain things will take place, and then a man called Qaḥṭaba will emerge before me, someone who will look like this desert Arab’—he pointed at me—‘and if I wished to say it is he, I would.’” Qaḥṭaba continued, saying: “Fearing for my own safety I stepped aside. As he left, I spoke to him, and he said: ‘Had I wished to say you were he, I would have done so.’ I enquired about him and was told that he was Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī.”<sup>2612</sup>

Ibn Hubayra was in Wāsiṭ in Iraq. He fortified himself there and brought in food and provisions,<sup>2613</sup> and groups of defeated fighters pulled back to the city. Upon reaching Iraq, Qaḥṭaba came upon an encampment that had belonged to Yazīd b. Hubayra and allowed it to be plundered. He proceeded to al-Zāb, which is in the district of Upper Fallūja, some twenty-four farsakhs from | Kufa. He engaged Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra on the eve of Thursday, the ninth<sup>2614</sup> of Muḥarram, in the year 132. They fought through part of the night until Ibn Hubayra, routed, retreated to Wāsiṭ, where he fortified his position. As soon as Qaḥṭaba was done fighting him, he rose to speak. He praised God, gave Him thanks, and pronounced blessings upon the Prophet; then he said: “People, by God, we have come out only to establish the right and to remove the dynasty of falsehood.”<sup>2615</sup> I have already told you how the Imam Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās told me that I would take on Nubāta b. Ḥanzala al-Kilābī and ‘Āmir b. Ḍubāra al-Murrī and defeat them, plunder their camps, and kill their soldiers. This I announced to you before it happened, and now you see the truth of what I told you. The Imam also told me that I would not cross the

2610 Arabic *ayyām*, which frequently has the connotation of “battle-days.”

2611 The color of the ‘Abbāsids.

2612 A Kufan traditionist of Shī‘ī tendencies, said to have believed in the doctrine of *raʿā*—that Muḥammad, ‘Alī, or one of the other Imams would return from the dead. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:2501; Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:307.

2613 Accepting the Leiden editor’s emendation, *anzāl* (provisions). Both MSS read *atrāk* (Turks), possibly referring to Turkish auxiliaries, although no other sources refer to such forces, which are unlikely at this period.

2614 Reading with *M tis*; C and ed. Leiden read *sab*’ (seven). The words are easily confused in Arabic script. 9 Muḥarram 132 (August 28, 749) was in fact a Thursday.

2615 Arabic *dawlat al-bāṭil*. On the meanings of *dawla*, see the article by F. Rosenthal in *ET*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Dawla*.

Euphrates, but you would cross it, and that I would be the only casualty of the army. By God, there is no falsehood in what he said! And so, when you lose me, the commander of the people shall be Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba and, if he is absent, then al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba. Peace be upon you<sup>2616</sup> and the mercy of God and His blessings.”

At daybreak they crossed the Euphrates. It was the season of high water and flooding. As morning came, they could not find Qaḥṭaba and did not know what had happened to him. Some said he had drowned; some said that the riverbank had collapsed on him; some said that his horse had pulled him under. Abū Salama<sup>2617</sup> had written to him from Kufa: “I have prepared some lodgings for you.” Qaḥṭaba had written back to him: “O Wazīr,<sup>2618</sup> if I meet you, the Banū Umayya will still have time remaining to them.”

Ibn Hubayra was defeated after Qaḥṭaba's drowning. When Marwān received the news, he said: “By God, this is the end of good fortune! How else could one hear of a dead man defeating a living man?”

Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba marched into Kufa four nights after the loss of Qaḥṭaba. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī had taken Kufa | on behalf of the Banū Hāshim and had made public their claim to leadership (*da'wa*). He had driven away those of the Banū Umayya and their supporters who were there, and he displayed black.<sup>2619</sup> Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab took control of Basra and displayed black.

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Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl publicly proclaimed the cause of the Banū Hāshim and set about designating governors. He dispatched al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba against Ibn Hubayra, reinforced him with Mālīk b. al-Haytham, and ordered them to lay siege against Ibn Hubayra. Al-Ḥasan besieged the western

2616 Thus in M. In C and ed. Leiden: “Peace be upon him who follows right guidance.”

2617 The original reading of the MSS was Abū Muslim, which must be a copyist's error, as Abū Muslim could not have written from Kufa. In M (but apparently not in C) someone has written Salama above Muslim, referring to Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl, who had become the ‘Abbāsīd emissary in Kufa. See the article by Elton L. Daniel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl. To make sense of the reading Abū Muslim, the Leiden editor assumed a lacuna after the words “wrote to him,” yielding the reading: “Abū Muslim wrote to him [...] from Kufa.” I.e., “and then (someone else) wrote to him from Kufa.” The reading from M makes it unnecessary to assume a lacuna.

2618 Here probably in its earlier sense of “helper” or “representative,” that is, of the Imam. See Sharon, *Banners*, 199–200, and the article by M. Zaman et al. in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wazīr.

2619 Arabic: *wa-aḏhara l-sawād* (he displayed black). Whether this refers to black turbans or garments or to the black banners of the ‘Abbāsīds is not clear. In the next sentence, Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya *sawwada* (blackened), that is, put on or displayed black.

sector of the city;<sup>2620</sup> Mālik the eastern sector. Abū Salama also sent Hishām b. Ibrāhīm, a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Layth, against ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra, who was his brother’s governor in al-Ahwāz. Hishām fought ‘Abd al-Wāḥid and routed his army, and ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra withdrew in defeat. He joined up with Salm b. Qutayba al-Bāhilī, who was Yazīd b. ‘Umar’s governor of Basra.

Abū l-‘Abbās, his brothers, and his household came to Kufa in Muḥarram of the year 132.<sup>2621</sup> Abū Salama lodged them in the home of al-Walīd b. Sa’d among the Banū Awd and kept their presence so secret that no one learned of them.<sup>2622</sup> They remained in that house for two months, until Abū Ḥumayd<sup>2623</sup> met one of their servant boys and asked after them. The boy told him of their badly weakened state. He went to them and found them in a cellar. He asked them, “Which one of you is ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārithiyya?” Abū l-‘Abbās was pointed out to him. He greeted him as one would a caliph and departed. Then, gathering his companions, he brought Abū l-‘Abbās out and the people gave him the oath of allegiance. When word reached Abū Salama, he set out immediately to catch up with them and said to him,<sup>2624</sup> “You have acted in haste, but I hope that all will turn out well.” Abū l-‘Abbās went to the mosque, where he delivered a sermon and prayed.

Abū l-‘Abbās dispatched his uncle, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, to fight Marwān. He engaged Marwān at the Zāb River near Mosul. Marwān had made for the Zāb because the Banū Umayya | had passed down oracular traditions<sup>2625</sup> that the authority of the “Black-bannered ones” would not reach beyond the Zāb. They imagined that this referred to the Zāb of Mosul, and so Marwān made his way there, thinking that ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī would not cross it; but it referred, in fact, to a Zāb in the farthest west.<sup>2626</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī engaged Marwān and defeated him. He kept pursuing the fleeing Marwān, turning aside for nothing, until he drove him first into the Jazīra, then from the Jazīra to Syria. Matters were such that, in every one of the military districts of Syria

2620 That is, Basra.

2621 Muḥarram 132 = August 20 – September 19, 749.

2622 Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:27–28, where the mixed motives for Abū Salama’s behavior come out more clearly.

2623 Full name: Abū Ḥumayd Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm.

2624 The antecedent of the pronoun is unclear.

2625 Arabic *malāḥim*: oracular traditions about apocalyptic battles; see the note to ed. Leiden, 2:392, above.

2626 In fact, there is a region of the Algerian Sahara around Biskra that bears this name (Zāb, pl. Zibān). See the article by M. Côte in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zāb.



through which Marwān passed, they plundered his forces. Reaching Damascus, he counted on being able to prepare for a siege there. But the inhabitants of Damascus also plundered his forces, while those of the Qays who were in the city rose up against him. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī entered the city by force,<sup>2627</sup> killing al-Walīd b. Mu‘āwiya b. Marwān b. ‘Abd al-Malik, Marwān’s deputy in the city. Marwān, fleeing, made his way to Palestine, where ‘Abdallāh<sup>2628</sup> b. ‘Abd al-Malik joined him; but ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī captured him and, with him, ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik. He sent both men to Abū al-‘Abbās, who had them crucified in al-Ḥīra.

Šāliḥ b. ‘Alī arrived to be governor of Egypt, where Marwān had fled.<sup>2629</sup> Šāliḥ pursued him and forced him to take refuge in the village of Būšīr in the district of Ushmūn in Upper Egypt,<sup>2630</sup> where he continued to resist, with fighting between them. Then, however, Marwān sent a message to him, saying, “When you have triumphed in this affair, I entreat you to deal well with my women.” Šāliḥ replied, “Ignorant one, we have a rightful claim on you as regards your life, and you have a claim on us as regards your women.”

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī set out to return to Damascus, while Šāliḥ continued fighting against Marwān. Marwān then was killed in the fighting. The head of the force was ‘Umar b. Ismā‘īl al-Ḥārithī. Marwān’s reign up to the time of his death was five years. He was killed in Dhū l-Ḥijja in the year 132<sup>2631</sup> at the age of sixty-four—according to others, sixty-eight. His head was cut off, and when it was hollowed out<sup>2632</sup> a cat carried off his tongue. | The head was taken to Abū l-

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2627 Arabic *‘anwatan*: without a formal agreement of surrender. This entailed consequences in Islamic law.

2628 A second hand in M has written “Yazīd” between the lines and above “b. ‘Abd al-Malik”; C and ed. Leiden lack this addition, implying that ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik are different persons. This must be correct, as Marwān, who escaped to Egypt, was not one of the two men whom ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī captured and sent to al-Ḥīra to be crucified.

2629 On the career of Šāliḥ b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās, the brother of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, see the article by A. Grohmann and H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Šāliḥ b. ‘Alī.

2630 The original reading of M seems to have been simply Šabīr (or Šubayr), to which has been added between the lines bi-Abī or (apparently) bi-Bū. The Leiden editor has emended to Būšīr, as in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:46. Ushmūn (modern al-Ashmūnayn) is a town west of the Nile about 8 km north of Mallawī in Upper Egypt. See the article by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Būšīr or Abūšīr.

2631 Dhū l-Ḥijja 132 = July 11 – August 8, 750. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:51 (al-Madā’ini) gives a date of three days before the end of Dhū l-Ḥijja.

2632 Arabic *quwwira* (make a round hole in something, scoop out something); apparently this refers to the process of preparing the head to be taken back to Abū l-‘Abbās.

‘Abbās, and when it was placed before him, he said, “Which of you can identify this?” Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr b. Ja‘da said, “This is the head of Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, our caliph only yesterday.” People rebuked him for saying this, but Abū l-‘Abbās said: “The old man said this only to demonstrate loyalty.”

The persons with the greatest influence over Marwān were Abū Ḥadīda al-Sulamī, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī, and Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī. Al-Kawthar b. al-Aswad al-Ghanawī led his security forces (*shuraṭ*). He was the one to whom Marwān said one day while in battle, “Dismount, damn you, and fight!”—but he refused to do it. Marwān said, “By God, I will run you through!”<sup>2633</sup>—to which al-Kawthar replied: “I only wish, by God, that you could!”<sup>2634</sup> Siqlāb, his client (*mawlā*), led his personal guard (*ḥaras*), and his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was Salīm, who was also his client.

He had four sons: ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Abdallāh, ‘Ubaydallāh, and Muḥammad. On the night of Marwān’s death, Marwān’s sons ‘Abdallāh and ‘Ubaydallāh set out for Upper Egypt and made their way to Nubia. A group of Marwān’s supporters joined them, and they came to number over four thousand. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā,<sup>2635</sup> Marwān’s secretary, stayed behind in Egypt. He remained in hiding until he was betrayed to Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī.

A group of Umayyad women—daughters, sisters, and cousins—had set out on foot with ‘Abdallāh and ‘Ubaydallāh. They were wandering, utterly lost, when a man from Syria came across a young girl abandoned and crying. She turned out to be a six-year-old daughter of Marwān. He took her with him and delivered her to ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān.

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The group reached Nubia, where the ruler | of the Nubians made them welcome. They said: “We will settle in one of these fortresses in the land of Nubia. Perhaps we can use it as a stronghold and fight the enemies who are near us. We will summon them to submit to our authority, and perhaps God will return to us some of what has been taken from us.” The ruler of the Nubians said to them: “These crows”—he meant the blacks—“are many in number and have little plunder. I fear for your safety, and people will say, ‘You have killed them!’” They replied: “We will write a document for you, saying that when we reached

2633 Reading with M, *la-asurrannaka*, literally, “I will stab you through the navel.” Ed. Leiden (and the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:41) *la-asū’annaka*, “I will do you harm.” The reading *la-asurrannaka* explains the pun in the next sentence, as the more common meaning of the verb is “make someone happy.” Kawthar takes the word in this sense.

2634 I.e., make me happy.

2635 This is al-Ya‘qūbī’s only reference to the author who is often cited as the founder of the Arabic epistolary style. See the article by Wadād al-Qāḍī in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib.

your land, you were generous in offering us refuge, excellent in extending to us protection, and insistant that we not leave your side, but we insisted on departing, deeply grateful to you.”

So they departed and entered enemy territory. On more than one occasion they encountered the army from Abyssinia and fought with them. Then they made their way to Bajāwa, where the ruler of the Beja attacked them, and they departed, intending to go to Yemen. As they passed through the country, ʿAbdallāh and ʿUbaydallāh came upon two roads with a mountain between them. Each man chose one of the roads, intending to meet up sometime later. They marched all that day, but when they tried to return, they were unable to do so, and so they traveled on for several days. Then ʿUbaydallāh encountered a troop of Abyssinians and fought them. One of their men ran him through with a short spear. ʿUbaydallāh was killed and his companions surrendered. The Abyssinians stripped them of all of their possessions and left them. They wandered naked and barefoot through the deserts. Finally, their thirst became so intense that a man would urinate in his hand and drink it, or he would urinate, mix it into a paste with sand, and eat it. They finally caught up with ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān, who had suffered even greater deprivation and distress than they. He had a number of his women with him, naked and barefoot, with nothing to conceal them. Their feet were torn from walking and their lips were split from drinking urine. They finally arrived in al-Mandab, where they remained for a month. The inhabitants collected something for them, and they left for Mecca disguised as porters.

Those who led the pilgrimage during the days of Marwān were:

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- in the years 127 and 128: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz;
- in the year 129: ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and joining him on the pilgrimage was Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf al-Ibādī, the companion of al-Aʿwar ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, who referred to himself as Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq;<sup>2636</sup>
- in the year 130: Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān;<sup>2637</sup>

2636 *Al-Aʿwar* means “the one-eyed.” For *Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq*, see the note to ed. Leiden, 2:406, above.

2637 The Leiden editor suggested in the *Addenda et emendanda* of Volume I that the correct reading was probably ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad; however, the reading Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān is supported by Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:2017. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 395, gives the name as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭīyya al-Saʿdī (whom al-Yaʿqūbī assigns to 131).

- in the year 131: Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Sa’dī. It was said that this was the last pilgrimage of the Banū Umayya.

No campaigns (against the Byzantines) were conducted during the days of Marwān.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā’*) during his days were:

- Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [b. Muḥammad] b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm,
- Abū l-Ḥuwayrith al-Murādī,<sup>2638</sup>
- ‘Amr b. Dīnār,
- Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān,<sup>2639</sup>
- Abū l-Zinād ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Dhakwān,<sup>2640</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ,
- Qays b. Sa’d,<sup>2641</sup>
- Abū l-Zubayr Muḥammad b. Muslim,<sup>2642</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Maysara,<sup>2643</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr al-Laythī,<sup>2644</sup>
- Salama b. Kuhayl,<sup>2645</sup>
- Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī,
- Ghaylān b. Jāmi‘ al-Muḥāribī,<sup>2646</sup>
- Abū Bakr b. Nasr b. Ḥarb,<sup>2647</sup>

2638 Medinan, died c. 130/747–748, full name: Abū l-Ḥuwayrith ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu‘āwiya b. al-Ḥuwayrith al-Zurqī; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2503; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:272–273.

2639 A Medinan traditionist (d. 141/758–759) who tutored the children of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:399–401.

2640 His name is usually given as ‘Abdallāh b. Dhakwān; died between 130 and 132/747–750; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:203–205.

2641 Abū ‘Abd al-Malik Qays b. Sa’d, Meccan; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:397.

2642 Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Tadrus al-Asadī, died c. 126/743–744; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:440–443.

2643 Ibrāhīm b. Maysara al-Ṭā’ifī, Meccan traditionist, died c. 132/749–750; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:172.

2644 Perhaps to be identified with the Kufan traditionist ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr al-Lakhmī, d. c. 136/753–754; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:411–413.

2645 Thus M, correctly; ed. Leiden, wrongly, Kumayl. Salama b. Kuhayl al-Ḥaḍramī was a Kufan, who according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2499, died either on the last day of 121 or in 122 (i.e., after December 6, 739); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:155–157.

2646 Abū ‘Abdallāh Ghaylān b. Jāmi‘ b. Ash‘ath al-Muḥāribī was a Kufan judge who died in 132/749–750; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:252–253.

2647 Unidentified.

- Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr,
- Sālim al-Afṭas,<sup>2648</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ḥanafī.<sup>2649</sup>

### The Days of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāḥ

‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās—his *kunya* was Abū l-‘Abbās and his mother was Rayṭa bint ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh | b. ‘Abd al-Madān b. al-Dayyān al-Ḥārithī—received the oath of allegiance on Friday the 13th day of Rabī‘ I or, it also has been said, on Wednesday, two nights remaining in Dhū l-Ḥijja in the year 132.<sup>2650</sup> In the months of the non-Arabs the former date corresponds to Tishrīn 11 (November).

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On that day the Sun was in Sagittarius, 10°; the Moon in Aquarius, 21° 40’; Jupiter in Scorpio, 22° 40’; Mars in Leo, 27°; Venus in Libra, 30°; Mercury in Scorpio, 11° 20’; and the Ascending Node in Libra, 45’. The oath of allegiance to him was given in Kufa at the residence of al-Walīd b. Sa’d al-Azdī.

It has been said, however, that Abū Salama had concealed Abū l-‘Abbās and his family in Kufa and had plotted for the office (of caliph) to go to the descendants of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He sent a letter to Ja‘far b. Muḥammad<sup>2651</sup> with one of his messengers. Ja‘far replied, “I am not your master; your master is in the land of al-Sharāt.”<sup>2652</sup> Then he wrote to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan,<sup>2653</sup> inviting

2648 Full name: Sālim b. ‘Ajlan al-Afṭas al-Umawī, a mawlā of Muḥammad b. Marwān, said to have been captured at Kābul, d. 132/749–750; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:441–442.

2649 ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Salīḥ b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Ḥanafī has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:392, as having been sent to Hishām by the governor of Iraq as “someone with a knowledge of Khurāsān.” Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:373, mentions that he was originally from Marw, but resided later in Basra.

2650 13 Rabī‘ I 132 = October 30, 749; 27 Dhū l-Ḥijja 132 = August 6, 750; curiously, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:23, gives one possible date as 13 Rabī‘ I 132, which does correspond to November (November 26, 749).

2651 That is, to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), the sixth Shī‘ī Imam; see the article by M. G. S. Hodgson in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dja‘far al-Ṣādiq*.

2652 That is, he is one of the ‘Abbāsids. Al-Sharāt is the name of the district between Damascus and Medina that contained al-Ḥumayma, where the family of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās had settled; see Yāqūt, s.v.

2653 That is, to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the leader of the branch of the ‘Alid family descended from al-Ḥasan; see the article by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.

him to the same. ‘Abdallāh replied, “I am an old man; my son Muḥammad<sup>2654</sup> is more suited for this matter,” and he wrote to his father’s clan<sup>2655</sup> saying, “Give the oath of allegiance to my son Muḥammad, for here is the letter of Abū Salama Ḥaḥṣ b. Sulaymān to me.” But Ja‘far b. Muḥammad said: “Old man! Do not shed your son’s blood, for I fear that he may turn out to be the one killed at Ahjār al-Zayt.”<sup>2656</sup>

Abū Salama remained waiting for his messengers to return to him. Abū Ḥumayd, passing along, chanced upon Abū l-‘Abbās’s servant boy, who directed him to the latter’s location. Abū Ḥumayd went to him and greeted him as one would a caliph. Then he left and told his companions where Abū l-‘Abbās was. Six men went with him; they were Abū l-Jahm b. ‘Aṭiyya, | Mūsā b. Ka‘b, Abū Ghānim ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Rib‘ī, Salama b. Muḥammad, Abū Sharāḥīl, and ‘Abdallāh b. Bassām—Abū Ḥumayd was the seventh. They proceeded without Abū Salama’s knowledge. They greeted Abū l-‘Abbās as one would a caliph, and then Abū Ḥumayd clad him in black, brought him forth, and accompanied him to the Great Mosque. When Abū Salama received word of this, he hurried to reach them, and said, “I was only making arrangements for the affair to take place in proper order; otherwise, I would do nothing regarding it.”

We have already mentioned the administering of the oath of allegiance to Abū l-‘Abbās in the days of Marwān and have described what was accomplished by those who had been sent to fight Marwān. We continued our account up to when Marwān was killed, so there is no need to repeat it here.

There were twenty-two men of the Banū Hāshim who came to Kufa. Among them were Dāwūd, Sulaymān, ‘Īsā, Ṣāliḥ, Ismā‘īl, ‘Abdallāh, and ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, the sons of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās; Mūsā b. Dāwūd; Ja‘far and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān; al-Faḍl and ‘Abdallāh, the sons of Ṣāliḥ; Abū l-‘Abbās and his son Muḥammad; Ja‘far and Muḥammad, the sons of al-Manṣūr; ‘Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad; ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad, the sons of Ibrāhīm; Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad; and al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad.

When Abū al-‘Abbās was given the oath of allegiance, he ascended the pulpit on the day the oath was administered. He was shy and became tongue-tied. He stood silent for a long while, until Dāwūd b. ‘Alī ascended the pulpit and

2654 This is al-Ya‘qūbī’s first reference to the ‘Alid known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (the Pure Soul) who later did rebel against the ‘Abbāsids and was killed in 145/762. See Amikam Elad, *The Rebellion of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in 145/762*.

2655 Arabic *jamā‘at banī abīhi*, literally, “the assemblage of the sons of his father.”

2656 Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya was indeed killed by ‘Abbāsīd troops at Ahjār al-Zayt in 145/762, some years after the events described here.

stood on a stair below him. Dāwūd praised and extolled God and pronounced blessings on Muḥammad. He then said:<sup>2657</sup>

People! Now the darkness of civil strife has dissipated, that which covered the world has lifted, earth and sky are bathed in light. The sun has risen from its rising place, the arrow has returned to the archers,<sup>2658</sup> the bow to its maker,<sup>2659</sup> and right has returned to its source among the people of your Prophet's house, | people who extend to you compassion, mercy, and affection. To you is given the pledge of God, the pledge of His messenger, and the pledge of al-‘Abbās that we will act and wield authority over your notables and commoners according to the Book of God and the Sunna of His Messenger. By God, O people, no one has occupied this position since the death of the Messenger of God who is more worthy of it than ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and he who stands behind me. Servants of God, accept thankfully that which has come to you, and praise God for the victory that He has bestowed on you! In exchange for Marwān, the All-Merciful's enemy and Satan's ally, God has given you a young man of deliberation, a youth of maturity,<sup>2660</sup> one who follows in the footsteps of his ancestors, the successor of his Imams and of his forefathers whom God guided. He has taken their guidance as his model, they who were lights in the darkness, signposts of guidance, gates of mercy, keys of goodness, springs of blessing, rulers of truth, and leaders of justice.

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Then he stepped down and Abū l-‘Abbās spoke. He thanked God and praised Him, invoked God's blessings upon Muḥammad, and vowed to act virtuously. Then he descended.

Abū l-‘Abbās appointed Dāwūd b. ‘Alī over Kufa. He was the first to be appointed by Abū l-‘Abbās. Abū l-‘Abbās sent his brother Abū Ja‘far<sup>2661</sup> to Khurāsān to accept the oath of allegiance from Abū Muslim. Abū Ja‘far made his way to Marw amid thirty horsemen. Abū Muslim showed him no regard, did not meet him, and treated him with disdain. So Abū Ja‘far departed, infuriated with him, and complained about him to Abū l-‘Abbās, telling him how he had

2657 Parallel version in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:31–33.

2658 That is, property has returned to its rightful owners.

2659 That is, matters are in the right hands.

2660 Following ed. Leiden, which restores the text, corrupt in the MSS, on the basis of al-Ṭabarī.

2661 The future caliph al-Manṣūr: on this journey and Abū Muslim's behavior, cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:58–61.

been treated and making much of all this in his presence. Abū l-‘Abbās replied: “How shall we deal with him? You know what his standing was with the Imam and with Ibrāhīm, and he was the master of the revolution (*dawla*) and the one who brought it to fruition.”

2:421 Abū Muslim then came to Abū l-‘Abbās, who honored and praised him, making no mention of the matter concerning Abū Ja‘far. One day, Abū Muslim entered Abū l-‘Abbās’s presence while Abū Ja‘far was seated with the caliph. He greeted him | while standing and then left without greeting Abū Ja‘far. Abū l-‘Abbās said to him: “Your master! Your master! Why do you not greet him?”—he meant Abū Ja‘far. Abū Muslim replied, “I did see him, but in the caliph’s court one does one’s duty to him and to no other.”

When Ṣāliḥ killed Marwān b. Muḥammad, he sent his head to Abū l-‘Abbās. He laid hold of his treasures and wealth and took with him Abū ‘Uthmān and Yazīd, Marwān’s sons,<sup>2662</sup> and some of the women of Marwān’s family and his daughters. When the women arrived in Kufa, he released the women and imprisoned the men. ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān was arrested in Mecca, carried off like the others, and was imprisoned with the rest of his household.

Abū l-‘Abbās appointed Dāwūd b. ‘Alī over the Ḥijāz. The latter arrived while Marwān’s governor, al-Walīd b. ‘Urwa b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Sa‘dī, was still living in Mecca, unaware that the people had sworn allegiance to Abū l-‘Abbās. When he found out, he fled. Dāwūd arrived and delivered a well-known speech of his in which he reminded them of how God had favored them and the injustice of those who had been unjust to them. Then he said: “Upon all of you we had claims and demands, but we have put all that aside, and now all of you, red and black,<sup>2663</sup> young and old, are safe with God’s peace. We have waived our claims against you and pardoned acts of wrongdoing. By the Lord of this building, we will not turn against anyone!” He pointed toward the Ka‘ba with his hand. While he was speaking, Sudayf b. Maymūn<sup>2664</sup> stood up. He said: “May God make the governor prosper! Allow me to approach you, and grant me permission to speak.” He replied: “Come up then!” Sudayf ascended the pulpit until he was

2662 Reading with M, *ibnay Marwān* (the two sons of Marwān), that is, Abū ‘Uthmān [otherwise unidentified] and Yazīd b. Marwān. Ed. Leiden has *ibn Marwān* (the son of Marwān).

2663 A short way of saying everyone: “red” designating the relatively fair Persians and Greeks, “black” the relatively swarthy Arabs.

2664 Sudayf b. Maymūn was a Ḥijāzī poet strongly favorable to the Banū Hāshim, particularly the ‘Alids, known for engaging in poetic contests with rival poets favorable to the Umayyads. His pro-‘Alid sentiments eventually led him to attack al-Manṣūr, who had him executed in 147/764. See F. Sezgin, *GA*, 2:449–450.



only one step below Dāwūd; then he turned to face the people. Having praised God and invoked blessings on Muḥammad, he said:

Do those who are misled—may their acts come to nothing—dare to claim that anyone other than the family of the Messenger of God is better suited to assume his legacy? Why, good people, and in what manner? | Does companionship give you precedence over those with ties of kinship, those who share lineage and the inheritance of spoils? For it was they who included the ignorant among you in the distribution of spoils, they who provided food in times of hardship to those of you who were hungry, and they who assured protection in the face of fear to those of you who asked it. No one like al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib has ever been seen to whom the community agreed that honor was due. For he was the father of the Messenger after his father and the very skin between the Prophet’s eyes on the day of Khaybar, never challenging one of his orders or questioning his distribution of the spoils. By God, you of the Quraysh, never for a moment have you chosen for yourselves from whence God has chosen for you!

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Then he stepped down. Dāwūd then concluded his speech and stepped down.

When the pilgrimage season ended, Dāwūd proceeded against members of the Banū Umayya who were in Mecca. He killed a number of them; others he bound in chains and sent to al-Ṭāʾif, where they were executed. He also imprisoned a group of these people, and they died in his prison. Then he went to Medina and did the same. He had been in Medina for only two months when he died.

Abū l-‘Abbās was informed of things concerning Abū Salama al-Khallāl of which he disapproved. He was told that Abū Salama had plotted against him, had delayed him, and had sought to transfer the revolution (*dawla*) to one of the Ṭālibids. Abū Muslim wrote to Abū l-‘Abbās from Khurāsān, saying, “Kill Abū Salama, for he is a treacherous enemy and full of malice.” But Abū l-‘Abbās wrote back to him: “*You* send someone to kill him.” Abū l-‘Abbās did not wish to make Abū Muslim uneasy by his murdering Abū Salama or enable Abū Muslim to use Abū Salama as a source of grievance against him. Abū Muslim sent Murād b. Anas al-Ḍabbī.<sup>2665</sup> He waited outside the residence of Abū l-‘Abbās where Abū Salama was spending the evening in his company. When Abū Salama came out, al-Ḍabbī assaulted him and cut off his head.

<sup>2665</sup> Other sources (e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:59) give his name as Marrār b. Anas al-Ḍabbī.

Abū Salama had been known as the *wazīr* of the family of Muḥammad.<sup>2666</sup> Abū Muslim would address letters to him: "To the commander (*amīr*), Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān, *wazīr* | of the family of Muḥammad, from Abū Muslim, trustee (*amīn*) of the family of Muḥammad." When Abū Salama was killed, Sulaymān b. Muhājir said:

Verily the *wazīr*, the *wazīr* of the family of Muḥammad, has died,  
and the one who hates you has turned out to be a *wazīr*.

Abū l-ʿAbbās sent his brother Abū Jaʿfar to Wāsiṭ, where al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba was besieging Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, and ordered him to redouble efforts against Yazīd. The latter was kept under siege for eleven months. With him was a group of Marwān's commanders and men, as well as those who had been with ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra and Nubāta b. Ḥanzāla, both of whom had been killed by Qaḥṭaba. Yazīd had prepared for a siege of two years, bringing in enough food and fodder for twenty thousand fighters. But the besiegers fought him determinedly, and he therefore requested a pledge of safe-conduct. He dispatched mediators and received a positive response: a letter of safe conduct was sent to him. It contained the conditions that he had sought and was sealed by Abū al-ʿAbbās.

Ibn Hubayra came out and made his way to Abū Jaʿfar. He swore the oath of allegiance and then returned to where he had been. He would ride out each day at the head of a thousand horsemen and a thousand foot soldiers. One of Abū Jaʿfar's men said to him: "May God make the commander prosper! When Ibn Hubayra arrives, the entire army is humbled before him." So he said to Abū Khālid,<sup>2667</sup> his chamberlain, "Tell Ibn Hubayra to reduce the size of his retinue!" So Ibn Hubayra rode to him accompanied by five hundred foot soldiers. The chamberlain said to him, "It is as if you were coming to us ready for battle!" So Ibn Hubayra rode to them accompanied by thirty horsemen and thirty foot soldiers. Abū Jaʿfar was given to saying: "I have never seen anyone nobler or haughtier than Ibn Hubayra. For when he entered to see me, he would say: 'How are you, old fellow?' or 'How goes it?' or 'What news of your friend?'"<sup>2668</sup> When I | addressed him, he would say, 'What a man your father was!' Then, realizing what he had said, he would say: 'May God make the commander prosper! It has

<sup>2666</sup> See Agha, *Revolution*, 114; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 199.

<sup>2667</sup> Thus in M; in C and ed. Leiden there is a lacuna (the name is omitted and the word *ḥājib* "chamberlain" has only its first two letters written). Note that the name of Abū Jaʿfar's chamberlain is given below, ed. Leiden 2:433, 437, as Abū Ghassān.

<sup>2668</sup> Arabic. *ṣāḥib*. The reference is to Abū l-ʿAbbās.

not been long since I was acquainted with governorship,<sup>2669</sup> and whenever a man would address me, I would speak to him in this manner.” One day, Abū Ja‘far said to him, “Talk to me.” Ibn Hubayra said: “Let me share sincere advice with you. The covenant with God ought not to be broken, or its knot undone. This authority of yours is fresh; so allow the people to taste its sweetness, and spare them its bitterness.”

Letters were found written by Ibn Hubayra to Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan, informing him that he would swear allegiance to him, that at his disposal were money, equipment, and arms, and that he had twenty thousand fighters. The letters were sent on to Abū l-‘Abbās. Abū l-‘Abbās said: “He has violated his oath and been guilty of actions that make licit the shedding of his blood.” He therefore wrote to Abū Ja‘far, saying: “Strike off his head, for he has betrayed, reneged, and broken his promises.” Abū l-‘Abbās sent many letters to this effect. Abū Muslim too wrote from Khurāsān, urging that Ibn Hubayra be killed and insisting that matters would remain unsettled as long as he lived and that he was among those who were better off dead. Abū Ja‘far said to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā‘ī, “The Commander of the Faithful has ordered the killing of this man; so see to it!” Al-Ḥasan replied: “If I kill him, there will be feuding and enmity between my people and his, and those in your army who belong to each side will cause you trouble. Rather, send him a man from Muḍar to kill him.” So he sent Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī. He came to Ibn Hubayra with a group of men and found him sitting in the courtyard of the palace in Wāsiṭ. When Ibn Hubayra saw them, he said, “I swear by God that there is treachery in the faces of these people!” When they approached him, his son Dāwūd rose to face them, but one of them struck him with his sword, knocking him to the ground. They turned on Yazīd (Ibn Hubayra) with their swords and killed him; then they pursued his commanders and men and slaughtered every one of them.

Sharīk b. Shaykh al-Mahrī rebelled in Bukhārā. He said: “Not for this did we swear allegiance to the family of Muḥammad, to shed blood and act unjustly.” Against him Abū Muslim sent Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Khuzā‘ī, who fought him and killed him.

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Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī—he was Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān—rebelled in [...].<sup>2670</sup> Muḥammad b. Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik

2669 As corrected by the Leiden editor *bi-imāra*; M (and apparently C) appear to read *bi-‘umarā’ihi*, with his (Marwān’s?) governors.

2670 The MSS reading is uncertain. M has been read as *bi-l-madīna* (in Medina), but there seems to be an extra letter before the *bā’*, *alif*, *lām* of this reading, making it problematic. C is similar. Houtsma conjectured reading its undotted letters as *bimā ladayhi* (with what was with him). In any case, the locus of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī’s activ-

rebelled in Ḥarrān, besieging Mūsā b. Kaʿb, who was Abū Jaʿfar's governor there—Abū Jaʿfar himself being governor of the Jazīra at the time. He bombarded Ḥarrān with a trebuchet and burnt down its gates. This took place in the year 133.<sup>2671</sup>

When Muḥammad b. Maslama received word that Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī and Abū l-Ward b. al-Kawthar b. Zufar had been killed, he left Ḥarrān, and his forces dispersed. Mūsā b. Kaʿb pursued him, killing a number of his supporters and destroying<sup>2672</sup> several towns in the Jazīra.

Ishāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī remained in Sumaysāt<sup>2673</sup> for seven months while Abū Jaʿfar besieged him there—some say that it was not Abū Jaʿfar who besieged him, but ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī. Ishāq would say, “I am bound by an oath of allegiance and will not break it until I know that the person to whom it was sworn has died or has been killed.” Abū Jaʿfar sent word to him that Marwān had been killed. He replied, “Let me find out for sure.” When he became convinced that Marwān had indeed been killed, he requested a guarantee of safe conduct, which was given to him. He allied himself with Abū Jaʿfar, assuming a position of great influence.

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī made his way to Palestine for the reason that we have noted in what we said of him in our account of Marwān's reign. When he arrived at the river of Abū Fuṭrus,<sup>2674</sup> between Palestine and Jordan, he assembled the Banū Umayya to himself and ordered them to | come to him the following morning to accept gifts and payments. The next morning, he sat in open session and gave

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ity was Syria. Two separate accounts in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:52–55, place him in Syria, Qinnasrīn in particular, mentioning also Bālis, Tadmur, and Ḥimṣ, and associating him with the revolt of Abū l-Ward, as al-Yaʿqūbī will shortly do. He is reported to have fled afterward to the Ḥijāz and to have been killed there by Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī, the governor of Medina. If ‘in Medina’ is in fact the reading of M and C, one must assume a lacuna before it. The original text may have read something like: “Also rebelled Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī—he was Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān. [...] and he fled to the Ḥijāz and was killed by Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, the governor] in Medina.” On the revolt of Abū l-Ward and Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in Syria, see Paul M. Cobb, *White Banners*, 46–48.

2671 133 A.H. = August 9, 750 – July 29, 751.

2672 Reading with M, *wa-hadama*; ed. Leiden (following C) *wa-taʿammada* (he betook himself to).

2673 Reading the name as corrected by the Leiden editor; the MSS have the otherwise unknown “Mushmushyāt.” Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:56–58.

2674 Abū Fuṭrus is the ancient Antipatris on the ʿAwjāʾ River near Ramla. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:51.

them permission to enter. Eighty men from the Banū Umayya did so. Beside each of them he placed two men armed with clubs. He then fell silent for a while, and then al-‘Abdī<sup>2675</sup> stood up and recited his ode in which he says:

Hāshim are they who summon to gardens of Paradise;  
Banū Umayya belong to the dogs of Hell.

Al-Nu‘mān b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who was sitting next to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, said to him, “You lie, you son of an uncircumcised woman!” ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī replied, “Nay, you have told the truth, Abū Muḥammad.<sup>2676</sup> Finish your poem!” Then ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī turned to them, reminded them of the killing of al-Ḥusayn and his family, and then clapped his hands. His men struck at their heads with the clubs, until they had finished them off. A man called to him from the far end of the crowd:

‘Abd Shams is your father and also ours;  
we do not appeal to you from a distant place.  
The affinities between us are closely tied,  
fastened tight by a bond that is strong.

“By no means!” he replied. “The killing of al-Ḥusayn has severed it!” He then ordered them to drag the bodies together and spread carpets over them. Sitting on them, he called for food and began to eat. He said, “A day like the day of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī—neither of them has its equal!” A man from Kalb had come in with them, but when he saw what had happened to them, he said: “I am not of these people; I am a man from Kalb.” ‘Abdallāh asked, “What brought you in with them?”<sup>2677</sup> He replied, “I had hoped they were going to be well treated and that I would be as well.” ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī replied:

He who sticks his head between two parties, when no one  
has invited him, will find himself tossed by the rope.

—“Behead him!”

<sup>2675</sup> Otherwise unidentified.

<sup>2676</sup> That is, al-‘Abdī. Parallels in Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn*, and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd*.

<sup>2677</sup> M makes it possible to fill the lacuna in C and ed. Leiden. Read: *rajl min kalb walam mā raā mā ḥalla bihim qāla wa-mā ana min al-qawm ana rajl min kalb qāl fa-mā adkhalaka ma’ahum ...*

2:427 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī reached Damascus during the month of Ramadān of the year 132<sup>2678</sup> and laid siege to it. Seeking relief, the people sent Yaḥyā b. Baḥr to him | to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct. He went to ‘Abdallāh and requested the guarantee, which ‘Abdallāh granted him. Yaḥyā entered the city; he announced the guarantee of safe-conduct to the people, and a number of people went out. Yaḥyā b. Baḥr then said to ‘Abdallāh, “Commander, put the guarantee of security in writing for us.” So ‘Abdallāh ordered an inkwell and paper. Then he turned his gaze toward the city, whose wall was swarming with black-clad troops. So he said to Yaḥyā, “I have entered it by force.” Yaḥyā replied, “No, by God; but by treachery!”<sup>2679</sup> ‘Abdallāh said to him, “If I did not know of your affection for us, the family of the Prophet, I would have you beheaded for receiving me in this way.” Then, regretting his conduct, he said, “Boy, take this banner,<sup>2680</sup> affix it to his house, and announce that anyone who enters the house of Yaḥyā b. Baḥr shall be safe.” People therefore crowded into the house, and no one was killed either there or in the neighboring houses. After many people had been killed, the crier proclaimed: “Safe-conduct is guaranteed to all but five: al-Walīd b. Mu‘āwiya, Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, Abān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad, and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’.”

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī went to the Great Mosque and gave a famous speech in which he spoke of the Banū Umayya, their oppression and hostility, and how they had treated God’s religion as a mockery and plaything. He described the prohibited things that they had allowed, their wrongdoings, and their misdeeds. He spoke of how they had conducted themselves in the community of Muḥammad, suspending ordinances, dispensing with the prescribed punishments, monopolizing state revenue, and committing shameful acts. He spoke of how God had visited His vengeance on them and had set the sword of justice against them. Then he stepped down.

2:428 Some say that Abū l-‘Abbās wrote to him saying, “Exact retribution from the Banū Umayya!”—and so he did to them what he did. He gave orders to dig up the tombs of the Banū Umayya, and he had the bodies removed and burned; he spared none of them. When he reached al-Ruṣāfa, he had Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik exhumed. He found him in a cave atop his throne—he had been painted with a liquid to preserve him. He had the body brought out, and he struck its face with a club. He had the body suspended between two stakes | and flogged one hundred and twenty times, until the body parts were strewn about. He then

2678 Ramaḍān 132 = April 13 – May 12, 750.

2679 This suggests disagreement over the terms of surrender and, hence, the city’s status.

2680 As corrected by ed. Leiden. Both MSS write *al-ghulām* (the boy, servant), instead of *al-‘alam* (the banner).

had it collected and burned. ‘Abdallāh said at the time: “My father”—he meant ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh—“was praying one day, wearing a waistcloth and a cloak. The cloak fell off and I saw the marks of whip-strokes on his back. When he finished his prayers, I said to him, ‘Father, may God make me your ransom, what is that?’ He replied, ‘The cross-eyed one’—meaning Hishām—‘wrongfully seized me and had me whipped sixty times.’ I swore to God that if I ever got hold of him, I would whip him twice for each of those strokes.”

Ḥabīb b. Murra al-Murī rebelled in al-Ḥawrān; he clothed himself in white and installed one of the Banū Umayya.<sup>2681</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī marched against him, killed him, and dispersed his following.

Marwān’s governor over Ifrīqiya was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-‘Uqbī, who had arrived there in 127 and was still there when Marwān was killed. When the people of Ifrīqiya discovered that Marwān had been killed, a group of people of the land rose up against him, including ‘Uqba b. al-Walīd al-Ṣadafī from the region of [...].<sup>2682</sup>

Following the killing of Marwān, the Banū Umayya scattered. A group of them reached<sup>2683</sup> Ifrīqiya and made their way to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān kept fighting against the partisans of Abū l-‘Abbās; however, his brother, Ilyās b. Ḥabīb, rose against him, declaring himself in support of the Banū l-‘Abbās, and the people gave him the oath of allegiance. He seized those of the Banū Umayya who had come to Ifrīqiya, imprisoned them, and sent word of them to Abū l-‘Abbās.

The people of Mosul rose against their governor, plundered his property, and expelled him. Abū l-‘Abbās appointed his brother, Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, over Mosul, assigning him four | thousand men from Khurāsān. He arrived in Mosul in the year 133<sup>2684</sup> and killed a great number of its people. Some have said that he assaulted the people on a Friday, killing eighteen thousand persons of pure Arab stock. He then killed their slaves and their clients until he had annihilated them. So much blood flowed that the waters of the Tigris changed color. The people of Mosul have not been known to rebel to this day.

2:429

Abū l-‘Abbās appointed Muḥammad b. Ṣūl over Armenia, and he marched there with a large force. At that time, Musāfir b. Kathīr controlled the region as the deputy of Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī, Marwān’s governor. Muḥammad

<sup>2681</sup> For details of this revolt, see Cobb, *White Banners*, 76–78.

<sup>2682</sup> Apparent lacuna in both MSS.

<sup>2683</sup> Reading with M, *fa-laḥiqa*; the copyist of C transposed the letters *l* and *h* (undotted), leading the Leiden editor to read *fa-khalafa* (and a group of them survived).

<sup>2684</sup> 133 A.H. = August 9, 750 – July 29, 751.

b. Šul fought and killed him and took control of Armenia. The people of al-Baylaqān went up<sup>2685</sup> into the fortress of al-Kilāb, surrendering the city, whose chief at that time was Ward b. Šafwān al-Sāmī of the clan of Sāma b. Lu'ayy. They gathered around themselves a mob of vagabonds (*ša'ālīk*)<sup>2686</sup> and others in the fortress of al-Kilāb. Muḥammad b. Šul sent Šālīḥ b. Šubayḥ al-Kindī against them. He besieged them and killed a great many of them.

Abū l-'Abbās sent Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī to al-Sind, where Manšūr b. Jumhūr was in control. Mūsā set out with twenty thousand fighters and reached Qandābīl, where he remained for a time. Mūsā then wrote to those who were supporting Manšūr, as did their tribes.<sup>2687</sup> Mūsā marched until he engaged Manšūr, who fled from him. He passed through a stretch of desert where Manšūr overtook him and killed him.

2:430 Abū l-'Abbās moved from al-Ḥīra and settled at al-Anbār. There, in the year 134,<sup>2688</sup> he established a city that he named al-Hāshimīyya. He purchased from the people many plots of lands on which he built, | distributing them as grants to the members of his family and his commanders. But the former owners of these lands and dwellings petitioned him, saying they had not been paid their proper value. He therefore said, "This is building that has been founded on what is not godfearing!" He commanded that his tents should be pitched on the city's outskirts and flatlands until the people received full payment for their lands; then he returned to his palace.

Abū l-'Abbās appointed his brother, Abū Ja'far, over the Jazīra, Mosul, the regions along the frontier,<sup>2689</sup> Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Abū Ja'far set out and made his way to al-Raqqā. He laid out al-Rāfiqa<sup>2690</sup> on the banks of the Euphrates. It was designed for him by Adham b. Muḥriz. He appointed al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā'ī over the Jazīra and Yazīd b. Usayd<sup>2691</sup> al-Sulamī over

2685 Reading with M: *fa-ša'ida*; C and ed. Leiden, *fa-šadda* (he turned [the people]).

2686 Arabic *ša'ālīk* (plural of *šu'lūk*) apparently refers to gangs of brigands ready to hire themselves out as mercenaries. See the article by A. Arazi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Šu'lūk*.

2687 Following M, *wa-kātabathum qabā'iluhum*. C and ed. Leiden read, *wa-kātabahum qabā'iluhum*, which would mean the same thing. The Leiden editor conjectured the existence of a lacuna before the phrase and suggested emending to *wa-kātaba qabā'ilahum* (and he wrote to their tribes).

2688 134 A.H. = July 30, 751 – July 17, 752.

2689 Arabic. *al-thughūr*: the regions along the Byzantine frontier.

2690 On al-Rāfiqa (the name means "the Companion," i.e., of al-Raqqā), located immediately to the west of al-Raqqā, see the article by M. Meinecke in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Raqqā.

2691 This is the most common vocalization of the name, but it possibly is to be read "Asīd."



Armenia. Then, dismissing the latter, he appointed al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā’i over Armenia, where he remained throughout the days of Abū l-‘Abbās.

Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, having requested a guarantee of safe-conduct from Abū l-‘Abbās, arrived to see him, accompanied by two of his sons. Abū l-‘Abbās welcomed him warmly and graciously and had him seated with his two sons on cushions and chairs. [Abū] al-‘Abbās used to hold evening sessions to which his courtiers and kinsmen were allowed entry. Abū l-Jahm entered to see him on a particular night in which he had allowed kinsmen and courtiers to be present. He said to him: “A desert Arab has come riding swiftly on his camel and has tied and hobbled it at the gate. He came to me and said, ‘Seek permission for me to see the Commander of the Faithful.’ I replied, ‘Go take off your traveling clothes and come back to me and I will ask his permission.’ But he replied, ‘I have sworn not to remove any garment or lift my face covering until I see his face.’” Abū l-‘Abbās asked, “Did he tell you who he was?” Abū l-Jahm replied, “Yes, he claimed to be Sudayf, your client.” Abū l-‘Abbās said: “Sudayf? Allow him in.” A desert Arab entered, looking like a crooked staff. He stood and greeted Abū l-‘Abbās as Commander of the Faithful; then he came forward, kissed his hands and feet, and moved back. Facing the caliph, he launched into the following:<sup>2692</sup>

Sovereignty now is set on a firm foundation  
 with the illustrious lords of the Banū l-‘Abbās.  
 O Commander of those who have been cleansed of every filth,  
 O Head to whom every head makes its way!  
 You are the rightly-guided one of Hāshim and their summit;<sup>2693</sup>  
 how many men, one after another, have hoped for you!  
 Do not forgive ‘Abd Shams their lapses;  
 cut down every one, mature or newly sprouted.  
 Annihilate them, O Caliph, with the blade;  
 eradicate from you all traces of their stain.  
 Send them down to where God has sent them:  
 to the abode of humiliation and misery.  
 I am vexed, as are my kind, to see them  
 seated on pillows and on chairs.

2:431

<sup>2692</sup> The poem by Sudayf b. Maymūn (on whom see the article by Taieb El Acheche in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.) is well known. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 4:93, gives a twelve-line version. Moscati, “Massacre des Umayyades,” 106–107 (Arabic) and 111–112 (translation), provides a version of the poem preserved in al-Balādhurī and others.

<sup>2693</sup> Reading with M, *wa-sawāhā kam*. For this meaning of *sawā*, see Lane, s.v.

Only their fear has made them ingratiate themselves;  
 so to them from you be it as the cutting of razors.  
 Remember the death of al-Ḥusayn and Zayd,  
 and him who at al-Mihrās was laid low;<sup>2694</sup>  
 And the slain one<sup>2695</sup> who in al-Ḥarrān was consigned to a grave,  
 in a strange land and in oblivion.  
 What a fine dog for the fight your client<sup>2696</sup> would be!  
 Why not release him from the snares of destitution?<sup>2697</sup>

Sulaymān b. Hishām stood up and said, “Commander of the Faithful, this client of yours has been inciting you to kill me and my two sons from the moment of his appearance before you, and, by God, you make every sign of wishing to do away with us treacherously.” Abū l-‘Abbās replied: “If I had wanted to, nothing on your part would have prevented me, nor should I have had to resort to deception. But inasmuch as this has come into your mind, there is nothing good in you. Abū Jahm, take him and his sons, execute them, and bring me their heads!” He went out, executed them, and returned to him with their heads.

‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan came to Abū al-‘Abbās with his brother al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan. Abū l-‘Abbās welcomed him graciously, showing him generosity and affection, and gave him many gifts. He then learned of a matter concerning Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh that offended him. | He mentioned it to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, who said, “By God, Commander of the Faithful, there is nothing about Muḥammad that should trouble you.” Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan’s brother, then said to him, “Commander of the Faithful, shall we speak with the tongue of loyalty and kinship, or out of awe of power and reverence for the office of caliph?” He replied, “Why, as a kinsman, of course!” Al-Ḥasan said, “Do you think, Commander of the Faithful, that if

2694 See Moscati, “Massacre,” 112, note 79. The words “him who at al-Mihrās was laid low” refer to Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet’s paternal uncle killed at the Battle of Uḥud. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup> by G. M. Meredith-Owens, s.v. Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

2695 The other version of the line has *al-imām* (rather than *al-qatīl*). Moscati sees it as a reference to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, Abū l-‘Abbās’s murdered brother.

2696 Arabic *mawlā*, an apparent self-reference on the poet’s part.

2697 The second half of the line is obscure and there are several versions, none completely clear. Both MSS of al-Ya‘qūbī reads *lawlā ḥ-l-h*, with the second word ambiguous as to vocalization. If one reads *lawlā ḥalluhū* (“but for his being released from the snares of destitution,” or, “why not release him ...”), the line refers to the poet’s poverty and is a thinly disguised plea for a gift as recompense for the encomium.

God had decreed that Muḥammad should take charge of this dominion and you sought to confront<sup>2698</sup> him, even with the occupants of heaven and earth at your side, that you would have overcome him?” “No,” replied Abū l-‘Abbās. Al-Ḥasan continued, “And what if He had not granted this to Muḥammad, and Muḥammad had set forth with the occupants of heaven and earth at his side, would Muḥammad have been able to harm you?” “No, by God,” he replied, “it is all just as you have said.” Al-Ḥasan then said, “Then why deprive this old man of your grace and goodness?” Abū l-‘Abbās replied, “You will not hear me mention him again after today.”

Word reached Abū l-‘Abbās that Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh had stirred up unrest in Medina. He wrote to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan about it, including the following verse in his letter:

I wish to incline toward him,<sup>2699</sup> but he wishes to kill me!  
Bring some excuse for your friend, for what he wishes to do!

‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan wrote back:

How could he intend this when for him  
you are as the aorta to the heart?  
How could he intend this when for him  
it is your spark and no other that sets him ablaze?  
How could he intend this when for him  
you are a leader and guide for the Banū Hāshim?

The affair of Muḥammad (b. ‘Abdallāh) went unmentioned during the caliphate of Abū l-‘Abbās; nothing involving him became apparent. Whenever any news of him reached Abū l-‘Abbās, he would mention it to ‘Abdallāh, who would say, “Commander of the Faithful, we will defend it<sup>2700</sup> against the smallest particle of dust that would irritate your eye.” Abū l-‘Abbās would reply, “I trust you and I rely on God.”

<sup>2698</sup> Reading with ed. Leiden, *ajlabta*. The word is undotted here and in next line in both MSS; the reading and translation are uncertain.

<sup>2699</sup> Or, “to give him gifts”—accepting the emendation of ed. Leiden: *hibā’ahū*. M reads *hayyāhu*, which is both unmetrical and yields no sense. The copyist of C apparently corrected to *hayātahū* (his life), which is metrical and makes sense, but is probably a copyist’s substitution of a more common word (a *lectio faciliior*) for a less common one.

<sup>2700</sup> That is, the caliphate.

2:433

Abū l-‘Abbās was generous, forbearing, magnanimous, and devoted to the members of his family. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Sulaymān al-Nawfalī told me, on the authority of his grandfather, Sulaymān, who said: “A group of us from the Banū Hāshim called on Abū l-‘Abbās. He had us approach and even had us sit beside him, saying, ‘O Banū Hāshim, praise God that He placed me among you and did not make me a miser or an envier.’”

Abū Muslim sought permission to present himself and was granted it. He arrived from Khurāsān in the year 136.<sup>2701</sup> When it came time for the pilgrimage, he asked permission to participate and was granted it. Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr made the pilgrimage with him. When they departed, Abū l-‘Abbās’s illness grew more severe. He was told, “Make the succession go to Abū Ja‘far.” [He died]<sup>2702</sup> of his illness following Abū Ja‘far’s departure on the pilgrimage.

The person with the greatest influence over Abū l-‘Abbās was Abū l-Jahm b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Bāhilī. His companions at his evening gatherings included Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, Khālīd b. Ṣafwān, ‘Abdallāh b. Shubruma, and Jabala b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kindī. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī<sup>2703</sup> was in charge of his security forces (*shurṭa*), and Abū Bakr<sup>2704</sup> b. Asad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuzā‘ī was in charge of his personal guard (*ḥaras*). His chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was [Abū] Ghassān, his client. His judges were ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā and Ibn Shubruma.

When his illness worsened, two envoys<sup>2705</sup> came to see him, one from al-Sind, the other from Ifrīqiya. When he learned of their arrival, he said, “I shall die in three days.” According to ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī: “I said to him, ‘Not so! God will prolong your life.’ He replied: ‘My brother Ibrāhīm told me on the authority of his father and mine, who received it from Abū Hāshim ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who received it from his father, from his grandfather, that two

2701 136 A.H. = July 7, 753 – June 26, 754.

2702 Filling the apparent lacuna in both MSS as suggested by Landberg. If one assumes no lacuna, the text as written may mean: “He was told ... during his illness following his (namely, Abū Ja‘far’s) departure on the pilgrimage.”

2703 On the career of ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī, who was later appointed by al-Manṣūr to be governor of Khurāsān, where his measures against the ‘Alids and even some partisans of the ‘Abbāsids eventually brought him to grief (cf. below, ed. Leiden, 2:445–446), see the article by Elton L. Daniel in *ER*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī.

2704 Sic ed. Leiden; M: Abū Mālik. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 415, gives the name as Asad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuzā‘ī.

2705 Or, “messengers”: reading with M, *wāfidāni*; ed. Leiden, *wāfidāni* (two delegations). However, ed. Leiden later reads *wāfidāni* as in M.

envoys would come to me in this city of mine, one from al-Sind and the other from the people of Ifrīqiya, and no more than three days later | I would be laid in my grave and my authority would be inherited from me.’ Then he arose and said, ‘Do not leave your place until I go out to you.’” (Continuing his report,) ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī said: “I was still in my place when the muezzins, at the time of the afternoon prayer, wished peace upon the caliph.<sup>2706</sup> Then his messenger arrived and directed me to lead the people in prayer; so I went in (to the mosque). He still had not appeared when the muezzins finished the call for the sunset prayer.<sup>2707</sup> His messenger appeared to me directing me to lead the people in prayer, and I did so. Still he did not appear when the muezzins finished the call for the evening prayer. His messenger again came to me directing me to lead the people in prayer and I did so. Then I returned to my place until the night had passed.<sup>2708</sup> When I had completed my *qunūt* prayer<sup>2709</sup> he came to me with a letter addressed, ‘From ‘Abdallāh and his heir,<sup>2710</sup> to the Family of the Messenger of God, his supporters, and all Muslims.’ Then he said: ‘Uncle, when my soul departs, wrap me in my gown, and keep my death a secret until this letter has been read to the people. When it has been read, administer the oath of allegiance to the one who is named in it. When the people have given the oath, tend to me: prepare my body, pray over me, and bury me.’ I said, ‘Commander of the Faithful, do you feel any sickness?’ He replied: ‘What illness is stronger than a sound report transmitted from the Messenger of God? By God, I have not been lied to, nor have I lied, nor have you been lied to.<sup>2711</sup> Take this letter and proceed in the proper fashion.’”

He fell ill that night and died on a Sunday, the 12th day of Dhū l-Ḥijja in the year 136, at the age of thirty-six.<sup>2712</sup> Others say that he had not yet reached that age as he was born in the year 105<sup>2713</sup> in the days of Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī led the prayer for him—according to others, ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī did. He was buried at al-Anbār in his palace. His reign lasted four years and nine

2:434

2706 That is, completed the call to prayer.

2707 The words *fa-lam yakhruj ilā an yusallima l-mu‘adhdhinūna li-waqt ṣalāt al-maghrib* have dropped out of C (and ed. Leiden) by homeoteleuton.

2708 Reading with M: *ilā an zāla l-layl*.

2709 An intercessory prayer inserted into the morning prayer.

2710 That is, Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr.

2711 The utterance consists of three inflected forms of the Arabic verb “to lie,” but since the MS is unvocalized, which forms are intended is not clear. The translation follows the conjecture of the Leiden editor.

2712 June 9, 754.

2713 105 A.H. = June 10, 723 – May 28, 724.

months. He left behind a son who was still a minor. His daughter was Rayṭa, the wife of al-Mahdī, who was the only one of the caliphs of the Banū Hāshim whom it was permissible for her to marry.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his days:

- in the year 132, Dāwūd b. ‘Alī;
- 2:435 – in the year 133, | Ziyād b. ‘Ubaydallāh<sup>2714</sup> al-Ḥārithī;
- in the year 134, ‘Īsā b. Mūsā;
- in the year 135, Sulaymān b. ‘Alī.

Those who led the campaigns during his days: In the year 133, the Byzantine tyrant, that is Constantine,<sup>2715</sup> marched until he encamped by Malatya. He besieged the town, but then a settlement was arranged.<sup>2716</sup> Mūsā b. Ka’b al-Tamīmī marched towards him, but they did not engage one another. Abū l-‘Abbās wrote to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, informing him that the enemy had moved into action when he was off his guard. He ordered him to move forward with the forces under his command, and spread them across<sup>2717</sup> the areas of the frontier. He marched, crossing through the pass, and was still positioning his forces when word arrived of the death of Abū l-‘Abbās; he therefore came back.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā’*) during his days were:

- Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī,<sup>2718</sup>
- Ibn Abī Ṭuwāla al-Anṣārī,<sup>2719</sup>
- Mūsā b. ‘Uqba,
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala al-Aslamī,<sup>2720</sup>

<sup>2714</sup> M, C, ed. Leiden, ‘Abdallāh; corrected in ed. Leiden, *Addenda et corrigenda*, 1:xiii.

<sup>2715</sup> Constantine v.

<sup>2716</sup> Arabic *ṣūliḥa* ‘*anhā*’ implies that he agreed to retreat from the city against the payment of tribute.

<sup>2717</sup> Conjectural reading: both MSS appear corrupt.

<sup>2718</sup> Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd b. Qays al-Anṣārī (d. 143/760) was a Medinan judge who later served under al-Manṣūr in al-Hāshimiyya. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:221–224; Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:407.

<sup>2719</sup> Apparently the son of Abū Ṭuwāla ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ma‘mar b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, who served as judge in Medina during the reign of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and died in 134/751–752; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:297.

<sup>2720</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala b. ‘Amr b. Sanna al-Aslamī was a Medinan scholar who died in 145/762–763; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2560; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:161.

- Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī,<sup>2721</sup>
- Zayd b. Aslam,<sup>2722</sup>
- Abū Khāzim al-Qāḍī,<sup>2723</sup>
- Hishām b. ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr,<sup>2724</sup>
- Muḥammad b. [... b.] ‘Alqama,<sup>2725</sup>
- Mūsā b. ‘Ubayda al-Rabadhī,<sup>2726</sup>
- Ibn Abī Ṣa‘ṣa’a,<sup>2727</sup>
- Rabī‘at al-Ra’y,<sup>2728</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. Ḥaṣṣ b. ‘Aṣim b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>2729</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. [Yasār],<sup>2730</sup>

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- 2721 Abū Ḥamza Thābit b. Abī Ṣafiyya Dīnār (or Sa‘īd) al-Thumālī al-Azdī, a Kufan client of the Muhallab family, was an extreme Shī‘ite and lived into the reign of al-Manṣūr; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:7–8.
- 2722 Abū Usāma Zayd b. Aslam al-‘Adawī (d. 136/753–754) was a Medinan scholar, a client of the family of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, known as Qur’ān reader and exegete. See Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:405–406; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2560.
- 2723 Khāzim is the Leiden editor’s emendation (*Addenda et corrigenda*, 1:xiii); the MSS read Abū Ḥāzim. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 411, notes the death in 135/752–753 of an Abū Ḥāzim, though without adding al-Qāḍī (the judge). The person meant here is not to be confused with a later Abū Khāzim (d. 292/905), who was judge in Kufa and Baghdad.
- 2724 Hishām b. ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr (61/680–146/736) was a Medinan traditionist and jurist who eventually settled in Baghdad. See Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:88–89.
- 2725 Here he is called simply Muḥammad b. ‘Alqama, but in a later list (ed. Leiden, 2:470) he is called Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alqama. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 420, notes the death in 143/752–753 of Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama, and ‘Amr is probably the correct reading. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:375–377.
- 2726 Mūsā b. ‘Ubayda al-Rabadhī was born in Medina and died in 152/769 or 153. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:356–360.
- 2727 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:265, gives his name as ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, but with little further information.
- 2728 The Medinan jurist Rabī‘a b. Abī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (also given as Rabī‘a b. Farrūkh, d. 136/753–754) was called Rabī‘at al-Ra’y (Rabī‘a of Opinion) because of his use of individual opinion (*ra’y*) to decide matters of law where no clear text of Qur’ān or ḥadīth was available. See the article by J. Wakin in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ra’y; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:245; Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:406–407.
- 2729 Medinan, said to have been imprisoned for his involvement in the uprising of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan but to have been released by al-Manṣūr. Died 171/787–788, according to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 448; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:326–328.
- 2730 Usually called simply Ibn Ishāq (b. Medina c. 85/704, d. Baghdad 150/767), Muḥammad b. Ishāq was one of the main authorities on the life of the Prophet. See the article by J. M. B. Jones in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Ishāq.

- 2:436 – ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāwūs,<sup>2731</sup>  
 – Ṣadaqa [b.] Yasār,<sup>2732</sup>  
 – Ḥumayd b. Qays al-A‘raj,<sup>2733</sup>  
 – ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Uthmān b. Khuthaym,<sup>2734</sup>  
 – ‘Uthmān b. al-Aswad,<sup>2735</sup>  
 – ‘Abd al-Malik b. Jurayj,<sup>2736</sup>  
 – ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr | al-Laythī,  
 – Abū Sār al-Nasā‘ī,<sup>2737</sup>  
 – Mujālid b. Sa‘īd,<sup>2738</sup>  
 – al-Ajlāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kindī,<sup>2739</sup>  
 – Maṣṣūr b. al-Mu‘tamir al-Sulamī,<sup>2740</sup>  
 – Muṭarrif b. Ṭarīf al-Ḥārithī,<sup>2741</sup>

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- 2731 ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (d. 132/749–750) was known for his expertise on rare words; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:267–268.
- 2732 A Ṣadaqa b. Yasār appears in two isnāds in al-Ṭabarī’s *Ta’rikh*, both times as an informant of Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:419, identifies him as Meccan, originally from the Jazīra, and says that he lived into early ‘Abbāsīd times; see also Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:357.
- 2733 Ḥumayd b. Qays al-A‘raj (d. 130/747–748) was a Meccan Qur’ān reader; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:46–47.
- 2734 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Uthmān b. Khuthaym (d. c. 137/754–755) was a Meccan Qur’ān reader and traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:314–315.
- 2735 ‘Uthmān b. al-Aswad b. Mūsā Bādhān was a Meccan client of the Banū Jumāḥ; died in 147/764–765, according to Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, p. 424, or in 150/149, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:107.
- 2736 Ibn Jurayj (full name ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Jurayj) was a Meccan traditionist and jurist, b. 80/699, d. 150/767. See the article by Harald Motzki in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ibn Jurayj; and Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:91.
- 2737 Sic ed. Leiden, but the name is otherwise unknown, and the reading of M looks like Yasār or Bashshār. He is mentioned again at ed. Leiden, 2:470–471, below. It may be a copyist’s error for the attested Kufan traditionist Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murra al-Shaybānī (d. 132/749–750). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:457.
- 2738 The Kufan scholar Mujālid b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Umayr al-Hamdānī died at the end of 144/762; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:39–41.
- 2739 Al-Ajlāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kindī (d. c. 145/762–763) was a Kufan Shī‘ī traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:89–190.
- 2740 Abū ‘Attāb Maṣṣūr b. al-Mu‘tamir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Sulamī was a Kufan traditionist who died in 132/749–750; see Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:404; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:312.
- 2741 Both MSS write his father’s name as Ṭarīf, but he is attested as Muṭarrif b. Ṭarīf al-Ḥārithī, a Kufan who died between 133/750–751 and 143/760–761; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:172–173.



- Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī,<sup>2742</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umar al-Fuqaymī,<sup>2743</sup>
- Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā,<sup>2744</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umāra,<sup>2745</sup>
- Mis‘ar b. Kidām,<sup>2746</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abbās al-Hamdānī,<sup>2747</sup>
- Zufar b. al-Hudhayl,<sup>2748</sup>
- Ishāq b. Suwayd al-‘Udhri,<sup>2749</sup>
- Abū Bakr b. Nasr b. Ḥarb,<sup>2750</sup>
- Yūnus b. ‘Ubayd,<sup>2751</sup>
- Abū l-Mu‘tamir Sulaymān al-Taymī,<sup>2752</sup>
- ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd,<sup>2753</sup>
- [Ḥumayd] al-Ṭawīl, client of the Khuzā‘a,<sup>2754</sup>

2742 See the note to ed. Leiden, 2:411, above.

2743 His name is given as al-Ḥasan b. ‘Amr al-Fuqaymī in Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 420, and he is said to have died in 142/759–760 in Kufa; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:310.

2744 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā (b. 74/693, d. 148/765) was a Kufan judge and jurist; see Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:518, and the article by J. Schacht in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Abī Laylā.

2745 Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umāra b. Muḍarrib, a client of the Bajila, (d. 153/770–771) was a Kufan who became a judge in Baghdad in the reign of al-Manṣūr; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:304–308.

2746 Mis‘ar b. Kidām b. Ḥāhīr al-Hilālī was a Kufan traditionist who died between 153/770–771 and 155/771–772; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:113–115.

2747 The MSS write “b. ‘Ayyāsh” here, but give the name correctly below. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:102–103, identifies him as Kufan and Shī‘ī, but gives no dates.

2748 Abū l-Hudhayl Zufar b. al-Hudhayl b. Qays al-Anbarī (b. 110/728–729, d. 158/774–775) was a Basran judge and jurist, a student of Abū Ḥanīfa; see Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:419.

2749 Sic MSS, but better attested as Ishāq b. Suwayd b. Hubayra al-‘Adawī, a Basran traditionist (d. of plague in 131/748–749) said to have been hostile to ‘Alī; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:236.

2750 Sic MSS, but as the name is otherwise unattested, he is more likely to be Abū Bakr b. Bishr b. Ḥarb, the son of the Basran traditionist Bishr b. Ḥarb.

2751 Yūnus b. ‘Ubayd b. Dīnār (d. 139/756–757) was a Basran traditionist, a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; see Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:88.

2752 Abū al-Mu‘tamir Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī (b. 46/666–667, d. 143/760–761) was a Basran traditionist; see Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:285.

2753 Abū ‘Uthmān ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd b. Bāb (b. 80/699–700, d. 144/761–762) was a Basran scholar, originally a pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but later a member of the circle of Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā, one of the founders of the Mu‘tazilī school; see Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:597.

2754 Abū ‘Ubayda Ḥumayd b. Abī Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl al-Khuzā‘ī (b. 68/687–688, d. 142/759 or 143) was a Basran traditionist; see Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:89.

- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr al-Awzā‘ī,<sup>2755</sup>
- Sālīm al-Afṭas,
- ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ḥanafī.

### The Days of Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr

He was ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī. His mother was Sallāma al-Barbariyya.<sup>2756</sup> He was given the oath of allegiance on the day that Abū l-‘Abbās died, that is, on Sunday the 12th of Dhū l-Ḥijja, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ḥazīrān (June), in the year 136.

On that day the Sun was in Cancer, 1° 10’; the Moon in Gemini, 7° 45’; Saturn in Capricorn, 16° 50’, retrograde; Jupiter in Aries, 27°; Mars in Scorpio, 19° 40’; Venus in Taurus, 15° 50’; Mercury | in Cancer, 11°; and the Ascending Node in Cancer, 1° 50’.

As Abū Ja‘far was on pilgrimage, ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī accepted the oath of allegiance on his behalf from those of the Banū Hāshim and the commanders who were present at al-Anbār. Abū Ja‘far received word of this while he was on the Mecca road fifteen days after the death of Abū l-‘Abbās. Abū Muslim and the members of the Banū Hāshim and commanders who were with him then gave the oath of allegiance. It was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-‘Abdī who brought him the news. Abū Ja‘far asked, “What place is this?” They replied, “A place known as Zakiyya.”<sup>2757</sup> He said, “It is an affair that will thrive (*yazkā*), God willing!” When

2755 On Abū ‘Amr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr al-Awzā‘ī (b. Damascus, d. 157/774 Beirut), one of the main representatives of the oldest Syrian legal school, see the article by Steven C. Judd in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Awzā‘ī.

2756 The word al-Barbariyya (the Berber woman) is undotted in both MSS; cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:128 (§ 2370) (Pellat’s index lists the sources for her name). Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 412, identifies her as a concubine (*umm walad*), but gives no name; similarly, al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 31, identifies her a concubine (*umm walad*), but gives no name; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ummahāt al-khulafā’*, 18, identifies her as a Berber woman, Salāma, from the tribe of Nafza or Šinhāja; al-Ṭabarī does not mention her. See the article by H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Manṣūr, Abū Dja‘far.

2757 The name of the first place has been rendered as *Zakiyya* here in accordance with the long note by Houtsma in his edition of the parallel to this passage: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:89. M reads *Dakka* and the following verb as *yadhkā* (that will blaze up, or be intensely fragrant). Note that al-Ṭabarī implies that the swearing of the oath at al-Ṣufayya belongs to another tradition, one that gave the name of the place in a slightly different form, not that the oath was sworn twice.

he was given the oath of allegiance at al-Ṣufayya, he said: "It is an affair that will be clear (*yaṣṣū*) for us! Speed up your pace! Hurry! Make haste!"<sup>2758</sup>

Before his death, Abū l-ʿAbbās had written to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī concerning the summer campaign, ordering him to cross the pass.<sup>2759</sup> When Abū l-ʿAbbās died, ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī and those with him in al-Anbār<sup>2760</sup> were loath to write to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī. They wrote instead to Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, who was in Egypt, informing him of what had befallen Abū l-ʿAbbās and his designation of Abū Jaʿfar as his heir. They told him that they had sworn allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar and were unanimous in their support for him. ʿĪsā ordered Ṣāliḥ to swear the oath of allegiance and to proceed to Syria, where he was to administer the oath to ʿAbdallāh.

Word of this reached ʿAbdallāh. Others say that ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī sent him word of the oath of allegiance to al-Manṣūr with Abū Ghassān Yazīd b. Ziyād, Abū l-ʿAbbās's chamberlain. The latter reached ʿAbdallāh after he had already crossed the pass into Byzantine territory. He therefore turned back and made his way to Dulūk<sup>2761</sup> in the military district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn. He brought together Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī and a group of the commanders who were with him and said, "Do you not bear witness | that the Commander of the Faithful, Abū l-ʿAbbās, said, 'He who marches out against Marwān is my heir apparent?'" They bore witness that it was so and swore allegiance to him, as did most of the people of Syria. He wrote to ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī and others, informing them that the oath of allegiance to him had been sworn by the commanders with him and the people of Syria on the strength of Abū l-ʿAbbās's promise to him, and he set off in the direction of Iraq. When he reached Ḥarrān, he met with Mūsā b. Kaʿb, its governor, and informed him of the testimony of those who called God to witness that Abū l-ʿAbbās had designated him as his heir. When Mūsā responded by preparing the city's defenses, he besieged him for forty days and then granted him a safe-conduct on condition that he abandon the city and leave it open to him. Then he continued toward Iraq.

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Abū Jaʿfar reached Kufa on the first day of Muḥarram.<sup>2762</sup> He stayed in al-Ḥīra, leading the people in the Friday prayer, then proceeded to al-Anbār, to Abū al-ʿAbbās's capital. There he gathered his forces and took control of Abū

2758 Reading with M, *aʿdū l-sayr*, for C and ed. Leiden *aʿdād al-sinīn* (for numbers of years).

2759 That is, into Byzantine territory through the Taurus. The text does not specify which of the passes normally used for these campaigns was meant.

2760 Reading with M, *bi-l-anbār*, for C and ed. Leiden, *min al-abnāʾ* (of the sons).

2761 Dulūk (ancient Doliche, modern Dülükköy in Turkey, near the Syrian border) was a fortress on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier; see the article by D. Sourdell in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dulūk.

2762 1 Muḥarram 137 = June 27, 754.

al-‘Abbās’s treasuries. Then he received word regarding ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī and that he was heading toward Iraq. He said to Abū Muslim, “No one but I or you can deal with ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī.” Loath to undertake the affair, Abū Muslim said, “Commander of the Faithful, the affair of ‘Abdallāh in Syria is minor and trivial, while the situation in Khurāsān is extremely dangerous.” Abū Muslim then went back to his residence, where he said to his secretary, “What have I to do with these two men?” Then he said: “The wise thing for me is to leave for Khurāsān and leave these two rams to go at it. Whichever one prevails will write to us, and we shall write back with our obedience and submission. He will think that we have done well and applied ourselves on his behalf.” His secretary said to him, “I beseech you by God that you not enable the people of Khurāsān to censure you and to think that you have reneged on a matter after committing yourself to it.” He replied: “Damn you! I have thought about all those to whom I have taken my sword in cold blood, as well as | those who have fallen in battle, and by my reckoning they number one hundred thousand people, no small number before God.”

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His secretary did not desist until Abū Muslim obeyed Abū Ja‘far’s order to set out. He assembled a very large force and then set out for the Jazīra, where he engaged ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī in a series of battles. Now Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba was a figure of great influence over ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, but then he received word that ‘Abdallāh was planning to kill him, so he contrived to make his way to Abū Muslim. This weighed heavily on ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, who feared that Ḥumayd’s fellow Khurāsānī commanders who were with him would do the same.

Al-Sindī b. Shāhak<sup>2763</sup> said: “I heard ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī<sup>2764</sup> say: ‘I was with ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī when his chamberlain entered’—‘Abd al-Ṣamad was on ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī’s side—and said, “Abū Mujrim’s<sup>2765</sup> messenger is at the door.” “Let him in,” he said, and so a man with a hateful face and revolting appearance entered, covered in hair, insolent in manner, with massive boots and a padded overcoat. He gave a general greeting and then said, “The commander Abū Muslim asks, ‘Why are you fighting me?’ when you know that he will not kill you?”’”<sup>2766</sup>

2763 Al-Sindī b. Shāhak, a mawlā of al-Manṣūr, was a major Khurāsānī commander.

2764 He was ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī’s brother. For detailed discussion of the revolt, see Cobb, *White Banners*, 23–26, in addition to Lassner’s article in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī.

2765 Abū Mujrim (Father of a Criminal) is an insulting deformation of Abū Muslim’s name.

2766 Houtsma, in the Leiden edition, emended the witness of both MSS, *yaqtuluka* (kill you) to *yuqātiluka* (fight you). The emendation is unnecessary. As Houtsma notes, the conclusion of the conversation seems to have dropped out.

Abū Muslim engaged ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī in battle at Naṣībīn and scattered his forces. As ʿAbdallāh fled, Abū Muslim gave orders that no one should intercept him. He reached Basra where his brother, Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, was governor and remained there in hiding with him.

Abū Jaʿfar sent messengers to audit the stores of goods and money that had fallen into Abū Muslim's hands. Among them were Ishāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī, Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā, and Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Naṣībī al-Taghlibī. Abū Muslim, infuriated, said, "Am I to be trusted with blood but not with money?"—and he cursed Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā. When Yaqṭīn saw | the resentment that Abū Muslim was harboring against him, he said, "The Commander of the Faithful has sent me to you for no other reason than to congratulate you on the victory."<sup>2767</sup> Abū Muslim also ridiculed Ishāq b. Muslim and Muḥammad b. ʿAmr and reproached both men. He attacked Abū Jaʿfar verbally, even mentioning his mother, saying, "Woe betide the son of Sallāma!" The group returned to Abū Jaʿfar and told him what had taken place, which only hardened his heart against Abū Muslim. He appointed Hishām b. ʿAmr al-ʿUqaylī to replace Abū Muslim.

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Abū Muslim departed for Khurāsān, his mind set against Abū Jaʿfar. He passed al-Madāʾīn while Abū Jaʿfar was camped at Rūmiyya, so that there were only two farsakhs between the two men, but he did not meet him and continued on his way until he passed Ḥulwān. Abū Jaʿfar sent ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī with a group of supporters to follow him. They overtook him and conveyed to him the gravity of the situation. They said to him, "Things have not gone as far as you think." Abū Muslim consulted Mālīk b. al-Haytham, his closest advisor.<sup>2768</sup> "What do you think?" he asked. Ibn al-Haytham replied: "I think that you should go to Khurāsān, and from there you can seek the man's approval by writing to him with your expressions of submission and obedience. If you do so, no blame will befall you; otherwise, it will be your last acquaintance with this world if he lays eyes on you." But Abū Jaʿfar's messengers kept at him until they beguiled him into changing his mind, and so he set out for Iraq. When he had crossed the pass at Ḥulwān, he said to Mālīk b. al-Haytham, "What is the prudent thing to do?" The latter replied, "You

<sup>2767</sup> Landberg, in his review of the Leiden edition, suggests that al-Yaʿqūbī may intentionally have omitted the oath found in the parallel version in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 4:39 (§ 2389), where the sentence reads: "My wife be thrice divorced if the Commander of the Faithful have sent me to you for any reason other than to congratulate you on the victory and triumph."

<sup>2768</sup> Arabic *khalīfatahu*, which could also mean "his deputy."

left prudence behind on the other side of the pass." Abū Muslim answered, "By God, I shall not be killed except in the land of the Rūm."<sup>2769</sup>

Abū Muslim reached Abū Ja'far while the latter was staying in pavilions in Rūmiyya. He said to him, "You almost left before I could inform<sup>2770</sup> you of what I need." Abū Muslim therefore remained there for several days, visiting Abū Ja'far regularly. Then one day when he came to him, Abū Ja'far had readied 'Uthmān b. Nahīk, who was the head of his personal guard, and a number of men including Shabīb b. Wāj and Abū Ḥanīfa. He issued an order to 'Uthmān, saying, 2:441 "When I raise my voice and clap my hands, | get the slave!"<sup>2771</sup> Abū Muslim entered and was seated in a waiting area. He was told, "The Commander of the Faithful is busy." He sat for a time; then he was allowed to enter, but he was told, "Remove your sword!" "Why?" he asked. He was told, "Don't worry." They kept at him until he removed his sword; then he entered. There was nothing in the room but a cushion; so he sat down on it. Then he said, "Commander of the Faithful, I have been treated as no one else has been treated, for my sword has been taken from my shoulder."<sup>2772</sup> Abū Ja'far asked, "And who did this to you, may God shame him?" But when Abū Muslim began to speak, Abū Ja'far said to him: "You son of an uncircumcised woman! For all your pretensions, you are nothing! Are you not the one who wrote to me placing your name before mine? Are you not the one who wrote to me seeking the hand of my paternal aunt, Āmina bt. 'Alī, claiming that you are a descendent of Salīṭ b. 'Abdallāh?"<sup>2773</sup> Are

2769 Arabic *Rūm* normally means Romans, that is, Byzantines; hence, Abū Muslim takes the prophecy to mean that he cannot be killed in Iraq. Cf. the parallel in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:140 (§ 2391). What he did not take into account was the fact that one of the cluster of cities that formed the old Sāsānian capital of al-Madā'in was called Rūmiyya by the Arabs. It had been founded in 540 CE by Khusraw I, who settled it with captives from Antioch; hence the name Rūmiyya (City of the Romans, that is, Byzantines). See the article by M. Streck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Madā'in.

2770 Reading with M: *afḍiya*; C and ed. Leiden read *aqḍiya* (fulfill).

2771 Ed. Leiden adds the word, *fa-qtulū* (then kill) to complete the sense. One parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:111, does have the word, but it is phrased differently and omits the word for slave. In fact, there is no need to assume that a word has fallen out: grammatically, the word in the accusative case (*al-'abda*) is an exclamation used to warn or, as here, to incite attack. One version of the narrative in al-Ṭabarī's history (3:114) points in this direction. It is worded: "When I clap my hands, see to your business (*fa-sha'nakum*)," using the same grammatical structure.

2772 "Shoulder" is the editor's conjecture; the word is illegible in the MSS.

2773 On the obscure figure of Salīṭ b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and the stories that Abū Muslim was his son, see Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under Abbasid Rule*, 101–102, and Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory*, 107–117.

you not the one who did this and that?” He continued, charging Abū Muslim with a number of things. When Abū Muslim saw what had come over him, he said, “Commander of the Faithful, my rank is too lowly for you to become so upset.” But Abū Jaʿfar’s voice rose; he clapped his hands, and the men came out and struck Abū Muslim with their swords. “Alas,” he cried out, “is there no rescuer, no protector?”—while they kept striking him until they killed him. When he was dead, Abū Jaʿfar said:

Drink from a cup you once gave others to drink,  
more bitter in your mouth than colocynth.  
You thought the debt would not come due,  
but you were wrong, by God, O Abū Mujrim.<sup>2774</sup>

His body was wrapped in a coarse cloth and left outside the pavilion. His men were told, “Gather together, for the Commander of the Faithful has ordered that dirhams be strewn among you.” A large quantity of dirhams was scattered among them, but when they bent to gather them up, the head of Abū Muslim was cast among them. When they saw it, they dropped all they were holding, overwhelmed by shock. This occurred in Shaʿbān in the year 137.<sup>2775</sup>

A group of Abū Muslim’s men left for Khurāsān. | They reached Sunbādh,<sup>2776</sup> who was in Nīshāpūr. When the latter learned that Abū Muslim had been killed, he rose in rebellion, vowing to revenge his death, and Khurāsān fell into turmoil. Abū Jaʿfar dispatched Jahwar b. Marrār, who engaged Sunbādh in battle, killing him and scattering his forces.

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Word reached Abū Jaʿfar that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was staying with Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, who at this time was governor of Basra. He sent a message to Sulaymān, who denied that ʿAbdallāh was there, but then requested a guarantee of safe-conduct. Abū Jaʿfar replied with a document drafted by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ<sup>2777</sup> that

<sup>2774</sup> The lines are quoted (in reverse order) in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:115, with the comment: “The allusion is to the fact that in his time of authority and his battles Abū Muslim killed about 600,000 in cold blood.” (Trans. Jane McAuliffe in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxviii, 39.) The editors of al-Ṭabarī identified the poet as Abū ʿAṭāʾ al-Sindī, d. 158/774.

<sup>2775</sup> Shaʿbān 137 = January 20 – February 17, 755; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:115, specifies the 24th day of the month, February 12, 755.

<sup>2776</sup> On Sunbādh, a Zoroastrian supporter of Abū Muslim, see the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sunbādh, and Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 31–45.

<sup>2777</sup> On the text of this safe-conduct (*amān*), preserved in al-Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, see the article by A. Marsham and C. F. Robinson, “The Safe-conduct for the Abbasid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (d. 764).” On Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, one of the first translators into Arabic of literary

contained the firmest of promises and vows that he would inflict no harm on him or employ deceit against him in any way. The safe-conduct read in part: "If I do or plot anything, the Muslims shall be released from their oath of allegiance to me and loosed from the oaths and compacts that I had them swear." When Abū Ja'far discovered this, he said, "Who wrote this?" He was told, "Ibn al-Muqaffa'." This was a reason for the fate<sup>2778</sup> of Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

2:443 Sulaymān b. 'Alī came from Basra, received the letter of safe-conduct, and traveled to Basra accompanied by [Īsā] b. 'Alī.<sup>2779</sup> 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī then came out of hiding to them, and they brought him to Abū Ja'far on Thursday, 12 nights remaining in Dhu l-Ḥijja in the year 137.<sup>2780</sup> Abū Ja'far was in al-Ḥira in the residence of 'Īsā b. 'Alī. He had 'Abdallāh held in the custody of 'Īsā b. Mūsā, who at that time was an heir apparent. Abū Ja'far then asked him about 'Abdallāh. 'Īsā told him that he had died. He then summoned 'Īsā b. 'Alī, along with Ismā'īl and 'Abd al-Ṣamad, the sons of 'Alī (b. 'Abdallāh). He had them and a group of the Banū Hāshim appear before him. He said to them: "I turned 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī over to 'Īsā b. Mūsā. I commanded him to watch over 'Abdallāh and | treat him with generosity and respect. Now that I inquire about him, 'Īsā tells me that he has died! I condemn his withholding from me and from you the news of his death." The men replied: "Commander of the Faithful, 'Īsā must have killed him. If 'Abdallāh had died a natural death, he would not have neglected to inform you and us of his death." So he brought them together with 'Īsā, and they demanded that he pay blood money for 'Abdallāh. Abū Ja'far said to 'Īsā, "Produce sound evidence of what you have asserted about 'Abdallāh or I will retaliate against you for his death." He had people on hand for this very purpose. When 'Īsā realized that he would have to set the matter straight, he said, "Give me until the evening." The decision therefore was postponed. He appeared that evening, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī came with him. He said, "I only said what I said out of a desire to ease the burden of guarding him, for fear that something would befall him and that something of this sort would be said concerning me. But here I surrender him safe and sound!" Abū Ja'far said, "Rather you wanted to know what we thought! If we had borne your news calmly, you would have done

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works of the Indian and Persian tradition and a significant figure in the development of Arabic literary prose, see the article by F. Gabrieli in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

2778 Reading with M, *li-manīyyat*; ed. Leiden, based on the partially undotted ductus of C, reads *li-mītat* (for the manner of death). Ibn al-Muqaffa' was tortured to death.

2779 The translation follows M, rejecting the emendations of ed. Leiden.

2780 17 or 18 Dhu l-Ḥijja 137 = June 3 or 4, 755. Note that al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:126, dates these events to 139.



the deed." Abū Jaʿfar therefore commanded that a room to be built for ʿAbdallāh in the palace, saying, "He shall be where I can see him." Then he caused water to flow into the foundation of that room, so that it collapsed, killing ʿAbdallāh.

Abū Jaʿfar sought to expand the Sacred Mosque (of Mecca), people having complained that it was too cramped. He wrote to Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī, directing him to purchase the houses adjacent to the Mosque, so that he could double its size, but the people refused to sell. This was brought to the attention of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad,<sup>2781</sup> who said, "Ask them whether they took up residence next to the House or whether the House took up residence next to them?" He sent this to Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, who conveyed it to them. They replied, "We took up residence next to it." Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad said: "God's blessing be upon him,<sup>2782</sup> for now the House will have its courtyard." Abū Jaʿfar wrote to Ziyād ordering him to demolish the houses adjacent to it. The houses were demolished | and the main part of the Dār al-Nadwa<sup>2783</sup> was incorporated 2:444 into the Mosque until it was double its original size. The extension was on the side of the Dār al-Nadwa and on the side of the gate of the Banū Jumaḥ, not on the side of al-Ṣafā and the watercourse, and the Kaʿba was next to it. The work was begun in the year 138 and completed in the year 140. He built the mosque of al-Khayf in Minā and gave it the dimensions it has today, which it did not have before.

Abū Jaʿfar performed the pilgrimage in the year 140 in order to see the additions to the Sacred Mosque. Word had reached him that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan had begun to foment trouble. On his arrival in Medina, Abū Jaʿfar sought him but did not find him; so he had ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan and a group of his kinsmen arrested, put in irons, and carried off on camels bareback. He said to ʿAbdallāh, "Lead me to your son or, by God, I will kill you." ʿAbdallāh replied: "By God, I have been tested even more severely than God tested His friend Ibrāhīm!<sup>2784</sup> My trial is greater than his. God, may He be glorified and exalted, ordered him to sacrifice his own son, and in the eyes of God, may He be glorified and exalted, it was an act of obedience; yet

2781 That is, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

2782 The phrase "God's blessing be upon him" has fallen out of C and ed. Leiden.

2783 The Dār al-Nadwa (Council House) was a building north of the Kaʿba. In pre-Islamic times it served as a kind of town hall, where city dignitaries met to decide matters of common interest. See the article by Harry Munt in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Dār al-Nadwa.

2784 That is, the patriarch Abraham, called God's Friend (*Khalīl Allāh*) on the basis of Qurʾān 4:125. Qurʾān 37:99–111 narrates the story of God's testing Abraham by commanding the sacrifice of his son, as in Genesis 22.

Ibrāhīm said, ‘This is the greatest trial.’<sup>2785</sup> But you want me to guide you to my son so that you can kill him, when his murder would be in God’s eyes a hateful act.”

Abū Ja‘far said, “Son of a stinking whore!”<sup>2786</sup> ‘Abdallāh replied: “That you would say this! Would that I knew which of the Fāṭimas gave off a stench, O son of Sallāma. Was it Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn, or Fāṭima the daughter of the Messenger of God, or perhaps my great-grandmother, Fāṭima bt. Asad b. Hāshim, my father’s grandmother, or perhaps Fāṭima bt. ‘Amr b. ‘Ā’idh b. ‘Imrān b. Makhzūm, my grandmother’s grandmother?” Abū Ja‘far replied, “None of these,” and had him taken away.

2:445 Abū Ja‘far returned on the road to Syria and arrived in Jerusalem. Then he made his way to the Jazīra, encamping outside of al-Raqqā, | where Manṣūr b. Ja‘wana al-Kilābī had risen in revolt and been captured. Abū Ja‘far had him brought out and beheaded. Then he proceeded to al-Ḥīra, where he imprisoned ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan and his kinsmen. They remained in prison until they died. Some have said that they were found nailed to the walls.

Abū ‘Amr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Sakan related to me on the authority of a man from ‘Abdallāh’s family: When he learned of the hardship that his father was suffering in prison, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan wrote to him asking permission to come out of hiding so that he might place his hand in theirs. ‘Abdallāh sent word to him: “Your coming out of hiding, my son, will kill you and not give me life. Stay where you are until God grants relief from suffering.”

Abū Ja‘far resumed construction of al-Rāfiqa, which had been started in the days of Abū l-‘Abbās (al-Saffaḥ). He said, “As for me, I will not reside there.” He was asked, “How can that be, Commander of the Faithful?” He said: “My father went to Hishām while the latter was at al-Ruṣāfa, but Hishām was rude to him and offended him. Then he left, accompanied by me and my brother. When he arrived here, he said to me and my brother, ‘One of you will indeed build a city in this place.’ I asked him, ‘And then what?’ He said, ‘He will not reside there, but his son will.’ I know that I will not reside there, but my son Muḥammad will”—he meant al-Mahdī.

Abū Ja‘far appointed ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī as governor of Khurāsān. The latter put his brother, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, in charge of the security forces (*shurṭa*) and killed al-Mughīra<sup>2787</sup> b. Sulaymān and Mujāshī‘

2785 Cf. Qur’ān 37:106.

2786 Arabic *lakhnā*, which means both “stinking” and “an uncircumcised woman,” normally an abusive reference to a non-Arab or slave mother.

2787 The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:128, reads Abū l-Mughīra.

b. Ḥurayth; targeting the partisans (*shīʿa*) of the Banū Hāshim, he killed a great number of them. He began to pursue them and make examples of them, until Abū Jaʿfar wrote to him, swearing that he would kill him. He was removed from office in the year 141. Abū Jaʿfar sent al-Mahdī against him. | Having arrived in al-Rayy, al-Mahdī appointed Asīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuzāʿī over Khurāsān and dispatched forces under his command. Engaging ʿAbd al-Jabbār at Marw, he routed his army. ʿAbd al-Jabbār fled, but Asīd pursued and captured him. He sent him to Abū Jaʿfar, who met him at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra about a day's journey from Baghdad. When they met, ʿAbd al-Jabbār said to him, "Commander of the Faithful, give me an honorable death!" He replied, "You have left that behind you, you son of a stinking whore." He had him brought forward and beheaded, and his corpse was gibbeted. It remained on the gibbet for some days before his brother, ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, came by night, took it down, and buried it. When word of this reached Abū Jaʿfar, he said, "Leave him to the fires of Hell!" 2:446

Abū Jaʿfar appointed Yazīd b. Usayd<sup>2788</sup> al-Sulamī over Armenia, and Yazīd b. Ḥatīm al-Muhallabī over Azerbaijan. He<sup>2789</sup> transferred the Yemenīs from Basra to Azerbaijan—he was the first to transfer them. He settled al-Rawwād b. al-Muthannā al-Azdī in (the area from) Tabrīz as far as al-Badhhdh, Murr b. ʿAlī al-Ṭāʿī in Narīz, and Ḥayyān<sup>2790</sup> al-Hamdānī in al-Mayānīj. He dispersed the tribes of Yemen, and so there was no one in Azerbaijan from Nizār,<sup>2791</sup> apart from al-Ṣaqr<sup>2792</sup> b. al-Layth al-ʿUtībī and his paternal cousin, al-Baʿīth b. Ḥalbas.

The Khazars grew active in the region of Armenia and fell upon Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī. He wrote to Abū Jaʿfar to inform him that Rās Ṭarkhān,<sup>2793</sup>

2788 As mentioned above, Usayd is the most common vocalization of the name, but it is sometimes vocalized as Asīd.

2789 The antecedent of the pronoun is ambiguous.

2790 The name, written undotted, appears only in M; C and ed. Leiden show a lacuna. The reading is conjectural.

2791 That is, the northern Arab tribes, named after their common ancestor Nizār b. Maʿadd b. Adnān.

2792 The reading is uncertain. Ed. Leiden reads al-Ṣuffar. However, a person named al-Ṣaqr b. al-Baʿīth b. Ḥalbas is attested in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1387 (anno 235). He was the brother of Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth b. Ḥalbas, who revolted in Azerbaijan in 234/848–849. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 330, gives an account of the family's history in Azerbaijan.

2793 The name of the Khazar commander is given in this form in the MSS. P. B. Golden sees a possible connection of the component Rās to the Arsiyya, whom al-Masʿūdī (*Murīj*, 1:213 [§ 450]) mentions as forming the bodyguard of the Khazar king, and suggests that the correct reading may be Ās. See the article by W. Barthold and P. B. Golden in *Er<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Khazar.

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the king of the Khazars, had marched toward him with a huge force and that his second in command<sup>2794</sup> had been defeated. Abū Jaʿfar sent Jibrīl b. Yaḥyā al-Bajalī to him at the head of twenty thousand men from Syria, the Jazīra, and Mosul. He fought the Khazars, but a number of Muslims were killed, and Jibrīl and Yazīd b. Usayd, defeated, retreated to Khirs. When word reached Abū Jaʿfar of what had befallen the Muslims,<sup>2795</sup> the success of the Khazars, and their entry into the lands of Islam, he released seven thousand imprisoned men and sent word to gather large forces of men from each province, and he sent them off, along with laborers and masons. He built the towns of Kamkh, al-Muḥammadiyya,<sup>2796</sup> Bāb Wāq,<sup>2797</sup> and a number of other towns that he intended as bulwarks for the Muslims, and he settled the fighters in the towns. They repelled the enemy; the enemy fighters fought them, but the Muslims gained strength because of those towns, and so he lived in tranquillity.<sup>2798</sup>

Then the Ṣanāriyya<sup>2799</sup> grew active in Armenia. Abū Jaʿfar sent al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba to govern Armenia. He engaged them, but he had no strength against them. He therefore wrote to Abū Jaʿfar about them and their great number, and Abū Jaʿfar sent ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥārithī to him with a force of twenty thousand men. Engaging the Ṣanāriyya, he fought them fiercely for several days, until God granted victory over them. Of their forces, in one day he killed sixteen thousand people before returning to Tiflis. He put to death all of his prisoners and sent out men to pursue the Ṣanāriyya wherever they were. Abū Jaʿfar then appointed his client (*mawlā*) Wāḍiḥ over Armenia. He remained as governor there and over Azerbaijan for the duration of Abū Jaʿfar's caliphate.

The people of Ṭabaristān rose up in open disobedience and rebellion and marched out in great numbers. Al-Mahdī sent Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī<sup>2800</sup> and Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī against them, and they defeated their armies. Ṭabaristān was conquered in the year 142.

2794 Arabic, his *khalīfa*, literally "deputy."

2795 Following M; C and ed. Leiden omit "the Muslims."

2796 The MSS read al-Ḥamdiyya, otherwise unattested, and therefore emended by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 190 (the section on the frontier with the Khazars). However, since al-Balādhurī dates the building of this stronghold near al-Ḥadath to the reign of al-Mahdī, the emendation is not completely certain.

2797 The toponym is otherwise unknown; the text may be corrupt.

2798 That is, the governor, Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī.

2799 The Ṣanāriyya (Georgian Ts'anar, Armenian Tsanark') were a Christian group in the central Caucasus; see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 400–402.

2800 The MSS write Khuzayma b. Khāzim; corrected by the Leiden editor in the *Addenda et emendanda* to Volume I.

Abū Jaʿfar left for Basra in this year intending to perform the pilgrimage. On reaching the Great Bridge, he received word that the people of Yemen had risen in rebellion and that the governor of Yemen, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ, had fled, too weak to resist his attackers. | He also learned that the governor of Sind, ʿUyayna b. Mūsā b. Kaʿb al-Tamīmī, was in open rebellion. Abū Jaʿfar sent Maʿn b. Zāʿida al-Shaybānī to Yemen and ʿUmar b. Ḥaṣṣ b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Ṣufra to al-Sind. Abū Jaʿfar left Basra without performing the pilgrimage. 2:448

Maʿn b. Zāʿida arrived in Yemen and carried out enormous slaughter. He remained there for nine years.

When Mūsā b. Kaʿb al-Tamīmī departed from the region of al-Sind, he left his son, ʿUyayna b. Mūsā, as his deputy. Elements of the Rabīʿa and Yemen who were with him disobeyed him, and when he killed most of them, they rebelled.

Abū Jaʿfar dispatched ʿUmar b. Ḥaṣṣ Hazārmard to al-Sind, but ʿUyayna, unwilling to hand over authority, prevented his entry and remained at al-Daybul, with ʿUqba b. Muslim at his side. ʿUmar b. Ḥaṣṣ fought him. After ʿUyayna's men asked ʿUmar for a guarantee of safe-conduct, ʿUyayna himself sought a settlement, which ʿUmar b. Ḥaṣṣ granted him, allowing him to leave under guard, and he sent him to al-Manṣūr. ʿUmar b. Ḥaṣṣ remained in al-Manṣūra, and ʿUyayna departed with his guards; however, along the way ʿUyayna escaped from the guards and headed toward Sijistān. He was nearing al-Rukhkhaj when a group of Yemenī tribesmen struck him down and killed him. They brought his head to al-Manṣūr.

ʿUmar b. Ḥaṣṣ remained in al-Sind for two years before Abū Jaʿfar dismissed him and appointed Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī. Hishām made his way to al-Manṣūra and took up residence there. He dispatched an army toward al-Hind, and they took booty and captured slaves. Hishām was told, "Al-Manṣūra cannot contain you, but al-Multān is a large country and parts of it are uninhabited." So he went there, leaving his brother, Biṣṭām b. ʿAmr, as his deputy over al-Manṣūra. When he neared al-Multān, its ruler came out | against him with a force to repel him. The two met and a fierce battle took place between them in which the ruler of al-Multān was routed. Hishām entered the city victorious and took many prisoners. He then made ships and navigated them on the river of al-Sind to al-Qandahār.<sup>2801</sup> He conquered it, took prisoners, demolished its temple,<sup>2802</sup> and built a mosque in its place. He then came to al-Manṣūr, bearing 2:449

2801 This almost certainly does not refer to the present city of Qandahār in Afghanistan, but to the region of Gandhāra on the Upper Indus; the two are often confused by Arabic geographers. See Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran*, 74.

2802 Arabic *al-budd*. The word derives from an Arabic form of the name Buddha, and

with him things that no one before him had ever brought from al-Sind. He was in Iraq for only a short time before he died. Al-Manṣūr then appointed Maʿbad b. al-Khalīl al-Tamīmī, who became widely praised in the province.<sup>2803</sup>

Abū Jaʿfar came to Baghdad in the year 144.<sup>2804</sup> He said, “I have never seen a site more suitable than this for building a city, located as it is between the Tigris and the Euphrates, with access by water to Basra, al-Ubulla, Fārs and what adjoins them, and to Mosul, the Jazīra, Syria, Egypt, the Maghrib, and the routes to al-Jabal and Khurāsān.”<sup>2805</sup> He laid out his city, known as Madīnat Abī Jaʿfar,<sup>2806</sup> on the west side of the Tigris. He gave it four gates: one, which looks across the Tigris, he named the Khurāsān Gate; one, which looks over the Ṣarāt Canal that branches from the Euphrates and connects to the Tigris, he named the Basra Gate; one he named the Kufa Gate; and one he named the Syria Gate.<sup>2807</sup> Above each of these gates were reception halls and gilded domes to which one could ascend on horseback. He made the width of the wall at its base seventy<sup>2808</sup> cubits (*dhirāʿ*) and enclosed the rest of Baghdad with a wall. He exerted every effort in the city’s construction. He brought in engineers, builders, and laborers from every region. He distributed allotments of land within the city to his clients and commanders, so that the streets of the city are named after them, and he pressed them to build. To others he distributed allotments by the city gates, | and he allotted the suburbs of the city to the army. He gave the members of his household allotments in the outer suburbs: he gave allotments to his son al-Mahdī, to various members of his household, and to his clients and commanders.

Al-Mahdī set out from Khurāsān, returning to Iraq in this year, that is, the year 144. Abū Jaʿfar came out to welcome him at Nihāwand. Having arrived, he went to Kufa, and then stayed at al-Ḥīra and at the city that al-Manṣūr had built and had named al-Hāshimiyya. Al-Mahdī stayed there for a few days. Then he consummated his marriage to Rayṭa bint Abī l-ʿAbbās at al-Ḥīra.

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when used carefully refers to Buddhist temples or stupas, though it is sometimes used imprecisely to include Hindu temples. In fact, the area of Gandhāra had been part of an ancient Buddhist kingdom.

2803 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:380, he was appointed in 157/773–774.

2804 144 A.H. = April 11, 761 – March 31, 762.

2805 Cf. the version of al-Manṣūr’s words in al-Yaʿqūbī’s *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 237.

2806 That is, Abū Jaʿfar’s City.

2807 Arabic *Bāb al-Shām* could also mean the Damascus Gate.

2808 Thus clearly in the MSS, but the corresponding passage in the *Geography*, 239, reads “ninety.” The two words are easily confused in Arabic script.

Word reached Abū Jaʿfar that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan was fomenting unrest in Medina and that people of the provinces were corresponding with him. Abū Jaʿfar set out to perform the pilgrimage; on his return he did not enter Medina, but went to al-Rabadha. There he met with a group of ʿAlids, among them Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, the half-brother of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan on his mother's side. He asked them about Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. They replied, "We know nothing of his whereabouts, nor do we have any news of him." He then said to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān: "I have assigned you allotments of land, given you gifts, and done much more besides. I have not called you to account for the misdeeds of your family. Yet now you conceal<sup>2809</sup> my enemy and withhold from me all news of him!" He had him severely beaten and led around al-Rabadha on a donkey, and then he had the entire group led off on unsaddled pack camels.

Abū Jaʿfar completed his pilgrimage and returned to Baghdad. He took up residence in his city, which was known as the Gate of Gold, in the year 145.<sup>2810</sup> He moved the markets, which had been inside the city, to al-Karkh. Abū Jaʿfar had settled in for no more than a few days when he received word of the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan and his show of authority. He returned | to Kufa, remaining for several days at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra between Baghdad and Kufa. He appointed Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murri over Medina.<sup>2811</sup> He said, "I have found no one to deal with them but you, and I know of no one to deal with them but you." When Riyāḥ reached Medina, he mounted the pulpit and delivered a famous sermon of his in which he said:

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People of Medina! I am the serpent, son of the serpent, the son of ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān, and the paternal cousin of Muslim b. ʿUqba,<sup>2812</sup> who destroyed the bulk of your people and annihilated your men.<sup>2813</sup> By God, I will leave it a wasteland in which not even a dog barks.

2809 Reading with M *tashtamilu ʿalā*; ed. Leiden has *tastamilu ʿalayya* (you induce to turn against me).

2810 145 A.H. = April 1, 762 – March 20, 763.

2811 Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murri had served in Damascus as deputy to the governor of Syria. His appointment to replace Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, is dated by al-Ṭabarī to 144/761–762. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:143, 161–163.

2812 *Qutayba* in both MSS, but the Leiden editor's emendation is certainly correct.

2813 On Muslim b. ʿUqba al-Murri, who led the Syrian army against the Medinans at the battle of al-Ḥarra in 63/683, see above, ed. Leiden, 2:298–299.

A group of Medinans attacked him; they spoke to him, saying: “Son of the one who was flogged for two *ḥadd* offenses!”<sup>2814</sup> By God, you shall desist from us, or we will make you desist from us ourselves.” Riyaḥ therefore wrote to Abū Jaʿfar describing the refractoriness of the people of Medina. Abū Jaʿfar dispatched a messenger to Riyaḥ, bearing a letter that he had written to the people of Medina, with orders for him to read the letter publicly. The letter said:

People of Medina, your governor has written to me describing your duplicity, your contrariness, your poor judgment, and your disinclination to fulfill the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful. The Commander of the Faithful swears by God that if you do not desist, he will replace your security with terror, cut you off from land and sea, and send against you hard-hearted men with whom you have no blood-ties, who will take charge<sup>2815</sup> of the very courtyards of your houses and do as they are commanded. Peace.

Riyaḥ ascended the pulpit and read the letter. When he reached the words, “describing your duplicity,” they shouted from every side, “You lie, you son of the one flogged for two *ḥadd* offenses!”—and they pelted him with pebbles. He hurried into the *maqṣūra*,<sup>2816</sup> locking it behind him. Then he made his way into the Dār Marwān.<sup>2817</sup> Ayyūb b. Salama b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Walid al-Makhzūmī entered and said: “May God make the governor prosper! It is only the rabble that are doing this. | Cut off their hands and scourge their backs!” Some of the Banū Hāshim who were present said to him: “We see it otherwise. Send for the notables and others of the people of Medina, and read al-Manṣūr’s letter to them.” So he gathered them together and read al-Manṣūr’s letter to them. Ḥaḥṣ b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwf al-Zuhri and Abū ʿUbayda b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Azhar jumped up, one on each side, and said to Riyaḥ: “By God, you lie! Never, when you commanded us, did we disobey you, and never, when you summoned us, did we refuse you.” Then the two men said to the envoy, “Will

2814 For the dismissal of the governor of Medina, ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān, by the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān, and the punishment of ʿUthmān for two *ḥadd* offenses (offenses for which the Qurʾān assigns a fixed penalty)—wine drinking and slander—see above, ed. Leiden, 2:353.

2815 Reading with the apparent but almost illegible reading in M, *yatawallawna*; in C the word was only partially copied, and ed. Leiden leaves a lacuna.

2816 The enclosure for the ruler built near the *miḥrāb* of the mosque.

2817 The governor’s residence, named after the Umayyad caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who served twice as governor of Medina.



you convey a message to the Commander of the Faithful from us?" He replied, "I came only for that purpose." They said: "Then say to him: 'As for your saying that you would give Medina and its people terror instead of security, God, may He be glorified and exalted, has promised us otherwise; for God, may He be glorified and exalted, has said: *He will give them in exchange, after their fear, security: "They shall serve Me, not associating with Me anything."*'"<sup>2818</sup> And we do worship Him, not associating with Him anything.'"

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan came out of hiding in Medina on the first day of Rajab in the year 145,<sup>2819</sup> and a great many people joined him. Letters and delegations from the people of the provinces came to him. He seized Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān al-Murri, Abū Jaʿfar's governor, put him in irons, and imprisoned him. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan set off for Basra, where a group (of supporters) had come together, and he stayed in hiding, writing letters to the people and calling on them to give him their obedience. When word reached Abū Jaʿfar, he wanted to leave for Medina, but then he grew fearful of leaving Iraq, given what he had learned about Ibrāhīm. So he dispatched ʿIsā b. Mūsā al-Ḥashimī and with him Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī with a formidable army. When ʿIsā arrived in Medina, Muḥammad, along with his men, came out against him and fought them during the month of Ramadān. Muḥammad's supporters proceeded to the prison, | where Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān 2:453 was executed.

Asmāʾ, the daughter of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Abbās, was in Medina, and she was hostile to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. She attached a black veil to a pole and sent it with one of her clients, and he set it atop the minaret of the mosque.<sup>2820</sup> She sent a second client, named Mujīb al-ʿĀmirī,<sup>2821</sup> to Muḥammad's camp, where he shouted: "Defeat! Defeat! The Black Bannered-ones<sup>2822</sup> have entered Medina." When people saw the black flag, they fled in retreat. Muḥammad kept fighting, however, until he was killed. After Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was killed, ʿIsā b. Mūsā sent Kathīr b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī to Medina. Kathīr entered the city, pursued Muḥammad's men, and killed them. He then departed for Iraq.

Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh had set out for Kufa, not doubting that the people of Kufa would rise up against Abū Jaʿfar with him; however, when he arrived in

<sup>2818</sup> Qurʾān 24:55.

<sup>2819</sup> September 24, 762.

<sup>2820</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:244, it was the Prophet's mosque.

<sup>2821</sup> The reading of the otherwise unattested name is uncertain; the translation follows the Leiden editor's conjecture. M has *al-ʿĀmirī* followed by the letters *m-h-n-b*.

<sup>2822</sup> That is, the ʿAbbāsids.

2:454 Kufa, he found not a single supporter. News of him reached Abū Jaʿfar, who placed spies and guardsmen in every location. Ibrāhīm sought to leave, but could not. Realizing his mistake, he devised a trick. There was a man with Ibrāhīm named Sufyān b. Yazīd al-ʿAmmī.<sup>2823</sup> He went to Abū Jaʿfar and said to him, “Commander of the Faithful, grant me safe-conduct and I will point out Ibrāhīm to you after I guide him to you.” He replied, “I grant you safe-conduct; where is he?” He said: “In Basra. Send with me a man you trust, give me post horses to ride, and write to the governor of Basra, so that after I identify Ibrāhīm to him, he can arrest him.” Abū Jaʿfar sent with him Abū Suwayd—he was in charge of the Abū Suwayd arcade at the Damascus Gate in Baghdad.<sup>2824</sup> Sufyān set out accompanied by a young man wearing a woolen coat,<sup>2825</sup> with a parcel of food around his neck for the journey; Abū Suwayd and the young man rode post horses with him. When they reached | Basra, Sufyān said to Abū Suwayd, “Wait for me while I gather news of the man.” He left and did not return. The young man wearing the woolen coat was Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. After waiting for a time, Abū Suwayd went to Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of the area, who said to him, “Where is the man?” “I do not know,” he replied. He<sup>2826</sup> then wrote to Abū Jaʿfar, who realized that it must have been Ibrāhīm and that it had been a trick.

Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib then rebelled in Basra, having received the oath of allegiance from its people. His rebellion took place at the beginning of Ramaḍān.<sup>2827</sup> He went to the residence of the governor, who was Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya al-Muhallabī. Sufyān fortified himself inside the residence, then asked for a guarantee of safe-conduct, which Ibrāhīm granted him. Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya came out and surrendered the town. Ibrāhīm seized the treasury and other buildings. Now Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, were in the area. They left for Maysān, where they stayed protected by a fortified trench. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh sent al-Mughīra b. al-Fazʿ<sup>2828</sup> al-Saʿdī to al-Ahwāz; al-Mughīra ousted its governor, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn, and seized control of the area. Ibrāhīm sent Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbbās b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to Fārs, which he

2823 There is some question as to his real name. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:285 (trans. McAuliffe, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxviii, 255).

2824 See Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad*, 66.

2825 Arabic *jubba*: a long outer garment with wide sleeves.

2826 The antecedent of the pronoun is unclear.

2827 Ramaḍān 145 began on November 23, 762.

2828 The name is undotted in the MSS and the last letter is r (or z); the Leiden editor has corrected it on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:290.

entered, ousting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī from it. He sent Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī to Wāsiṭ, and he wrested control over its environs. He dispatched Burd b. Labīd al-Yashkurī to Kaskar, where he established control.

Ibrāhīm left Basra after delegating authority over the city to Numayla b. Murra al-Asʿadī. He had drawn up his register; his forces numbered sixty thousand. He left Basra at the beginning of Dhū l-Qaʿda and took the road to Kaskar seeking to engage al-Manṣūr. Abū Jaʿfar had written | to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā ordering him to come quickly. When ʿĪsā arrived, he said to him: “Abū Mūsā,<sup>2829</sup> you are more deserving of victory than Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān. Make haste, so that God may seal the victory at your hands.” ʿĪsā set out with eighteen thousand troops and followers of Abū Jaʿfar. He wrote to Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, to join him.

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Ibrāhīm marched to a village called Bākhmrā.<sup>2830</sup> ʿĪsā b. Mūsā arrived in a village called ...<sup>2831</sup> When Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī advanced into battle position, the fighting quickly escalated and, as it grew desperate, it appeared that things were turning against ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, so that the men did not<sup>2832</sup> doubt that Ibrāhīm would prevail and enjoy victory. Then Salm b. Quṭayba al-Bāhili charged Ibrāhīm's men from one side with horsemen. Fearing a trap, they retreated; Ibrāhīm was left with only four hundred of the Zaydiyya<sup>2833</sup> amid fierce fighting.

Ibrāhīm had rallied support in the name of his brother, Muḥammad, but after Muḥammad was killed, he began to do so in his own name.

A man from the Qaḥṭāniyya<sup>2834</sup> recounted to me: My father<sup>2835</sup> reported to me, saying: “I saw Ibrāhīm, on the day that ʿĪsā fought him, astride a dark brown she-mule. Sudayf b. Maymūn seized the crupper of his mule saying:

Seize it,<sup>2836</sup> Abū Ishāq, and may you enjoy it  
Throughout a laudable career and a long life.”

2829 Addressing ʿĪsā b. Mūsā by his *kunya*.

2830 Identified in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:313, as a village about 16 farsakhs from Kufa.

2831 The five-letter place name is completely undotted and too ambiguous to be read.

2832 Reading with M, *mā shakka l-nās*; the negative (*mā*) is absent from C and ed. Leiden.

2833 The Zaydiyya were partisans of Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, who revolted in Kufa in 122/740. See the article by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zaydiyya.

2834 That is, from one of the Arab tribes tracing their descent to Qaḥṭān, the progenitor of the southern or Yemenī tribes.

2835 Reading with M, *abī*; ed. Leiden indicates a lacuna.

2836 That is, presumably, the caliphate.

Ibrāhīm triumphed decisively; he defeated the army time after time and advanced to the vicinity of Kufa. Finally, Abū Jaʿfar called for his swiftest horses, so that he could make his way to Baghdad. Such was Ibrāhīm's advantage that he scarcely doubted that he would enter Kufa.

2:456 Abū Jaʿfar scarcely slept during those nights. His two wives<sup>2837</sup> | were brought to him: Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad al-Ṭalḥiyya<sup>2838</sup> and Amat al-Karīm<sup>2839</sup> bt. ʿAbdallāh of the descendants of Khālīd b. Asīd. He sent them back to Baghdad without even lifting their veils.

Even when his supporters were routed, Ibrāhīm continued to fight fiercely with 400 of his men [until he was killed].<sup>2840</sup> His head was taken and sent to Abū Jaʿfar, who was in Kufa, and placed before him. He gave the people leave, and as they entered they began denouncing Ibrāhīm, his brother, and his kinsmen. Then Jaʿfar b. Ḥanzala al-Bahrānī entered. He said, "May God multiply your recompense, Commander of the Faithful, for the loss of your paternal cousin, and may He forgive him for failing to acknowledge your rightful claim." Abū Jaʿfar was so pleased by this that he said, "Abū Khālīd, you are most welcome; come, make yourself comfortable." Realizing that his words had pleased Abū Jaʿfar, the people now spoke in much the same fashion.<sup>2841</sup>

Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd<sup>2842</sup> arrived and was shown the head. Looking at it, he paled and his face fell. He said: "By God, Commander of the Faithful, you killed him when he was fasting and praying. I wish you had not burdened yourself with the sin (of his murder)." One of Abū Jaʿfar's men said, "It seems that you blame the Commander of the Faithful for killing him!" He replied, "It seems that you would have me deny that Ibrāhīm has joined God." Abū Jaʿfar said, "By God, I was just waiting for your companion to come through that door, so that I could call you in, have you beheaded, and depart through the other door." He replied, "Or I would have done it before you!"

2837 Reading with M, *imra'atāhu*; ed. Leiden, *imra'atāni* (two women).

2838 The mss read Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭalḥiyya; the Leiden editor emended on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:306, where her name is given as Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad b. ʿIsā b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh.

2839 Following the original reading in M and C; the Leiden editor emended to Umm al-Karīm on the basis of the original reading of the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:306, but the reading was later corrected in the *Addenda* to Amat al-Karīm.

2840 Added in the margin of C (and included in ed. Leiden); the words are absent in M.

2841 Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:318 (trans. McAuliffe, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXVIII, 291–292).

2842 Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, was a Ḥasanid who reconciled himself to ʿAbbāsid rule and lived at court. He was appointed governor of Medina in 150/767, but subsequently fell from favor. See the article by Fr. Buhl in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

Three months after the killing of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan, Abū Jaʿfar left to take up permanent residence in the city of Baghdad. | This took place in the month of Rabīʿ 1 in the year 146, which corresponds to Tammūz of the months of the non-Arabs.<sup>2843</sup> He dispatched al-Mahdī as governor of Khurāsān, and with him the highest-ranking military men and companions. The Khurāsānī commanders met with Abū Jaʿfar; recounting to him the deeds of al-Mahdī that bespoke his fine character and otherwise lavishing praise upon him, they asked that Abū Jaʿfar make al-Mahdī his heir apparent. Abū Jaʿfar wrote to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who was in Kufa, telling him where the hearts of the people of Khurāsān and others lay in the matter. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had always claimed that he was Abū Jaʿfar's heir apparent. Therefore, when Abū Jaʿfar's letter arrived with word that the commanders and people of Khurāsān had agreed on making al-Mahdī heir apparent and were advising Abū Jaʿfar to do so immediately, ʿĪsā wrote back to impress on him the gravity of the matter, to remind him of what comes from renegeing on promises and violating oaths, and to say that he feared that the people might do the same with regard to their allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar and his son. Much correspondence passed between them. 2:457

When ʿĪsā came to Baghdad, the army attacked him day after day, and when the troops finally reached his residence, he came to fear for his life. Seeing this, he yielded, acquiesced, and gave his oath to al-Manṣūr to allow his son, al-Mahdī, to be named as heir. This was in the year 147.<sup>2844</sup> Now there was no longer anyone who did not pledge allegiance. Abū Jaʿfar appointed ʿĪsā heir apparent after al-Mahdī, who was then in Khurāsān. His father's letters arrived regarding the oath of allegiance to him. The commanders and Khurāsānīs who were with him all swore the oath of allegiance, except for the district of Bādhghīs, where Ustādhsīs<sup>2845</sup> had declared prophethood and was being supported by many people. Al-Mahdī sent Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī against him. The latter fought him, dispersed his following, | captured him, and brought him to Abū Jaʿfar in Baghdad, who had him executed. 2:458

In this year, there was a meteor shower.

<sup>2843</sup> Tammūz is the Julian month of July, although in fact Rabīʿ 1, 146, corresponds to May 19 – June 17, 763.

<sup>2844</sup> 147 A.H. = March 10, 764 – February 26, 765.

<sup>2845</sup> The name is corrupt in both MSS, and the reading relies on secondary sources. See the article by Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ustādhsīs; and Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 151–157.

### The Death of Abū ‘Abdallāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad and His Praiseworthy Ways (*Ādāb*)

Abū ‘Abdallāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,<sup>2846</sup> whose mother was Umm Farwa bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, died in Medina, in the year 148,<sup>2847</sup> at the age of 66. He was the most virtuous of men and the most learned in God’s religion. When the scholars who heard (traditions) from him transmitted them on his authority, they would say, “The Learned One (*al-Ālim*) informed us.”

Sufyān<sup>2848</sup> said: “I heard Ja‘far say: “To pause whenever in doubt is better than to rush headlong into perdition; to omit a tradition (*ḥadīth*) that we have not transmitted is better than your narrating a tradition which we have not recorded. Upon every rightful claim there lies truth, and upon every correct judgment there falls light. Hold to whatever agrees with God’s Book, and leave whatever contradicts it.”

Ja‘far said: “Three persons deserve mercy: the rich man who has become poor, the powerful man who has been humbled, and the scholar who has become a laughing-stock to the ignorant.”

He said: “Him whom God turns from the ignominy of sins to the glory of piety, God will enrich without wealth and make mighty without kinsmen. He who fears God, God will make all things fear him; and he who does not fear God, God will make him fear all things. He who is content with a simple sustenance from God, God will be content with simple deeds from him. He who does not shy from seeking that which is lawful, his burden will be lightened, and his family blessed. He who renounces the things of this world, God will plant wisdom in his heart and loose his tongue<sup>2849</sup> from the affairs of this world, its malady and its remedy, and allow him to emerge from it unscathed.”

2846 Often known simply as Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (the Truthful), the sixth Imam according to the reckoning of the Twelver Shī‘a; for biography and bibliography, see the article by M. G. S. Hodgson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djā‘far al-Ṣādiq*.

2847 The biography in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, 1:327–328, places his death in the month of Shawwāl, 148 (November 20 – December 18, 765).

2848 Perhaps to be identified as the famous Kufan jurist, traditionist, and Qur‘ān interpreter Abū ‘Abdallāh Sufyān b. Sa‘īd b. Masrūq al-Thawrī, d. 161/778. See the article by H. P. Raddatz in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sufyān al-Thawrī*.

2849 Arabic *wa-aṭlaqa lisānahu min umūr al-dunyā*. The meaning of the idiom in this context is uncertain; it normally means “allow one’s tongue to speak freely,” often critically, of something. The translation, “loose his tongue with regard to ...” is also possible. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:56b.

He is reported to have said: “When the verse, *Stretch not thine eyes | to that We have given pairs of them to enjoy; and do not sorrow for them, and lower thy wing unto the believers, and say, ‘Surely, I am the manifest warner,’*<sup>2850</sup> was revealed to the Messenger of God, he said: ‘He who does not console himself as did the Messenger of God, his soul will be torn with regrets for the world. He whose eye is fixed on what people possess, his anxiety will persist, and his rage will endure unrelieved. He who cannot perceive God’s grace to him except in food and drink, his life has been shortened and his punishment has drawn near.’” 2:459

He said: “Whenever God bestows a blessing on His servant and the latter acknowledges it in his heart and gives thanks for it with his tongue, that servant will be given better than what he has received.”

He said: “One of the things that God, may He be glorified and exalted, said secretly to Moses was: ‘O Moses, do not forget Me at any moment, and do not rejoice in much wealth; for forgetfulness of Me deadens the heart, and with increase of wealth comes increase of sin. O Moses, every age brings calamity after calamity, abundance after abundance, and kingdom after kingdom, but My kingdom remains without end. Nothing is hidden from Me in earth or in heaven—how could what took its inception from Me be hidden from Me? How can your ambition be anything but to attain to what is with Me, when you must needs return to Me?’”

He said: “There are two traits such that he who possesses them will enter Heaven.” Asked what they were, he replied: “Enduring what you dislike if God loves it, and abandoning what you like if God dislikes it.” Asked who can endure that, he replied, “He who flees to Paradise from the fires of Hell.”

He said: “Doing good wards off an evil death, charity quenches the Lord’s wrath, tying the bonds of kinship lengthens life and drives away poverty, and the saying, ‘There is no strength nor might save in God,’ is among the treasures of Heaven.”

He said: “No one has ever entreated a kindness from me or sought to ingratiate himself in a way dearer to me or closer to my heart than by requesting that I follow a favor I have done previously for him with another like it in order to enhance and preserve it; for refusing later favors puts an end to gratitude for former ones; neither | have I permitted myself to refuse any urgent request.” 2:460

He said: “God revealed to Moses the son of ‘Imrān: ‘Putting your hand in the mouth of the dragon up to the elbow is better for you than making a request of someone who is in no position to fulfil it.’”

2850 *Qur’ān* 15:88; only the first part of the verse is written in the text (up to *enjoy*), followed by the word *al-āya* (that is, fill in the rest of the verse).

He said: "Do not mix with five sorts of people: the fool, for though he seeks to benefit you, he will only bring you harm; the liar, for his words are like a mirage that makes what is far seem near to you and makes what is near seem far from you; the profligate, for he would sell you to buy his food or drink; the miser, for he will forsake you when you need him most; and the coward, for he will hand you over and hand over even his own parents."<sup>2851</sup>

He said: "The believers are amicable to each other and conciliatory to each other, and their refuge is available."<sup>2852</sup>

He said: "He who has grown angry with you three times but has said no evil of you, take him as a friend. He who seeks the affection of his brother should not quarrel with him or contend with him, and should never make him a promise and fail to keep it."

Ja'far b. Muḥammad had the following sons: Ismā'īl, 'Abdallāh, Muḥammad, Mūsā, 'Alī, and al-'Abbās.

Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās said: "One day, I entered the presence of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, and his beard was wet with tears. He said to me, 'Don't you know what has befallen your family?' I said, 'What is it, Commander of the Faithful?' He said, 'Their master, teacher, and finest example has died.' 'And who is it, Commander of the Faithful?' I asked. He replied, 'Ja'far b. Muḥammad.' I said, 'May God make great the reward of the Commander of the Faithful and preserve him for us.' He said to me: 'Ja'far was among those of whom God said: *Then We bequeathed the Book on those of Our servants We chose.*"<sup>2853</sup> He was one of those chosen by God and unsurpassed in good works."

Ismā'īl b. 'Alī was one of the best and most distinguished of the Banū Hāshim. Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr appointed him over Fārs, where Muhallil the Khārijite<sup>2854</sup> had rebelled. | Ismā'īl led a force against him, killing him, routing his army, and capturing 400 of his men. His brother, 'Abd al-Ṣamad, who was with him, said: "May God make the governor prosper! Behead them!" But Ismā'īl b. 'Alī replied: "The first to teach how one fights people of the *qibla*"<sup>2855</sup> was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He never killed a prisoner, pursued a person in flight, or finished off a wounded man."

Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās governed Qinnasrīn and al-'Awāṣim on behalf of Abū Ja'far. Word reached Abū Ja'far of the large number of his fighters

2851 Reading with M, *wa-yusallimu wālidayhi*; ed. Leiden, *wa-yatasallamu l-dīya*, "and receive the blood money."

2852 Meaning that they offer one another refuge.

2853 Qur'ān 35:32.

2854 Arabic *al-Ḥarūrī*.

2855 That is, fellow Muslims (those who face the same direction or *qibla* in prayer).



and clients, and he became fearful. So he wrote to Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, summoning him, but Ṣāliḥ wrote back that he was gravely ill. Abū Jaʿfar refused to believe it, although Ṣāliḥ in fact was suffering from consumption. He traveled to Baghdad; and when Abū Jaʿfar saw him, he turned him away, showing him neither favor nor kindness. Ṣāliḥ said, “The Commander of the Faithful has despaired of me and so has done this to me, but God can quicken bones when they are decayed.”<sup>2856</sup> He died after reaching ʿĀnāt, one of the villages of the Euphrates. He was the same age as Abū Jaʿfar.

Abū Jaʿfar appointed members of his household to governorships of the provinces. He appointed Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī over Fārs, Sulaymān b. ʿAlī over Basra, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā over Kufa, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī over Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad over the Jazīra, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ over Ḥims, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ over Damascus, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm over Jordan, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm over Palestine, al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Tammām b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib over Mecca, Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān over Medina, and Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad over Mosul. Then he dismissed Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, replacing him with his son Jaʿfar, and sent Hishām b. ʿAmr with him.

His Arab officials were Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, Ziyād b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥārithī, | Maʿn b. Zāʿida al-Shaybānī, Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī, ʿUqba b. Salm al-Hunāʿī, Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ al-Muhallabī, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʿī, Salm<sup>2857</sup> b. Qutayba al-Bāhili, Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓala al-Bahrānī, al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, and Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī. He used to rotate these men around his administrative posts because of his trust in them and his reliance on them. The officials chosen from among his clients were ʿUmāra b. Ḥamza, Marzūq Abū l-Khaṣīb,<sup>2858</sup> Wāḍiḥ, Ma-nāra,<sup>2859</sup> al-ʿAlāʾ, Razīn, Ghazwān,<sup>2860</sup> ʿAṭīyya, Ṣāʿid, Marthad,<sup>2861</sup> Asad, and al-Rabīʿ.

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In the year 151,<sup>2862</sup> al-Manṣūr wrote to summon Maʿn b. Zāʿida al-Shaybānī, who was then governor of Yemen. Maʿn appointed his son Zāʿida to govern Yemen in his stead and went to Abū Jaʿfar. Maʿn had grown old, and so Abū Jaʿfar

2856 Cf. Qurʾān 36:78.

2857 MSS, *Sālim*, corrected by the Leiden editor.

2858 Both MSS appear to have “*al-Ḥ/Khaṭīb*.”

2859 The MSS appear to read *Sāra*, corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6:22.

2860 Both MSS have ʿUzwāyn; corrected by the Leiden editor.

2861 The reading is uncertain.

2862 151A.H. = January 26, 768 – January 13, 769.

said to him, "You have aged, Ma'n!" He replied, "In your service, Commander of the Faithful!" He said, "But you still show endurance." He replied, "Against your enemies!" He said: "And you still have something left." He replied, "It is yours!" So he dispatched him to Khurāsān, where al-Mahdī was. Al-Mahdī returned, while Ma'n stayed to fight the Khārijites who were there. He killed a great number of them and annihilated them. When they saw that they had no strength to fight him, they used trickery. He was having a villa built for himself at Bust; so some of them entered it disguised as builders, concealing their swords in bundles of reeds. They waited a few days; then, having gained access to the interior of the house, they unsheathed the swords, attacked him—he was in a cloak<sup>2863</sup>—and killed him. | His nephew, Yazīd b. Mazyad, devoted all his efforts to the matter and killed so many Khārijites that their blood flowed like a river; then he departed for Baghdad, but the Khārijites followed him. He would ride amid a large entourage of his uncle's clients and his fellow tribesmen, so that they were unable to catch him unawares. Finally, they attacked him when he was on the bridge in Baghdad, but he dismounted and killed a great number of them. They struck him several blows with their swords. It was a momentous battle with a great number of Khārijites and of people (on our side) killed. No one could recall when the Khārijites had entered Baghdad openly and killed anyone before that day. Zā'ida b. Ma'n b. Zā'ida remained as his father's deputy in Yemen until his father was killed, whereupon al-Manṣūr replaced him with al-Ḥajjāj b. Manṣūr. Then he dismissed the latter and appointed Yazīd b. Manṣūr in his stead.

The people of al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn rebelled in the year 152,<sup>2864</sup> killing Abū l-Sāj, Abū Ja'far's governor over them. Abū Ja'far dispatched 'Uqba b. Salm al-Hunā'ī against them. In retaliation for what Ma'n had done in Yemen, he killed those of the Rabī'a who were there.<sup>2865</sup> He said, "Even if Ma'n were on a swift horse, and I on a lame donkey, I would still have outraced him to Hell." He took prisoners of Arabs and clients.

2863 This is the literal meaning of the Arabic (*wa-huwa fī ridā*). The significance of the detail is unclear. Perhaps it is to be connected with the detail mentioned in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 402, that the assassins assaulted him while he was having blood drawn by cupping, which would explain why he was wearing only a cloak.

2864 152 A.H. = January 14, 769 – January 3, 770.

2865 The tribal rivalry derives from the fact that Ma'n's tribe, Shaybān, a part of Bakr b. Wā'il, belonged to the Rabī'a tribes, part of the northern grouping of Arab tribes. 'Uqba b. Salm belonged to the Hunā'a, which was part of the Azd 'Umān, who belonged to the southern grouping of Arab tribes (Yemen).

A messenger reached ʿUqba bearing good news from al-Manṣūr. ʿUqba said to him, “I have no money to give you, but I will give you something worth 500,000 dirhams.” “What is it?” asked the messenger. ʿUqba said: “I will give you fifty men of the Rabīʿa. You will set off with them, and, when you reach Basra, you will act as if you intend to behead them and to crucify them at the doors of the enemies of the Commander of the Faithful. Anyone you point to will ransom himself from you for 10,000 dirhams.” He replied, “I accept.” | ʿUqba handed the men over to the messenger, and the latter took them to Basra. He stood them in the Mirbad<sup>2866</sup> and made as if he meant to behead them and crucify them. People gathered and rioting almost ensued. Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh, who was the chief judge of Basra at the time, sent for the messenger, who was brought to him. He issued orders for the men to be placed in prison, and said, “Do nothing to them until I send you orders.” He wrote to al-Manṣūr about the men, stressing the gravity of the situation surrounding them. The caliph wrote back that he was pardoning the men and commended him warmly.

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When Ilyās b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri, the governor of Ifrīqiya, was killed, Abū Jaʿfar appointed Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, Ilyās’s nephew. He held office for a time before a man named ʿĀṣim b. Jamīl al-Ibādī rebelled and killed Ibn Ḥabīb. The Ibādīya spread across Ifrīqiya and appointed as their leader Abū l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī. He became a formidable presence, exerting authority over the whole region. Abū Jaʿfar appointed Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, who then arrived in Tripoli. Abū l-Khaṭṭāb marched against him from al-Qayrawān, but Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath fought him, killed him, and sent his head to Abū Jaʿfar.

Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath then proceeded to al-Qayrawān. He was there for only a short while before Hāshim b. Ishtākhanj<sup>2867</sup> al-Khurāsānī rose against him, backed by those of the regular army (*jund*) and the people of Khurāsān who were in the province. They drove Ibn al-Ashʿath from the province and chose a man named ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Khurāsānī to lead them. Ibn al-Ashʿath left for Iraq.

Abū Jaʿfar wrote to appoint al-Aghlab b. Sālīm al-Tamīmī governor of the province. The people of Ifrīqiya rebelled, removing al-Aghlab b. Sālīm and installing al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb. When word of this reached Abū Jaʿfar, he was loath to leave the province in turmoil, and therefore wrote appointing al-Ḥasan

2866 Al-Mirbad was a market outside the western gate of Basra. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mirbad.

2867 The name is undotted in both MSS; ed. Leiden follows the reading in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:369. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Geography*, 293–294, refers to Ishtākhanj as a dependency of Samarqand.

2:465 b. Ḥarb governor of the province. Once order returned to the province, he appointed ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣ | al-Muhallabī Hazārmard. Shortly after the latter arrived in the province, Ya‘qūb b. Tamīm al-Kindī, known as Abū Ḥātim, rose up against him, joined by the people of the province. Ya‘qūb besieged him in al-Qayrawān, and he remained besieged until he was killed in the year 153.<sup>2868</sup> Abū Ḥātim Ya‘qūb b. Tamīm al-Ibāḍī took control of the province.

Abū Ja‘far appointed Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī over the Maghrib in the year 154.<sup>2869</sup> Abū Ja‘far accompanied al-Muhallabī as far as Jerusalem and commanded him to set off. Abū Ja‘far returned, settling<sup>2870</sup> in the Syrian provinces and the Jazīra. Yazīd b. Ḥātim arrived in Egypt, where he remained for a short while before going on to Ifrīqiya. He arrived in Tripoli with a large force. Abū Ḥātim al-Ibāḍī marched toward him, and the two met at Tripoli. Yazīd engaged him, and the fighting lasted for days, until Abū Ḥātim and a great number of his followers were killed.

Yazīd b. Ḥātim reached al-Qayrawān in the year 155<sup>2871</sup> and proclaimed a safe-conduct to the populace as a whole. He remained in the province through the caliphates of Abū Ja‘far, al-Mahdī, Mūsā (al-Hādī), and part of the caliphate of al-Rashīd.

When the people of al-Ṭālaqān grew restive, Abū Ja‘far dispatched ‘Umar b. al-‘Alā’ against them. He seized al-Ṭālaqān, Dunbāwand, and Daylamān, taking many captives from the Daylamīs. He then marched into Ṭabaristān, where he remained for the duration of al-Manṣūr’s caliphate.

2:466 Al-Manṣūr sent al-Layth, a client (*mawlā*) of the Commander of the Faithful, to Farghāna, whose king at the time was F-y-r-ān son of Af-rā-k-f-n.<sup>2872</sup> The latter’s residence was in a city called Kāshghar. Al-Layth fought them fiercely, until the king of Farghāna sought a negotiated settlement, which he granted them in exchange for the payment of a large tribute. As his envoy, the king of Farghāna sent one of his companions, a man named Bānījūr.<sup>2873</sup> It was proposed to him that he convert to Islam, | but he refused. He remained in prison until the days of al-Mahdī. He said, “I will not betray the king who sent me.”

2868 153 A.H. = January 4, 770 – December 23, 770.

2869 154 A.H. = December 24, 770 – December 12, 771.

2870 Reading with M, *fa-staqarra*; ed. Leiden, *fa-stanfara* (he summoned [namely, to war]).

2871 155 A.H. = December 13, 771 – December 1, 772.

2872 The letters are undotted in both MSS, and the name cannot be verified from other sources.

2873 A variety of readings have been proposed for the name, which is written without dots in the MSS. Ed. Leiden has Bātījūr, but Bānījūr is more likely; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bānīdjūrids.

Abū Jaʿfar built up the city of al-Maṣṣīṣa. It had been a small fort said to have been constructed by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. Because the Byzantines were constantly launching night attacks on the people there and plundering the place, Abū Jaʿfar built the wall around it and put in the trench. He settled fighters there and had prisoners transported to the site. The men who oversaw the construction were al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī.

Abū Jaʿfar seized so much of people's wealth that he left no one with a surplus. The amount of what he took from them was eight hundred million dirhams. He used to say to the members of his household: "I am not so ignorant of the proper place [for my love] as to take from you,<sup>2874</sup> for among you there are only uncles, brothers, cousins and nephews. Therefore I guard you with my eyes and worry about you in person. By God, by God, your souls are in peril, so see to them; and so too is your wealth, so guard it closely! Beware of squandering, for you could soon turn from being the offspring of my sons to being people recognized by no man and of whom people ask, 'Who are you?'"

He used to say: "The kings are three: Muʿāwiya, whose mainstay was his Ziyād; ʿAbd al-Malik, whose mainstay was his Ḥajjāj; and I, who have no mainstay."

He used to say: "He who has little wealth will have few men, and he who has few men will be overpowered by his enemy. He whose enemy overpowers him will see his kingdom wane, and he whose kingdom wanes will have his inner sanctum plundered."

He said one day to his companions: "This kingdom came to me when I was already tested by experience: I had known good fortune and ill, had rubbed shoulders with passers-by in the markets, had celebrated | festivals with them, and had offered them condolences at funerals.<sup>2875</sup> By God, although I do not want to exploit them,<sup>2876</sup> I do wish to know what they have been up to since I have concealed myself from them behind these walls and been distracted

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2874 The translation follows M, with an emendation suggested by Everett Rowson: *innī lā ajhalu mawḍīʿ [ḥubbī] ḥattā ākhudha minkum*. The words *ḥubbī* and *ḥattā* have the same ductus in Arabic script, and the copyist has omitted the first of them by haplography. Ed. Leiden reads, *innī la-ajhalu mawḍīʿ ḥattā aḥdhara minkum* (I am so ignorant of my position that I am on guard against you.)

2875 Reading with M *wa-ʿāzaytuhum fī l-maʿāzī*. However, this requires emending the last word, which is clearly written as *maghāzī* (military expeditions). Ed. Leiden reads *wa-ghāzaytuhum fī l-maghāzī*, (and I raided with them on expeditions). Perhaps one should read *wa-ʿāzaytuhum fī l-maghāzī* (and I offered them condolences after battles).

2876 Or possibly: "do not want to become better acquainted with them."

from them in attending to their concerns. By God, I do not reproach myself for sending out spies so that news of them reaches me even when they are in their homes.”

One of our elders recounted to me:<sup>2877</sup> One day Abū Ja‘far was delivering a sermon and mentioning God; whereupon a man rose before him and said, “I would remind you, Commander of the Faithful, of Whom<sup>2878</sup> it is you speak.” Abū Ja‘far replied: “Listen! Listen to one who has received from God and has reminded of Him!<sup>2879</sup> God forbid that my pride should lead me into sin,<sup>2880</sup> for then I should have gone astray and not be among the rightly guided.<sup>2881</sup> By God, it is not God that you had in mind in this; you only wanted it to be said, ‘He stood up, he spoke, he was punished, but he stood firm.’ How easily I could turn against one who spoke such words, were I so inclined. So mind your business, woe to you, for I have forgiven! And beware—you and all you people—of doing the like! For admonition<sup>2882</sup> has been granted to us, and from us it issues forth; therefore, acknowledge the authority of those worthy of it, that they may exercise it as they received it.” He then returned to where he had left off in his sermon.

Abū Ja‘far performed the pilgrimage five times during his caliphate: in the years 140, 144, 147, 152, and 158. In the latter year he did not complete the pilgrimage, but died on the first of the ten days, and so Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī led the pilgrimage.

On his death bed, Abū Ja‘far said to his clients: “Once, before this authority<sup>2883</sup> came to us, I dreamt a dream. It was as if we were at the Sacred Mosque, when suddenly the Prophet came out of the House,<sup>2884</sup> holding | a banner, and said, ‘Where is ‘Abdallāh?’ My brother, my uncle and I all rose, but my brother”—he meant Abū l-‘Abbās—“got ahead of us and took the banner. He carried it a few steps that I counted and numbered; then he fell, and the banner

2877 The following incident of the caliph's being interrupted in a sermon is also recorded in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:427. The text in M is difficult, and C, which reproduces M, has been corrected in the margin; ed. Leiden follows most of these corrections and is the basis for the following translation, except as otherwise noted.

2878 As emended by ed. Leiden; M: “of *what* it is you speak.”

2879 Or, “and has reminded you of it.”

2880 Cf. Qur‘ān 2:206.

2881 Cf. Qur‘ān 6:56.

2882 Thus M (*al-maw‘īza*); ed. Leiden, *al-ḥikma* (wisdom).

2883 Arabic *amr* (matter, affair), referring to the caliphate.

2884 That is, the Kaaba.

fell from his hand. The Messenger of God took it, returned to his place, and said again, 'Where is 'Abdallāh?' My uncle and I rose. I pushed my uncle aside, knocking him down, and pressed forward to take the banner. Having the banner in hand, I carried it several steps that I counted and numbered; then I fell, and the banner fell from my hand. Those steps being now completed, I shall die today."

He died on the third day of Dhū l-Ḥijja in the year 158,<sup>2885</sup> at the age of 68, and was buried at Bi'r Maymūn. His son Ṣāliḥ led the funeral prayers. His reign lasted 22 years.

He left six sons: Muḥammad al-Mahdī, whose mother was Umm Mūsā bt. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyariyya; Ṣāliḥ and Ya'qūb, whose mother was al-Ṭalḥiyya ...<sup>2886</sup> His son Ja'far the Elder died during his lifetime. His mother was Umm Mūsā bint Manṣūr al-Ḥimyariyya.

The person with the greatest influence over him was Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī. Abū Ayyūb had been a secretary to Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī, under whom Abū Ja'far had held office during the days of the Umayyads. Sulaymān once became angry with Abū Ja'far and ordered that he should be beaten and imprisoned, but Abū Ayyūb rescued him. Abū Ja'far, remembering this about him, appointed him wazīr. Then, displeased with him, he killed him and confiscated his wealth. He killed him in the year 154, and no one was known to wield great influence over him afterward.

Among his night companions were Hishām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī, 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī' al-Ḥārithī, Ishāq b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī, and al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarashī.

He was the first to appoint judges to the major cities (*amṣār*) directly; formerly they were appointed by local officials.<sup>2887</sup> His judges were 'Uthmān b.

<sup>2885</sup> October 4, 775.

<sup>2886</sup> Names have dropped out of the text, although the mss have no indication of a lacuna. Not only are only four sons mentioned, but one, Ja'far the Younger, is said to have predeceased his father, which implies that he should not be included among the six whom Abū Ja'far left (*khallafu*). Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:443, lists eight sons, of whom two died during their father's lifetime: Muḥammad al-Mahdī, Ja'far the Elder (predeceased his father), Sulaymān, 'Isā, Ya'qūb, Ja'far the Younger, Ṣāliḥ al-Miskīn, and al-Qāsim (predeceased his father). In addition to identifying their mothers, al-Ṭabarī explains that the name of al-Ṭalḥiyya was Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad, and she was called al-Ṭalḥiyya because she was a descendant of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh (the companion of the Prophet who was killed at the Battle of the Camel in 36/656).

<sup>2887</sup> Arabic *aṣḥāb al-ma'āwin* (pl. of *ṣāḥib al-ma'ūna*). Originally, the term referred to the official responsible for disbursing *ma'āwin*, allocations distinct from military stipends and ration allowances, but the term seems to have broadened to include various other

2:469 'Umar al-Tamīmī and Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī, | followed by 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī.<sup>2888</sup> The judge of Kufa was Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī; and of Basra, 'Umar b. 'Āmir al-Sulamī, followed by Sawwār b. 'Abdallāh al-'Anbarī. The judge of Egypt was 'Abdallāh b. Lahī'a al-Ḥaḍramī.<sup>2889</sup> 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī was in charge of his security forces (*shuraṭ*), until he removed him and appointed him to Khurāsān. In his stead he appointed his brother, ['Umar] b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, whom he later removed, when his brother<sup>2890</sup> rebelled and was assassinated. He then appointed Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī, followed by al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, who at first was Mūsā b. Ka'b's deputy, but then Mūsā died. Ka'b b. Mālīk headed Abū Ja'far's personal guard (*ḥaras*), followed by 'Uthmān b. Nahīk, whom he replaced with Abū l-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī. Abū Ja'far's chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was 'Īsā b. Rawḍa, his client; then al-Rabī', also his client, became his chamberlain, gaining authority over most of his affairs.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his days:

- in the year 136, Ismā'īl b. 'Alī; or according to others, Abū Ja'far, with Abū Muslim as his traveling-companion;<sup>2891</sup>
- in the year 137, [Ismā'īl b. 'Alī;
- in the year 138, Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī;
- in the year 139,]<sup>2892</sup> which was the Year of Abundance,<sup>2893</sup> al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī;

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functions of civil administration. The exact sense here is unclear. See the article by P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ma'ūna.

2888 The text does not mention where these men were judges. 'Uthmān b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī is said to have been a judge in Medina under the Umayyads, and to have died in 209 (Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 371, 408, 473). Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī served as judge in Medina under the Umayyads and died there in 143/760–761 (*ibid.*, 367, 419, 420). 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī is something of a mystery; the well-known figure by that name died fighting for Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/692, so this 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān must be someone else. The most probable inference is that this first group of judges refers to Medina, although it is possible that Abū Ja'far brought them to serve in Baghdad.

2889 For the life of this judge and traditionist, see the article by F. Rosenthal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Lahī'a.

2890 That is, 'Abd al-Jabbār.

2891 Reading with M, *zamīlahu*. The copyist of C omitted the first letter, leaving a meaningless word, which the Leiden editor emended to *ma'āhu* (with him).

2892 The Leiden editor added the bracketed material on the basis of the parallel sources. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:121, 124, 127.

2893 Arabic *ʾam al-khiṣb*; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:125.



- in the year 140, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr;
- in the year 141, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī, who was governor of Damascus, Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn;
- in the year 142; Ismā'īl b. 'Alī;
- in the year 143, 'Isā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī;
- in the year 144, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr;
- in the year 145, al-Sarī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭa-lib;
- in the year 146, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī;
- in the year 147, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr;
- in the year 148, his son Ja'far;
- in the year 149, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī;
- in the year 150, 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī;
- in the year 151, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 152, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr; |
- in the year 153, al-Mahdī, who was his father's heir apparent;
- in the year 154, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 155, 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī;
- in the year 156, al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad;
- in the year 157, Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī;
- in the year 158, Abū Ja'far intended to perform the pilgrimage but died, and it was led by Ibrāhīm.

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The leaders of the campaigns during his days:

- in the year 138, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī, who was governor of Syria, and al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who was governor of Khurāsān. Byzantine territory had not been attacked since al-Ghamr b. Yazīd had done so in the year 125. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī remained as governor over Syria and the frontier provinces (*thughūr*), sending commanders on campaigns into Byzantine territory on his behalf. They were led by his son, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, and others.
- in the year 142, al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad;
- in the year 143, al-'Abbās again;
- in the year 145, Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba;
- in the year 146, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 147, al-Sarī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith;
- in the year 148, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ;
- in the year 149, Yazīd b. Usayd;
- in the year 155, Yazīd b. Usayd;
- in the year 157, Zufar b. 'Āṣim al-Hilālī.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā'*) during his time:

- Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī,
- Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān,<sup>2894</sup>
- Ibn Abī Ṭuwāla,
- Hishām b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr,
- Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alqama,
- Mūsā b. 'Ubayda,
- Ibn Abī Ṣa'ṣa'a,
- Rabī'at al-Ra'y, that is, Ibn [Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān,
- Muḥammad b.]<sup>2895</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhi'b,<sup>2896</sup>
- 'Uthmān b. al-Aswad,
- Ḥaṇẓala b. Abī Sufyān,<sup>2897</sup>
- 'Abd al-Malik b. Jurayj,
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī l-Rawwād,<sup>2898</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd,<sup>2899</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Asadī,<sup>2900</sup>
- 2:471 – Abū Sār al-Yasārī, | whose name was Ẹirār b. Murra,<sup>2901</sup>
- Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Kāhili,<sup>2902</sup>

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- 2894 He is identified in ed. Leiden, *Index*, as Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qāḍī (as distinct from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhi'b and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā), but it has not been possible to identify him more exactly.
  - 2895 Added in ed. Leiden on the basis of Ibn Qutayba.
  - 2896 Known as Ibn Abī Dhi'b (full name, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīra b. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Dhi'b), he served as judge of Kufa and died in 159/776. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:303–307; Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:204. Here and at ed. Leiden, 2:479, the MSS write his name as Ibn Abī Dhu'ayb, the diminutive form of the name Dhi'b.
  - 2897 Ḥaṇẓala b. Abī Sufyān al-Jumāḥī was a Medinan scholar who died in 151/768; see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 425; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:60–61.
  - 2898 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī l-Rawwād (d. 159/775–776; the name is also given as Abī Rawwād, without the article) was a Meccan traditionist, a mawlā of al-Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufra; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:338–339.
  - 2899 Apparently the same as Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Khūzī, whose death in 150/767–768 is noted by Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 425; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:179–180, identifies him as a mawlā of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and dates his death to 151/768–769.
  - 2900 The reading of the last word is uncertain; the person cannot be otherwise identified.
  - 2901 See the note to ed. Leiden, 2:436, above. The reading of M appears to be "Abū Sayyār al-Yasārī, whose name was Hazār b. Murra," but such a person is unknown.
  - 2902 Known as al-A'mash, Sulaymān b. Mihrān (d. 147 or 148/764–765) was an important Kufan traditionist. See the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-A'mash.

- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī,<sup>2903</sup>
- Abū Ḥayyān Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Taymī,<sup>2904</sup>
- Muǧalīd b. Sa‘īd,
- Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘ib al-Kalbī,<sup>2905</sup>
- al-Aǧlaḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kindī,<sup>2906</sup>
- al-Barā’<sup>2907</sup> b. Abī Zā‘ida al-Hamdānī,
- Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī,<sup>2908</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umar<sup>2909</sup> al-Fuqaymī,
- Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā,
- al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt,<sup>2910</sup>
- Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit,<sup>2911</sup>
- Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Arzamī,<sup>2912</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umāra,

2903 Perhaps the same as al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Urwa al-Nakha‘ī, a Kufan traditionist (d. 139/756–757 or 142/759–760); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:292–293.

2904 Abū Ḥayyān Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Taymī (d. 145/762) was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:214–215.

2905 Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘ib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) was a Kufan polymath and author of an extensive commentary on the Qur‘ān, which has not survived. See the article by W. Atallah in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Kalbī.

2906 Written here as al-Kalbī, but corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of ed. Leiden, 2:436, above.

2907 Sic M, C; the Leiden editor notes that his name is given below (ed. Leiden, 2:486) as Yahyā; he may be the same as Yahyā b. Zakariyyā’, known as Ibn Abī Zā‘ida (mentioned below, ed. Leiden, 2:523), whose death in 183/799–780 is mentioned by Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 457. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 12:295, notes that the *kunya* Abū Zā‘ida referred to Zakariyyā’ and to his son Yahyā (d. between 182 and 184); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:208–210.

2908 Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq ‘Amr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabī‘ī (d. c. 158/774–775) was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:433–434.

2909 Sic MSS; perhaps to be corrected to ‘Amr; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:436, and note.

2910 Al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt al-Nakha‘ī (d. 145/762–763) served the Umayyads, but went over to the ‘Abbāsids and became judge of Basra and secretary to Abū Ja‘far al-Manšūr. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:321–322, he laid out the plan for the congregational mosque of Baghdad. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:196–198; and the biography in Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 157.

2911 Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit (d. 150/767) was the foremost Kufan authority on law and the eponymous founder of the legal school (the Ḥanafī *madhhab*) that bears his name. For a biography, see the article by Hiroyuki Yanagihashi in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Ḥanīfa.

2912 His name is given by Ibn Ḥajar as Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Sulaymān al-‘Arzamī (d. 155/771–772); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:322–324.

- Mis‘ar b. Kidām,
- Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī,
- Sufyān b. Sa‘īd al-Thawrī,
- ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abbās al-Hamdānī,
- Yaḥyā b. Salama b. Kuhayl,<sup>2913</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Awn al-Muzanī,<sup>2914</sup>
- Khālīd b. Mihrān,<sup>2915</sup>
- Abū l-Mu‘tamir Sulaymān al-Taymī,
- ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd,
- Sawwār b. ‘Abdallāh,
- Abū l-Ashhab al-‘Uṭāridī,<sup>2916</sup>
- Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl,
- Shu‘ba al-‘Abdī b. al-Ḥajjāj,<sup>2917</sup>
- Ḥammād b. Salama,<sup>2918</sup>
- Ḥammād b. Zayd,<sup>2919</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥarrar,<sup>2920</sup>
- ‘Amr b. Qays al-Kindī,<sup>2921</sup>

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- 2913 mss M, C have *b. Nahīk* here, but give the name correctly as *b. Kuhayl* below, ed. Leiden, 2:486. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:224–225, adds the nisba al-Ḥaḍramī and identifies him as a Kufan Shī‘ī “extremist” (*kāna yaḡhlū fī l-tashayyu‘*) who died in 179/795–796 or 172/788–789.
- 2914 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Awn b. Arṭabān al-Muzanī (d. 151/768–769) a Basran mawlā of the Muḥayyirī, is said to have traveled to Mecca, Medina, Kufa, and Damascus; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:346–349.
- 2915 Khālīd b. Mihrān al-Ḥaḍhdhā’ (d. 141/758–759 or 142/759–760) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:120–122.
- 2916 mss M, C have *al-‘Uṭārid*. Full name: Abū l-Ashhab Ja‘far b. Ḥayyān al-‘Uṭāridī, d. 162/778–779 or 165/781–782; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:88.
- 2917 Given in ed. Leiden as Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj al-‘Abdī; however, the strange order (nisba before father’s name) may indicate a miscopying, as the full name of this well-known Basran traditionist (d. 160/776) is normally given as Abū Bistām Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj b. al-Ward al-‘Atakī al-Azdī; see the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj*, and F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:92.
- 2918 Ḥammād b. Salama b. Dīnār (d. 176/783) was a Kufan traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:11–16.
- 2919 Ḥammād b. Zayd b. Dīnār al-Azdī (d. Ramaḍān 179/795) was a Basran traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:9–11.
- 2920 ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥarrar al-‘Āmirī (d. between 150/767–768 and 160/776–777), served as judge in the Jazīra; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:389–390.
- 2921 ‘Amr b. Qays al-Kindī (d. 140/757–758) was a scholar from the Syrian city of Ḥims; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:91–92.

- al-Awzāʿī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr,
- Ghālib b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Uqaylī.<sup>2922</sup>

### The Days of al-Mahdī

He was Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Manṣūr. His mother was Umm Mūsā bt. Manṣūr | b. ‘Abdallāh b. [Dhī] Sahm<sup>2923</sup> b. Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī. He was given the oath of allegiance on the day on which al-Manṣūr died. Al-Rabīʿ received the oath for him in Mecca from those of the Banū Hāshim and commanders who were present; Šāliḥ b. al-Manṣūr was present, as was Mūsā b. al-Mahdī. Word of this, along with Abū Jaʿfar’s last will and testament, was sent to al-Mahdī with Manāra, Abū Jaʿfar’s client. Manāra journeyed for twelve days to Baghdad, where al-Mahdī was. The latter summoned the commanders, the Banū Hāshim, and the companions (*ṣaḥāba*), and they rendered the oath of allegiance. 2:472

On that day the Sun was in Libra, 24° 50’; the Moon in Gemini, 20° 50’; Saturn in Libra, 18° 50’; Jupiter in Capricorn, 17° 40’; Mars in Gemini, 5° 40’, retrograde; Venus in Libra, 25° 40’; Mercury in Scorpio, 18° 10’; and the Ascending Node in Taurus, 9° 10’.

Al-Mahdī read Abū Jaʿfar’s last will and testament.<sup>2924</sup> The text was as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is what ‘Abdallāh, the Commander of the Faithful, enjoined upon al-Mahdī Muḥammad, son of the Commander of the Faithful and heir apparent of the Muslims, when he entrusted him with his last will and testament following his death and appointed him as his successor over the subjects (*raʿīyya*) consisting of Muslims and *ahl al-dhimma*,<sup>2925</sup> and over God’s Sanctuary, His treasuries, and His land, which *He bequeaths to whom He will among His servants; and the ultimate issue is to the godfearing*.<sup>2926</sup>

2922 Unidentified.

2923 The MSS read *b. Sahr*; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 4:165 (§ 2435).

2924 The Arabic verb *qaraʾa* (he read), usually implies reading aloud. For a parallel account of al-Manṣūr’s wills, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:443–454.

2925 That is, members of other religious communities deemed to be non-polytheistic and therefore entitled to the protection of their Muslim overlords in return for payment of tribute. See the article by Yohanan Friedman in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Dhimma*.

2926 Qurʾān 7:128.

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The Commander of the Faithful charges you to fear God with regard to the lands and to act in obedience to Him with regard to God's servants. He warns you to be on guard against suffering sorrow, regret, and shame at the Resurrection, guarding against them before the coming of death and the outcome of your passing, | when you shall say, "*My Lord, if only Thou wouldst defer me unto a near term!*"<sup>2927</sup> But how can you ask for a respite when your appointed time has ended? And you shall say, "*My Lord, return me, that I might act righteously.*"<sup>2928</sup> But then your kin will be cut off from you, and your deeds will descend upon you; and you will see what your hands have wrought, where your feet have trodden, what has sprung from your mouth, for what your limbs have labored, whereon your gaze has lingered, and what has nestled in your heart. And you will be recompensed fully for it: evil for evil, and good for good. Therefore let mindfulness of God be your affair, and obedience to Him your concern. Ask God's help with regard to these two things, and through them seek closeness to your Lord. As for your soul, take it in hand, and do not give it over to its passions. Be to evildoing a subduer;<sup>2929</sup> for there is no one more burdened, whose sins are more blameworthy, or who can inflict greater calamities or worse disasters than you; for your sins will grow thick and your deeds be multiplied because God has entrusted the flock to you, to judge among them on the smallest of matters, and all of them will call you to account, and you will be accountable for the actions of your unjust officials. For God says, *You will perish, and they will perish; and on the Day of Resurrection before your Lord you shall dispute.*<sup>2930</sup> It is as if I can see you made to stand before the Almighty, deserted by your helpers, abandoned by your aides, encircled by your sins, yoked to your offenses, gripped by fear, and immobilized by disappointment, your arguments useless and your devices few, your claims stripped away, and creatures demanding requital on a day of intense horror and great fear, a day on which eyes and throats freeze in terror and oppressors will have neither friend nor intercessor to be obeyed.<sup>2931</sup> How will it be for you on that day, when all mankind contends with you and calls on God the Truth to render judgment against you; when there shall be neither men

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2927 Qur'ān 63:10.

2928 Qur'ān 23:99–100.

2929 Reading with M, *wa-kun li-'amali l-sharri qāmi'an*; ed. Leiden (editor's conjecture, based on C), *wa-lan ta'mala l-sharra qāmi'an* (and you, subduing, will not do evil).

2930 Qur'ān 39:30–31.

2931 The language echoes Qur'ān 14:43 and 40:18.

of influence to save you, nor kinsmen to protect you; a day on which chastisement will be demanded and intercession not accepted, and on which justice will be rendered and the verdict pronounced | decisively? For God has said, *Today there shall be no injustice, and God is swift at reckoning.*<sup>2932</sup> Therefore devote yourself to your religion, and strive for your soul: free yourself;<sup>2933</sup> seize this day, and be wary of tomorrow. Be vigilant as regards this world, for it is a treacherous and noxious world. Let your intention be sincere toward God, and your need for Him be great. Let your fairness extend broadly and your justice spread, and may people be safe from oppression on your part. Be evenhanded with all your subjects when passing judgment, and in every endeavour of yours seek the approval of God the Merciful. As for the people of religion, let them be your right hand;<sup>2934</sup> make them your confidants, appoint them to your offices, and rely on them as your aides, that God may know what you have intended and recompense your deeds, *for God is All-requiting, All-knowing.*<sup>2935</sup> Give Muslims the share of their wealth to which they are entitled, increase for them their share of the *fay*, pay them their stipends regularly, and provide their living allowances promptly, year by year and month by month. Attend to the cultivation of lands by easing the burden of the land-tax. Win the people over with pleasing conduct and reasoned policy. Let it be your greatest concern to protect your borders, defend your frontiers, and dispatch your forces speedily. Incline humbly to God, may He be glorified and exalted, in striving in His path (*jihād*), in defending His religion, and in destroying His enemies through the victories that God grants to the Muslims and His strengthening of them in their religion. Devote your lifeblood, your courage, and your wealth to that end. Review

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2932 Qurʾān 40:17.

2933 That is, from subjection to God's punishment: Arabic *fa-fkuk 'unuqaka*, literally, "release your neck," apparently a variation on *fakka l-raqaba* (he emancipated a slave). According to Lane, *Lexicon*, 2430, the latter phrase was used metaphorically to mean (quoting from the *Tāj al-ʿArūs*): "man's emancipating himself from subjection to God's punishment by the confession of the unity of God and by righteous doing and then by teaching the same to others."

2934 The text from here to end of sentence is missing from C and hence from ed. Leiden. The copyist of C, working certainly from M, skipped from the first word in one line to the second word in the following line, leaving out the remainder of the first line. This is almost certain proof that C, the Cambridge manuscript, was copied directly from M, the Manchester manuscript.

2935 Qurʾān 2:158.

your armies day and night, and know the positions of your cavalry and the locations of your infantry. Rely upon God for your protection, your authority, and your power, and in Him put your trust, your confidence, and your reliance; for He will protect you, free you from need, and guide you to victory. And He is a sufficient ally and protector!

Abū Jaʿfar then directed him in matters that are too long to write out. We have limited ourselves to the first part of his testament.

Al-Mahdī showed great grief over al-Manṣūr. Delegations came to him to offer their condolences, each group saying what they could. Finally Shabīb b. Shayba entered to offer condolences and said: “Commander of the Faithful, when God gave you your share in this world, He was content to give you only what is most radiant and lofty in it. So, be content with nothing less for your soul in the next world than | that with which God has been content to give you in this world. Therefore fear God, for to you<sup>2936</sup> the world was given, from you it was taken, and to you it was returned.”

Al-Rabīʿ arrived on the first day of Muḥarram<sup>2937</sup> with the keys to the treasures. Al-Mahdī, sitting in open assembly on the 15th of Muḥarram, ordered al-Rabīʿ to produce the register of appropriated wealth.<sup>2938</sup> He sent out a summons to every person from whom Abū Jaʿfar had appropriated wealth. Turning to them, he said: “The Commander of the Faithful, al-Manṣūr, when God burdened him with your affairs and entrusted your care to him, managed your affairs as a devoted father would manage the affairs of his children. He looked after you better than you would have looked after yourselves, he kept for you what you would not have kept for yourselves, and he guarded that portion of your wealth that he feared might be squandered. Here is your money! Find blessing in it, and forgive the Commander of the Faithful for the delay in its return to you.”

Al-Mahdī then ordered the release from prison of the Ṭālibids and various other people. He set them free and ordered that they should be given copious rewards, gifts, and grants of money. Then, releasing the others, he gave to each person that he released a set of clothes and a gift according to his rank, until he

2936 The pronouns are in the plural, referring presumably to al-Mahdī and his family.

2937 1 Muḥarram 158 = November 11, 774.

2938 Arabic *daftar al-qubūd*. As the context indicates, this account-book recorded revenues that had been appropriated, or perhaps simply withheld from members of the military to whom they ought to have been given. The glossary to the Leiden al-Ṭabarī, s.v. *qabaḍ* (pl. *aqbād*), records the meaning of “spoils not yet distributed.”



came to ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān,<sup>2939</sup> who had been in prison since the days of Abū l-‘Abbās. He ordered his release and gave him 10,000 dirhams. ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī said to him: “We swore an oath of allegiance to this man when he was his father’s heir apparent. But you know best! However, he once gave my secretary some jewelry worth 30,000 (dirhams).” The story behind the jewelry mentioned by ‘Īsā concerns Umm Yazīd, the wife of ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān. She had gone to Kufa hoping to find someone to whom she could speak on behalf of her husband and had been told that she should speak to ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī. She approached his secretary, ‘Abbās b. Ya‘qūb, and spoke to him, giving him some jewelry that was still in her possession and asking him to speak to ‘Īsā about interceding on behalf of her husband. He took the jewelry, but did not | speak to ‘Īsā.

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‘Abdallāh b. al-Rabī‘ al-Ḥārithī said: “As for al-Mahdī’s actions—returning people’s money, releasing prisoners, guaranteeing safety to the fearful, and lavishing gifts on the destitute—I once heard al-Manṣūr say to al-Mahdī, when he bade him farewell upon departing for Mecca: ‘I leave behind three kinds of people, the poor man who seeks only your wealth, the fearful man who seeks from you only security, and the imprisoned man who seeks from you only freedom. When you take charge, give them a taste of contentment, but within limits.’”

Al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān came to al-Mahdī to tell him about what he had witnessed of al-Manṣūr and of al-Rabī‘’s cunning. He said, “I saw him manage things in a way that no one else could have hit upon.” “How so?” asked al-Mahdī. Al-Ḥārith said: “When al-Manṣūr died, al-Rabī‘ seated your brother Ṣāliḥ at the head of the assembly, thus setting him before all the others who were present. But after al-Manṣūr was buried,<sup>2940</sup> he seated your son Mūsā in front and seated your brother behind. Ṣāliḥ was upset about that, but al-Rabī‘ said, ‘Prince, while your father was still on the face of the earth, you were more deserving of precedence due to the absence of your brother al-Mahdī; however, now that your father is beneath the earth and the reins of power are in the hands of this one’s father, he is more deserving of precedence than you.’” Al-Mahdī said, “Anyone who manages affairs of state should manage them like al-Rabī‘.”

Al-Mahdī removed ‘Īsā b. Mūsā as heir apparent, purchasing this from him<sup>2941</sup> for ten million dirhams. He had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son

2939 The son of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad, who, as the following story makes clear, had been imprisoned and whose property had been confiscated.

2940 The text to and including the word “earth” is found only in M.

2941 Following M; *minhu* (from him) is not in C or ed. Leiden.

Mūsā<sup>2942</sup> as heir apparent—this was in the year 159<sup>2943</sup>—and had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son Hārūn<sup>2944</sup> as heir apparent after Mūsā.

Al-Mahdī made the pilgrimage in 160.<sup>2945</sup> He stripped the Ka'ba<sup>2946</sup> and then covered it with Egyptian linen, silk, and silk brocade and daubed its walls from top to bottom with musk and ambergris. The Ka'ba had been located at one side of the Mosque and was not in the center. Al-Mahdī therefore razed the walls of the Sacred Mosque and made additions to it, buying people's dwellings and homes and importing craftsmen and architects from every province. He wrote to his client Wāḍiḥ, | his governor of Egypt, to send money to Mecca and to provide tools and whatever was required in the way of gold, mosaics, and chains for the lanterns. These he was to send out and deliver to Yaqtīn b. Mūsā and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

The Ka'ba was made to stand in the center. He added 90 cubits from next to the Ka'ba toward the the Gate of al-Ṣafā, and 60 cubits from the Ka'ba toward the Gate of the Banū Shayba. The full area now measured 120,000 square cubits. The length of the Mosque, from the Gate of the Banū Jumāḥ, to the Gate of the Banū Hāshim, and to the green marker,<sup>2947</sup> was 404 cubits. It contained 484 columns that had been transported by sea from Egypt, each measuring 10 cubits in height. He put 498 arches into it and gave the Mosque 23 doors. Al-Mahdī was the last to make additions to the Sacred Mosque. He constructed the two markers between which one runs in going between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, there being 112 cubits between them. Once he had expanded the Mosque to its present dimensions, the distance between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa came to be 754 cubits. He also expanded the Mosque of the Messenger of God,<sup>2948</sup> adding to it an area equal to its original area and transporting to it marble pillars, mosaics, and gold; he raised its ceiling and covered the exterior of the tomb with marble.

2942 The future caliph Mūsā I-Hādī.

2943 159 A.H. = October 31, 775 – October 18, 776.

2944 The future caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.

2945 Dhū l-Ḥijja 160 = September 9 – October 8, 777. On al-Mahdī's building activities in Mecca see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:483 (trans. Kennedy, *The History al-Ṭabarī*, xxix, 194 f.).

2946 That is, of the accumulated cloth coverings that previous rulers had sent. According to the account in al-Ṭabarī, their accumulated weight threatened to destroy the building.

2947 Arabic *al-'alam al-akhḍar*. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 315, refers to two green markers, marking the starting and finishing points of the *sa'y* (running) between the hills of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa that forms part of the pilgrimage.

2948 In Medina.

Al-Mahdī rebuilt the frontier town known as al-Ḥadath in the year 163;<sup>2949</sup> it had been a refuge and stronghold for the enemy.<sup>2950</sup> This was because the Byzantines had raided Mar‘ash, taking prisoners and killing people. After al-Mahdī rebuilt al-Ḥadath, its benefit to the people of the frontier became great. He dispatched his son Hārūn, along with several commanders and the army, to campaign in this year. | Al-Mahdī accompanied Hārūn as far as the Jayḥān river. During the campaign, Hārūn conquered Samālū<sup>2951</sup> and a number of fortresses. Al-Mahdī dispatched him again in the year 164,<sup>2952</sup> and Hārūn made it as far as Constantinople. The Byzantines sought a settlement from him, which he granted before departing.

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Al-Mahdī removed ‘Uqba b. Salm al-Hunā’ī as governor of al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn because of reports he received about the Rabī’a whom ‘Uqba had killed. “God,” he said, “will not see me fail to hold him responsible for his offence or consent to his activity.” When ‘Uqba b. Salm arrived, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba met him and said, “‘Uqba, you have put yourself into hell.” He replied, “You treat me unfairly, Abū l-Ḥasan, for I put myself into hell to shield you from shame.” A young man from al-Yamāma arrived, a member of the Rabī’a, whose father, paternal uncle, two maternal uncles, and five brothers had been killed by ‘Uqba b. Salm. He waited for ‘Uqba at the gate of al-Mahdī’s residence, and, when ‘Uqba passed with his retinue, he stabbed him with a poisoned knife and killed him. The youth was taken to al-Mahdī, who asked him to account for himself, which he did. Al-Mahdī wanted to release him, but the commanders spoke out, saying, “By God, he doesn’t deserve punishment for killing ‘Uqba, but if he is left unpunished, every day some whelp of this kind will attack a commander and kill him.” So al-Mahdī ordered that he be beheaded.

Khurāsān grew unsettled and unrest spread in Soghdia and Farghāna. Yūsuf al-Barm, a client (*mawlā*) of the Thaqīf in Bukhārā, rose up, summoning his followers to command the good and forbid the evil.<sup>2953</sup> Many people rallied to his

2949 163 A.H. = September 17, 779 – September 5, 780. On this frontier city located at the foot of the Taurus mountains, see the article by S. Ory in *ET*, s.v. al-Ḥadath.

2950 The MSS read, *raf’ lil-‘aduww wa-sadid*; emended by ed. Leiden to *daf’ lil-‘aduww wa-tasdid*. The translation follows the MSS, but is uncertain. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:493, the Byzantines had attacked al-Ḥadath and destroyed its walls in 162/778–779.

2951 The MSS read “Samāliq,” corrected by the Leiden editor. Samālū was a fortress located near al-Maṣṣiṣa and Tarsus. On its site see Wilhelm Tomaschek, “Historisch-Topographisches vom oberen Euphrat und aus Ost-Kappadokien,” 144.

2952 164 A.H. = September 6, 780 – August 25, 781.

2953 A frequent theme in the Qur’ān (cf. 3:110, 7:157, 9:71, 9:112, 22:41), implying that the existing government was corrupt and deserved to be overthrown. On the revolt of Yūsuf

cause, and he made war on the governing authority.<sup>2954</sup> Aḥmad b. Asad set out for Farghāna, seizing territory as far as Kāsān, the seat of the local dynasty. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī was campaigning against Yaḥyā the Khārījite,<sup>2955</sup> and al-Mahdī therefore wrote to him, directing him and those with him to turn against Yūsuf al-Barm. Yazīd b. Mazyad therefore engaged Yūsuf al-Barm; a number  
 2:479 of clashes took place between them, | and Yazīd finally defeated him. When Yazīd raised a red banner, guaranteeing safe-conduct to those who gathered beneath it, all of Yūsuf's men made their way to it. Yazīd took Yūsuf prisoner and sent him to al-Mahdī. When Yūsuf was brought before al-Mahdī, he addressed al-Mahdī rudely; al-Mahdī therefore upbraided him, saying, "How badly your family brought you up!" Then he had him beheaded and his body gibbeted.

Al-Mahdī wrote to 'Umar b. al-'Alā', who was in Ṭabaristān, that he should make his way to Jurjān and expel the Muḥammira<sup>2956</sup> who were there, after calling on them to submit. Having reached Jurjān, he dispersed the Muḥammira, killed 'Abd al-Qāḥir,<sup>2957</sup> and scattered the group.

Al-Mahdī sent messengers to the kings, calling on them to submit, and most of them submitted to him. Among them were the king of Kābul Shāh,<sup>2958</sup> whose name was Ḥanḥal;<sup>2959</sup> the king of Ṭabaristān, the Iṣbahbadh;<sup>2960</sup> the

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al-Barm, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yūsuf al-Barm; Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 157–159.

2954 Arabic *sultān*; here in its original sense.

2955 Arabic *al-Shārī* (pl. *Shurāt*): a designation that the Khārījites used of themselves; literally, the "vendors" or "purchasers" (the Arabic verb has both senses), that is, those who have who have exchanged the life of this world for the life of the world to come.

2956 Muḥammira (Wearers of Red) may derive from a Persian original such as *surkh-jāmagān* or *surkh-alamān* (those with banners of red). Although al-Ya'qūbī gives no details about this revolt, from other sources it becomes clear that the Muḥammira were neo-Mazdakites in revolt against Islam and the Arabs, perhaps allied to the Khurramiyya. See the parallels in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:493 (trans. Kennedy, *The History al-Ṭabarī*, *XXIX*, 207 and note); the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khurramiyya; and Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 79–82. Despite their defeat, they rebelled again during the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim, as al-Ya'qūbī will report below, ed. Leiden 2:575 (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1235; trans. Bosworth, *The History al-Ṭabarī*, *XXXIII*, 95 and note 268); see also Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under Abbasid Rule*, 147.

2957 Their leader; in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:493, he is called 'Abd al-Qaḥhār.

2958 From al-Ya'qūbī's *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 248, where one quarter of Baghdad is said to be inhabited by, among others, "people from Kābul Shāh," it appears that al-Ya'qūbī took this term, originally the title of the ruler of Kābul, also as the name of his kingdom.

2959 Reading uncertain.

2960 On the use of the Iranian title Ispahbadh (Army Chief) by the local rulers of Ṭabaristān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ispahbadh.

king of Soghdia, the Ikhshīd;<sup>2961</sup> the king of Ṭukhāristān, Sharwīn;<sup>2962</sup> the king of Bāmiyān, the Shīr;<sup>2963</sup> the king of Farghāna, -----;<sup>2964</sup> the king of Usrūshana, Afshīn; the king of the Kharlukhiyya, Jabghūya;<sup>2965</sup> the king of Sijistān, Zunbīl;<sup>2966</sup> the king of Turks, Ṭarkhān;<sup>2967</sup> the king of Tibet, Ḥ-h-w-r-n;<sup>2968</sup> the king of Sind, al-Rāy;<sup>2969</sup> the king of China, Baghbūr;<sup>2970</sup> the king of India and Atrāḥ, Wahūfūr;<sup>2971</sup> and the king of the Tughuz-ghuz, Khāqān.<sup>2972</sup>

Al-Mahdī appointed Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī to govern al-Sind. He arrived there following the outbreak of unrest among the Zuṭṭ.<sup>2973</sup> He remained only a short while before he was removed from office and replaced by Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'ī. Al-Sind then was put under the authority of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī al-Hāshimī, who appointed over it | 'Abd al-

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- 2961 An Iranian title used by the rulers of Soghdia and Farghāna. It derives either from Old Persian *khshaeta* (shining, brilliant) or from Old Persian *khshāyathiya* (king, ruler); see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ikhshīd*.
- 2962 In al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:519, Sharwīn is identified as one of the rulers of Ṭabaristān, not Ṭukhāristān.
- 2963 Apparently Shīr is a variant of the Iranian title more usually transcribed into Arabic as Shār, deriving ultimately from Old Persian *khshathriya* (ruler), although by this date it was probably a homophone of Middle Persian *shēr* (lion); see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shār*.
- 2964 The name is too ambiguous to be read, but is probably the same as the ruler mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 465. Here the ductus looks more like F-r-y-ān.
- 2965 Probably the Qarluq, a Turkish group on the northern fringes of Transoxiana. Jabghūya probably stands for Yabghu, the title of their ruler. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qarluq*.
- 2966 The name is correctly written in M; C and ed. Leiden read Rutbīl. On the proper form of the name, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zunbīl*.
- 2967 On Ṭarkhān as a title and personal name, see the article by P. B. Golden in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṭarkhān*.
- 2968 See Dunlop, "Arab Relations with Tibet," 307, on a possible reading.
- 2969 Both MSS read al-Rār, emended by the Leiden editor. The *Chachnamah* (trans. Fredunbeg, index) has many references to members of local royal families bearing title Rai.
- 2970 Baghbūr (also given as Faghfūr) appears frequently in Arabic sources as a title for the emperor of China. It appears to be derived from Soghdian *baghpūr* (son of God), a translation of the Chinese title *T'ien tzū* (son of heaven). See the article by the editor in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Faghfūr* or *Baghbūr*.
- 2971 The reading Atrāḥ is conjectural, as is the reading Wahūfūr. The latter word could just as well be read as *wa-huwwa fūr* (and he is Fūr), giving him the same name as King Porus with whom Alexander the Great fought.
- 2972 See the article by P. B. Golden in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Toghuzghuz*.
- 2973 A people of northwestern India; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zuṭṭ*.

Malik b. Shihāb al-Mismaʿī.<sup>2974</sup> He held office for less than twenty [days] before al-Sind was returned to Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī. Al-Mahdī then appointed al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAbbās, a descendent of Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, but he never reached the province, so al-Mahdī appointed [Saṭīḥ]<sup>2975</sup> b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī. Intertribal tensions (*ʿaṣabiyya*) had broken out for the first time in al-Sind, and so al-Mahdī appointed his client (*mawlā*) Layth b. Ṭarīf. Layth arrived at al-Manṣūra and remained for a month; the Zuṭṭ had become numerous, but he unsheathed the sword against them and eliminated them.

Al-Mahdī traveled to Basra, in the year 165,<sup>2976</sup> intending to go on the pilgrimage, but, on being informed that water was scarce along the route, he remained behind. When word reached him of the unrest in al-Sind, he sent al-Layth with an army from Basra and then returned to Baghdad.

Al-Mahdī departed for Syria and encamped at al-Baradān.<sup>2977</sup> When word reached him of the death of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, he returned to Baghdad. He attended ʿĪsā's funeral and walked in the funeral procession; then he returned to his camp and set out until he reached the frontier (*thaghr*). Then he made his way to Jerusalem, where he stayed for some days before departing. When he reached the district of Qinnasrīn, the Tanūkh met him with gifts and said, "We are your maternal uncles, Commander of the Faithful." "Who are these men?" he asked. He was told that they were Tanūkh, a tribe<sup>2978</sup> that belongs to Quḍā'a, and their circumstances and great numbers were described to him. He was also told that they were all Christians, whereupon he said, "I do not accept you as being my maternal uncles." A man among them had apostatized, and so he had him beheaded, which so frightened the others that they maintained their adherence to Islam.<sup>2979</sup>

2974 Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was governor of Basra; Sind was added to his governorship and he appointed this ʿAbd al-Malik as his deputy. For ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shihāb the mss read Shihāb b. ʿAbd al-Malik, corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:460.

2975 The name is corrupt in the mss. Saṭīḥ b. ʿUmar appears in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:503.

2976 165 A.H. = August 26, 781 – August 14, 782.

2977 A town about 15 miles north of Baghdad; see the article by M. Streck and S. H. Longrigg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baradān.

2978 Accepting Landberg's suggested emendation *ḥayy yantamī* for ed. Leiden *ḥattā tantamī* (until they belong to).

2979 The implication is that the individual had converted to Islam at one point, but had returned to the Christian religion of his tribe, thus rendering himself an apostate from Islam. According to other sources, al-Mahdī, upon being met by the Tanūkh,

ʿĪsā b. Mūsā died in the year 167.<sup>2980</sup> Al-Mahdī appointed his son, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, over Kufa and the other provinces for which his father had been responsible.

Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī, al-Mahdī's maternal uncle, died. He had been Abū Jaʿfar's governor over Yemen. In his stead, al-Mahdī appointed Rajāʾ b. Salām b. Rawḥ [b.] Zinbāʿ al-Judhāmī; then he appointed ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī. It was he who wrote to al-Mahdī about summoning al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ, the brother of al-Khayzurān, the mother of Mūsā and Hārūn, his two sons.<sup>2981</sup> Al-Ghiṭrīf had been the slaveboy of a man from Jurash who had manumitted him. He then took to hiring himself out to guard people's vineyards.<sup>2982</sup> Al-Mahdī directed his governor over Jurash to send him on. The governor found him in a vineyard, wearing a garment of wool; and so, after providing him with new clothes and giving him gifts,<sup>2983</sup> he sent him on to al-Mahdī, who promoted him. Afterward, al-Mahdī dismissed ʿAlī b. Sulaymān and appointed Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī.<sup>2984</sup> Then he dismissed him and appointed ʿUbaydallāh<sup>2985</sup> b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī; then he dismissed him and appointed Sulaymān b. Yazīd al-Ḥārithī, followed by ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Zaynabī, who was the son of Sulaymān's daughter, then by Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-ʿAbdī, then by al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ, the maternal uncle of Mūsā and Hārūn, and finally by al-Rabīʿ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥārithī.

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asked them to convert to Islam. When they refused, he had their chief, Layth b. Maḥaṭṭa, beheaded, whereupon they converted. See the article by Irfan Shahīd in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tanūkh.

2980 167 A.H. = August 5, 783 – July 23, 784.

2981 On al-Khayzurān bt. ʿAṭāʾ al-Jurashiyya, a former slave of Yemenī origin who was freed and then was married to Mahdī, to whom she bore three children, Mūsā (al-Hādī), Hārūn (al-Rashīd), and a daughter called al-Bānūqa, see the article by the editor in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khayzurān. On the career of al-Ghiṭrīf, who rose to governorships of Yemen and Khurāsān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ.

2982 Reading, with M, *kurūm al-nās*; the last word has dropped out of C and hence ed. Leiden.

2983 Reading, with ed. Leiden, *wa-ḥabāhu*; M, *wa-ḥayyāhu*, "he greeted him."

2984 The translation follows M, where the original reading ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaymān has been corrected between the lines to ʿAlī b. Sulaymān. The copyist of C copied the correction into the text, giving the reading ʿAlī ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaymān. In order to make sense of the confusion, the Leiden editor introduced two emendations, to read: "ʿAlī was dismissed, [and he appointed] Abdallāh b. Sulaymān [then he dismissed him] and appointed Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī."

2985 Thus in both mss; ed. Leiden emends to ʿAbdallāh on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:518.

Al-Mahdī ordered taxes to be levied on the markets of Baghdad and imposed rents on them, a matter entrusted to Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī. Taxes were levied on the markets of Baghdad for the first time under al-Mahdī.

It is said that a man approached him and said, “I have a piece of advice, Commander of the Faithful.” Al-Mahdī asked him, “For whom is this advice of yours intended?—for us, for the general public, or for yourself?” He said, “For you, Commander of the Faithful”—and he went on to say: “The slanderer is no more worthy of disgrace or more deserving of blame than the one who accepts his slander. Either he will be an envier of blessings and then | your rage will not assuage, or he will be an enemy and then your enemy will not be punished by you on account of what has been accepted against the people.” Al-Mahdī said: “Indeed, I will not do what a self-proclaimed adviser advises us to do except insofar as it enjoys God’s approval and serves the welfare of the Muslims.<sup>2986</sup> Only the bodies belong to us, not the hearts: if anyone conceals himself from us, we will not expose him; if anyone shows himself to us openly, we will ask him to repent; and if anyone wrongs us accidentally, we will forgive his slip. I regard correction by means of mercy as more effective than that secured through punishment, and security with forgiveness as greater than [that with] speedy (punishment). Hearts do not remain loyal to a ruler who does not show sympathy when it is asked of him, who does not forgive when it is in his power to do so, who does not pardon when he triumphs, and who refuses mercy when it is sought from him. He whose compassion is little and whose severity is great evokes loathing and multiplies those who detest him.”<sup>2987</sup>

Al-Mahdī was relentless in pursuing and killing the Zindīqs,<sup>2988</sup> and he had a great number of them killed. Word reached him that Šālih, the son of Abū

2986 The text is difficult. The translation follows M, but with a significantly different reading of the second word (*lā aʿmalanna*, for the copyist’s *lā aʿlamanna*). The two words are very similar in Arabic script. If one reads copyist’s *lā aʿlamanna*, the translation will be, “Indeed, I will not know,” perhaps in the sense of “discern.” In any case, al-Mahdī’s use of the word *mutanaṣṣih* (someone who pretends to be offering sincere advice, as opposed to a *nāsiḥ*, who actually does so) carries on the idea of not accepting advice (especially advice to punish) uncritically.

2987 Reading with M, *wa-kaththara mubghidīhi*.

2988 *Zindīq*, pl. *zanādiqa*, is an Arabic word borrowed from Persian *zandik* and used narrowly in the sense of Manichaean (a follower of the sect founded by Mānī, d. 274 or 277 CE), but loosely applied to any heretic, renegade, or unbeliever. In this case, the narrower meaning of Manichaean fits the context and is corroborated by other sources that document an inquisition against Manichaeans at this time. See the article by F. C. de Blois in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zandīk*.



‘Abdallāh<sup>2989</sup> his secretary, was a Zindīq. He summoned him, and when he found the charge to be true, al-Mahdī demanded that he repent. He replied, “I have no desire to abandon what I follow,<sup>2990</sup> nor do I require anything other than it.” Al-Mahdī ordered his father, [Abū] ‘Abdallāh, to stand up and behead him. He stood up, took the sword, and approached his son. Having raised it, he backed away and said, “Commander of the Faithful, I arose loyal and obedient, but I feel what a man feels about his own son.” Al-Mahdī commanded him to sit down, and then ordered that his son be beheaded in front of him. He then dictated a letter to him as he stared at his slain son. Then he said, “Since you were loath to kill an enemy of God, one who rejected Him, may God spurn you.” When Abū ‘Abdallāh arose, one of the persons seated there said, “I do not think this man’s heart will ever recover from this.”<sup>2991</sup> So he said,<sup>2992</sup> “By God, I also suspect him—he was close to his son.” Afterward he fell out of favor and was replaced | by Ya‘qūb b. Dāwūd.

2:483

Šāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Quddūs<sup>2993</sup> was brought before al-Mahdī, who asked him to repent, which he did. However, as he departed from al-Mahdī’s presence, he mentioned to him the following verse of his:

An old man cannot change his nature  
until he is hidden in the dust of his grave.

2989 Thus in M; ed. Leiden ‘Ubaydallāh, implying that the person intended here is Abū ‘Ubaydallāh Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Ubaydallāh, referred to below (ed. Leiden, 2:483) as “the person with the greatest influence over al-Mahdī at the beginning of his caliphate.” Indeed, a similar story is told about Abū ‘Ubaydallāh in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:490, but there the son is named Muḥammad, and al-Mahdī is led to believe that the son has become involved with one of the women in al-Mahdī’s own harem. The son’s inability to recite the Qur’ān when summoned is not explicitly connected to a charge of *zandaqa*. The father, ‘Ubaydallāh, is indeed commanded to execute his own son, but when he proves unable to do so, the son is taken away for execution. Al-Ya‘qūbī’s mention below of some “treachery” or “betrayal” (Arabic *khiyāna*) on the father’s part accords better with the anecdote in al-Ṭabarī. Possibly, two separate anecdotes have been amalgamated.

2990 Following the emended text of ed. Leiden; the reading in both MSS is corrupt.

2991 Arabic *yaṭību qalbuhu*, in the sense of overcoming grief, but also in the sense of being well-disposed toward the caliph. M preserves an alternate reading, *yabqā* (will remain, i.e., loyal), written between the lines over *yaṭību*.

2992 The identity of the speaker is ambiguous—either another courtier or the caliph himself.

2993 Šāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Quddūs was a poet famous for poems full of gnomic and didactic expressions. See the article by Mohsen Zakeri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Šāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Quddūs.

Al-Mahdi said, "And do you really say this!" So he had him brought back and beheaded without asking him to repent.

The people of al-Ḥawf<sup>2994</sup> in Egypt rebelled in the year 168.<sup>2995</sup> Mūsā b. Muṣ'ab, then governor of the province, marched against them and engaged them in fierce fighting. His standard-bearer, Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj<sup>2996</sup> al-Sakūnī, lowered the standard, signaling defeat. The people of al-Ḥawf turned on Mūsā b. Muṣ'ab and killed him. Al-Mahdī appointed al-Faḍl b. Šālīḥ al-Hāshimī, who did not arrive in the province until after the death of al-Mahdī.

The person with the greatest influence over al-Mahdī at the beginning of his caliphate was Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh.<sup>2997</sup> Known as Abū 'Ubaydallāh, he was a client (*mawlā*) of the Ash'arīs. Afterward, al-Mahdī learned of some treachery on his part<sup>2998</sup> and therefore replaced him with Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd.<sup>2999</sup> Ya'qūb was of sound conduct and cheery disposition, and generally given to virtue, generosity, and right-mindedness. Afterward, al-Mahdī dismissed him, displeased with him, and had him imprisoned. He remained in prison until the death of al-Mahdī. Muḥammad b. al-Layth, who was known for his eloquence, was appointed in his stead.

2:484 'Alī b. Yaqtīn and al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid wielded influence over his affairs. Naṣr b. Mālīk headed his security force (*shurṭa*). When Naṣr died, he appointed his brother, Ḥamza b. Mālīk. Afterward al-Mahdī dismissed him and appointed 'Abdallāh b. Mālīk. Muḥriz<sup>3000</sup> b. Ibrāhīm was in charge of his personal guard (*ḥaras*). He then dismissed him, replacing him with Abū l-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī. His chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was his client al-Rabī'. His judges were Ibn | 'Ulātha<sup>3001</sup> al-'Uqaylī and 'Āfiya b. Yazīd al-Azdī. The judge of Kufa was Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh; of Basra, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Anbarī;<sup>3002</sup> of Medina, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥam-

2994 The eastern part of the Nile Delta.

2995 168 A.H. = July 24, 784 – July 13, 785.

2996 Undotted in both MSS.

2997 See the article by S. Moscati in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū 'Ubayd Allāh.

2998 This may refer to the accusation of heresy brought against his son Muḥammad in 161/777–788, who was executed. See Moscati's article.

2999 On Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd, see the article by H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mahdī.

3000 Thus in M and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 3:461, 547. The copyist of C omitted the last letter of the name, which the Leiden editor then conjectured was to be read as Muḥammad.

3001 Both MSS have "Abū" followed by undotted name. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'riḥ*, 442, lists Ibn 'Ulātha al-'Uqaylī and 'Āfiya b. Yazīd al-Awdī (sic) as judges for al-Mahdī.

3002 Undotted in both MSS. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 3:459, and Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'riḥ*, 440, and ed. Leiden all give the name as 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan, and M itself gives "b. al-Ḥasan" below, ed. Leiden, 2:524.

mad b. 'Imrān al-Taymī, who was the first judge to hold the post of judge there on behalf of a caliph; and, of Egypt, 'Abdallāh b. Lahī'a al-Ḥaḍramī. Al-Mahdī afterward appointed Ibn al-Yasa' al-Kindī, who was from Kufa, then Ghawth b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī, who was from Egypt, then al-Mufaḍḍal b. Faḍāla al-Qitbānī.

At the end of the year 168 and the beginning of the year 169, the people were struck by a plague, much death, darkness, and a red dust which they found in their beds and on their faces.

On 12 Muḥarram 169,<sup>3003</sup> al-Mahdī set out from Baghdad for al-Jabal. He stopped at a village called al-Radhdh, located in the region of Māsabadhān. He went out to hunt and spent the day pursuing game. The dogs followed a gazelle, and al-Mahdī followed in hot pursuit. The gazelle rushed through the door of a ruined house. The dogs passed through, but as his horse rushed him through, the door of the ruined house slammed into him. He was carried to his camp and died eight days before the end of Muḥarram 169<sup>3004</sup> at the age of 48.

It has been reported that he awoke one day and said to 'Alī b. Yaqtīn and to a group of his companions, "I woke up hungry this morning." So he was brought some bread and cold meat. He ate it, and the men ate with him. Then he said, "I am going into this room to sleep; do not disturb me until I wake." He went in and fell asleep, and the men slept in the hall. Suddenly they heard him crying, and they hurried to him and asked | him what was wrong. He said, "Did you see what I saw?" They said, "We have seen nothing." He said: "I saw an old man whom I would recognise even if I saw him among a hundred thousand. He was standing against the doorpost of the room, saying:

2:485

'I seem to see this palace, its people perished,  
its chambers and foundation desolate.  
The mansion's lord, bereft of joy and empire,  
has ended in a tomb marked out with stones.  
Nothing of him remains but name and story,  
and wives lamenting who cry out to him.'"

He died only ten days afterward. His caliphate lasted ten years, one month, and twenty-two days. His son 'Alī, the son of (his wife) Rayṭa, performed the funeral prayer. He was buried at al-Radhdh. He left eight sons: Mūsā, Hārūn, 'Alī, 'Ubaydallāh, Ishāq, Ya'qūb, Ibrāhīm, and Manṣūr.

3003 25 July 785.

3004 That is, 22 Muḥarram 169, or 4 August 785.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his days were:

- in the year 159, Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī;
- in the year 160, al-Mahdī, and he ordered the expansion of the Sacred Mosque and the Mosque of the Messenger of God;
- in the year 161, Mūsā b. al-Mahdī;
- in the year 162, Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar;
- in the year 163, ʿAlī b. al-Mahdī, whose mother was Rayṭa bt. Abī l-ʿAbbās;
- in the year 164, al-Mahdī: he set out for the pilgrimage and traveled four stages from Kufa with a great entourage, but the people became thirsty,<sup>3005</sup> and he received word of the scarcity of water on the road, and so he turned back from al-ʿAqaba,<sup>3006</sup> and Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Jaʿfar led the people on the pilgrimage;
- in the year 165, Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Jaʿfar;
- in the year 166, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī;
- in the year 167, Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī;
- in the year 168, ʿAlī b. al-Mahdī.

2:486 The leaders of the campaigns during his days:

- In the year 159, the Byzantines came to Sumaysāt and took a great number of prisoners. He dispatched his client (*mawlā*) Ṣaghīr against them, who rescued the Muslims. Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad led the forces on campaign, reaching as far as Ankara.
- In the year 160, Thumāma b. al-Walīd al-ʿAbsī led the campaign.
- In the year 161, ʿIsā b. ʿAlī campaigned, but the Byzantine army met him and surrounded him.
- In the year 162, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī led the campaign.
- In 163, Hārūn b. al-Mahdī led it and conquered Samālū.
- In the year 164, Hārūn, led it again and reached the bay (*khalīj*) of Constantinople.
- In the year 166, Thumāma b. al-Walīd led it.

3005 Following the emendation *fa-ʿaṭisha l-nās* proposed by the Leiden editor; the reading of M is *fā-ghashiya l-nās* (and he came upon the people). One might perhaps read *fā-ghushiya l-nās* (the people fainted), but the usual construction requires a preposition: *fā-ghushiya ʿalā l-nās*. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:502, is worded differently and provides no solution.

3006 One of the stages on the pilgrimage road from Iraq, not to be confused with several other places sharing the name.

- In the year 167, al-Faḍl b. Šāliḥ led it.
- In the year 168, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm led it.

The religious scholars (*fuqahāʾ*) during his time:

- Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhīʿb,
- Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan,<sup>3007</sup>
- Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jumāhī,<sup>3008</sup>
- ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Ḥāzim,<sup>3009</sup>
- ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Madanī,<sup>3010</sup>
- Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq al-Sabīʿī,
- al-Ḥajjāj b. Artāt al-Nakhaʿī,
- Sufyān b. Saʿīd al-Thawrī,
- Sharīk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nakhaʿī,<sup>3011</sup>
- Yaḥyā b. Salama b. Kuhayl,
- Salama al-Aḥmar,<sup>3012</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Zuhri,<sup>3013</sup>
- Abū Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā,<sup>3014</sup>

3007 Unknown.

3008 The MSS read “Saʿīd,” corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 167/783–784 or 168/784–785) was a Damascus Qurʾān scholar and traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:59–61.

3009 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Ḥāzim (d. 184/800–801) was a Medinan jurist and traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:333–334.

3010 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Madanī; identification uncertain, perhaps to be identified with the Medinan traditionist ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī (d. 153/770–771), said to have participated in the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya) in 145/762; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:111–112.

3011 The appointment of Sharīk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nakhaʿī (d. c. 177/793–794) as judge of Kufa has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:469, 484. He was also a traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:333–337.

3012 Abū Ishāq Salama b. Šāliḥ al-Aḥmar al-Juʿfī (d. 188/803–804) was a traditionist and judge at Wāsiṭ; see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:267.

3013 Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhri (d. 182/798–799 or in the following year) was one of the most famous traditionists of Medina. He later became a judge in Baghdad. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:95; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:121–123.

3014 Abū Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Mikhnaḥ al-Azdī (b. c. 70/689, d. 157/775) was a late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsīd compiler of historical monographs on Iraqi events. See the article by H. A. R. Gibb in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Mikhnaḥ; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:308–309; and the monograph by Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaḥ*.

- Sufyān b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmānī,<sup>3015</sup>
- Ja‘far b. ‘Attāb,<sup>3016</sup>
- Yaḥyā b. Abī Zā‘ida,
- ‘Alī b. Mishar,<sup>3017</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Marwān al-Suddī,<sup>3018</sup>
- Ziyād b. al-Ṭufayl,<sup>3019</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik,<sup>3020</sup>
- Mālik b. al-Fuḍayl,<sup>3021</sup>
- Abū Muḥammad b. [...],<sup>3022</sup>
- 2:487 – Muḥammad b. Jābir | al-Yamāmī,<sup>3023</sup>
- Abū l-Ashhab Ja‘far b. Ḥayyān al-‘Uṭaridī,
- Salama b. ‘Alqama,<sup>3024</sup>
- Sa‘īd b. Iyās,<sup>3025</sup>
- Khālīd b. Dīnār,<sup>3026</sup>
- Jarīr b. Ḥāzim al-Azdī,<sup>3027</sup>
- Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj,

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- 3015 Unidentified.
  - 3016 Unidentified.
  - 3017 ‘Alī b. Mishar al-Qurashī (d. 189/804–805) was a Qur’ān scholar, traditionist, and judge at Mosul; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:333–334.
  - 3018 Muḥammad b. Marwān al-Suddī was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:436–437 (who calls him unreliable).
  - 3019 Unidentified.
  - 3020 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik: possibly ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik al-Mudlijī; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:263.
  - 3021 Unidentified.
  - 3022 The Leiden editor infers a lacuna at this point, although there is no indication of one in M, and it is possible to read Abū Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Jābir al-Yamāmī as a single name.
  - 3023 Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Sayyār al-Yamāmī was a blind Kufan scholar who is said to have traveled to al-Yamāma; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:88–90.
  - 3024 Salama b. ‘Alqama was a Basran traditionist; see al-Bukharī, *Kitāb al-Ta‘rīkh*, 4:82; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 24, 41.
  - 3025 Sa‘īd b. Iyās al-Jarīrī (d. c. 144/761–762) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:5–7.
  - 3026 Khālīd b. Dīnār al-Shaybānī, called al-Nīlī from the Iraqi town of al-Nīl where he lived, was a traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:88–89.
  - 3027 Abū l-Naḍr Jarīr b. Ḥāzim b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azdī al-Jahḍamī (d. c. 175/791–792) was a Basran traditionist and historian, known for his monograph on the Azāriqa Khārījites and as a transmitter of the text of Ibn Ishāq’s biography of the Prophet. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:310–311; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:69–72.

- Ḥammād b. Salama,
- Mahdī b. Maymūn,<sup>3028</sup>
- Mūsā b. ‘Ulayy b. Rabāḥ,<sup>3029</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Lahī’a,
- Ja‘far b. al-Ghiṭrīf,<sup>3030</sup>
- Baqiyya b. al-Walīd al-Ḥimṣī,<sup>3031</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Salām [b.]<sup>3032</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik al-Dimashqī.<sup>3033</sup>

### The Days of Mūsā l-Hādī b. al-Mahdī

The oath of allegiance to Mūsā l-Hādī b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī was sworn at Māsabadhān while he was away in Jurjān.<sup>3034</sup> His mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named al-Khayzurān.<sup>3035</sup> His brother Hārūn<sup>3036</sup> received the oath of allegiance on his behalf and wrote to him with the news. The messenger, Nuṣayr al-Waṣīf,<sup>3037</sup> reached him eight days after the death of his father.

On that day the Sun was in Leo, 17°; the Moon in Leo, 22° 30’; Saturn in Aquarius, 1° 40’, retrograde; Jupiter in Scorpio, 14° 30’; Mars in Cancer, 28° 50’; Venus in Virgo, 8° 30’; Mercury in Virgo, 9° 50’; and the Ascending Node in Libra, 29° 15’.

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- 3028 Abū Yahyā Mahdī b. Maymūn al-Azdī al-Mi‘walī was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:326–327.
- 3029 Mūsā b. ‘Ulayy b. Rabāḥ (b. North Africa c. 89/707, d. Alexandria c. 163/779–780) was an Egyptian traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:363–364.
- 3030 Unidentified.
- 3031 Baqiyya b. al-Walīd al-Ḥimṣī was a traditionist who died c. 197/812–813; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:473–478.
- 3032 Om. M.
- 3033 Unidentified.
- 3034 That is, those present at the scene of al-Mahdī’s death in Māsabadhān immediately swore allegiance to Mūsā l-Hādī, the designated heir apparent, who was absent in Jurjān.
- 3035 The MSS vary between al-Khayzurān and al-Khayzurāna, with the latter form used here.
- 3036 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:545, Hārūn was with al-Mahdī at the time of his death in Māsabadhān.
- 3037 The second part of his name, al-Waṣīf, is probably a title, “the servant.” This is al-Ya‘qūbī’s only mention of him, but he appears several times in al-Ṭabarī (e.g., *Ta’rīkh*, 3:461, 536, 547), sometimes as al-Waṣīf and sometimes as al-Khādīm (the servant, but often used specifically of a eunuch).

2:488 Three days later, al-Hādī left Jurjān for Iraq. He took up residence in ʿĪsā-bādh,<sup>3038</sup> | the site that al-Mahdī had built up and which Mūsā (al-Hādī) completed and where his residence was.

He appointed his maternal uncle, al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭā, over Khurāsān and its districts. When al-Ghiṭrīf arrived in Khurāsān, the province was untroubled and peaceful, the kings<sup>3039</sup> there in a state of obedience. However, he conducted himself badly and displayed great weakness, so that the province fell into turmoil. A party of Ṭālibids arose and approached the kings of the various regions, who received them and promised them support and assistance. This took place because Mūsā (al-Hādī) had vigorously pursued the Ṭālibids and had made them very fearful. He cut off delivery of the maintenance payments that al-Mahdī used to provide to them regularly, and sent orders throughout the provinces that they should be rounded up and delivered to him. As their fears mounted, with increasing numbers of people pursuing them and agitating against them, the Shīʿa and others sought out al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī.<sup>3040</sup> He was a figure of refined, excellent, and noble conduct. They said to him, “You are the man of your family; you can see the fear and adversity that have befallen you, your kin, and your supporters.”<sup>3041</sup> He replied, “Neither I nor my family can find supporters who will lead us to victory.” Thereupon, a great number of those present for the pilgrimage swore the oath of allegiance to him. He said to them, “The signal among us is that a man will call out, ‘Who has seen the red camel?’” Fewer than five hundred men rallied to him. This was in the year 169 at the end of the pilgrimage.

Al-Ḥusayn was met by Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and Mūsā b. ʿĪsā at Fakhkh. He and those with him were routed and dispersed. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and a group of his kinsmen were killed. His maternal uncle, Idrīs b. Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, escaped. Having reached the Maghrib, he gained authority over a region adjacent to al-Andalus known as Fās, and its people rallied to him. According to an account current among the

3038 The commencement of building activity by al-Mahdī at this site east of Baghdad (the precise location is unknown) is dated by al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:502, to Dhū l-Qaʿda 164/July 781.

3039 Arabic *al-mulūk*, designating the various non-Arab rulers.

3040 On the unsuccessful revolt of this ʿAlid, who revolted at Medina and was killed at al-Fakhkh near Mecca on 8 Dhū l-Ḥijja 169/11 June 786, see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, *Ṣāhib Fakhkh*; supplementary bibliography in C. E. Bosworth in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 14 (translating al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:551 ff.).

3041 Arabic *shīʾatuka* (your Shīʿa).



people of the Maghrib, Mūsā (al-Hādī) dispatched someone who assassinated him with a poisoned tooth-stick.<sup>3042</sup> | Following his death, Idrīs b. Idrīs succeeded him, and his descendents remain there to the present day, inheriting the kingdom one from the other.<sup>3043</sup> 2:489

Opposition rose in Yemen against al-Rabī' b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥārithī, Mūsā (al-Hādī's) client (*mawlā*). The caliph appointed al-Ḥuṣayn b. Kathīr al-'Abdī, then dismissed him and appointed in his stead Ayyūb b. Ja'far al-Hāshimī. Afterward he reinstated al-Rabī' b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥārithī over the province, except for Ṣan'ā'. The province remained in turmoil throughout the days of Mūsā (al-Hādī).

Al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ arrived in Egypt. He stirred up none of the people of al-Ḥawf who had killed Mūsā b. Muṣ'ab, al-Mahdī's governor, but placated them and refrained from pursuing them. He had been in office only a short while, however, before Dīḥya b. al-Aṣḥab b. 'Abd al-'Azīz rebelled in the district of Ahnās, one of the towns of Upper Egypt, at the head of a large body of men. Dīḥya seized control of the road, frightening travelers, and then asserted his authority by collecting the land tax (*kharāj*). Al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ dispatched a commander named Sufyān and a man from the Fayyūm named 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī al-Murādī. They engaged [Dīḥya] at a place known as Ṣaḥrā' Buwayṭ and attacked him. Dīḥya fled in defeat and went into a *qurmūs*, a kind of kiln used for making pottery. They captured him and brought him to al-Faḍl, who had him beheaded and gibbeted and sent his head to Mūsā (al-Hādī).

Mūsā (al-Hādī) and his brother (Hārūn) had a falling-out. Al-Hādī therefore decided to remove Hārūn and to make his own son Ja'far heir apparent, and he called on the commanders to support this. The majority declined and advised him not to do it, but some were quick to strengthen his resolve, | and they informed him that the realm would not thrive [if it went]<sup>3044</sup> to Hārūn. Among those who supported his removal was Abū Hurayra Muḥammad b. Farrūkh al-Azdī, a commander from the Azd. Mūsā (al-Hādī) had sent him at the head of a large force to raise support from those in the Jazīra, Syria, Egypt, and the 2:490

3042 Arabic *miswāk*, a twig of the *arāk* tree used for cleaning the teeth. The MSS contain a marginal note in a different hand: "In fact the one who assassinated the Imam Idrīs, on whom be peace, was Hārūn, surnamed al-Rashīd." On this Idrīs, who founded the Idrīsīd line of Moroccan kings, see the article by D. Eustache in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Idrīs I (al-Akbar) b. 'Abd Allāh.

3043 On the career of this son, called variously Idrīs al-Aṣḥgar, al-Azhar, or Idrīs II, see the article by D. Eustache in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Idrīs II.

3044 The translation follows the emendation (*in ṣāra*) proposed by the Leiden editor. The MSS repeat the word *al-mulk* (the realm).

Maghrib and to summon the people to reject Hārūn on pain of the sword. He marched until he reached al-Raqqa, where he received word of the death of Mūsā (al-Hādī).

Mūsā (al-Hādī) had Yaḥyā [b. Khālid] b. Barmak seized and imprisoned, and on several occasions nearly had him executed.<sup>3045</sup> A certain elder recounted the following to me on the authority of Yaḥyā b. Khālid, who said: “Mūsā imprisoned me because of al-Rashīd—my role as his tutor and my relationship with him. Al-Rashīd had been delivered to us as an infant in swaddling clothes; the breasts of our women nourished him, and he grew up in our laps. (Mūsā) said, ‘I have received word that you want the caliphate for Hārūn and the office of the vizier for yourself, but, by God, I will destroy him and you before that happens.’ He imprisoned me in a narrow room where I could not stretch my legs, and I remained there for days. While I was in prison under these conditions, one night the doors swung open. I said, ‘He has remembered me and wants to kill me.’ I heard the servants’<sup>3046</sup> voices and grew alarmed. As the door opened, I recited the *shahāda*,<sup>3047</sup> but I was told, ‘The Lady is here,’ by which they meant al-Khayzurān. I came out and there she was, standing at the door. She said: ‘The man collapsed during the night, and I believe he is dead. Come see him.’ My fear and anxiety grew, but she said, ‘It is as I say.’ So I came and found him with his face turned to the wall. He was dead. I hurried to Hārūn to bring him out of the place where he was imprisoned. The following morning, the commanders swore their allegiance, and I came to conduct the affairs of the realm.”

2:491 The person who wielded the greatest influence over Mūsā (al-Hādī) was al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. Over his security forces (*shurat*) was ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī, whom he later removed and replaced with ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuzāʿī. Over his palace guards (*ḥaras*) was ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Māhān. His chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. His caliphate lasted for fourteen months. He died on 14 Rabīʿ 170,<sup>3048</sup> at the age of 26 years. His brother Hārūn led the prayer over his grave and he was buried in ‘Īsābādh.

3045 On Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak and the history of this important family, see the article by Kevin van Bladel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids.

3046 Arabic *khadam* (pl. of *khādim*), often used to mean eunuchs; in any case, palace servants.

3047 That is, expecting imminent death, he recited the creed of Islam, “I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.”

3048 September 13, 786.

He had eight sons: Ja'far, Ismā'īl, Ishāq,<sup>3049</sup> 'Abdallāh, Sulaymān, 'Īsā, Mūsā, who was blind, and al-'Abbās, who was born after his death. During his days, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far led the pilgrimage in 169.

### The Days of Hārūn al-Rashīd

Hārūn al-Rashīd b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī, whose mother was al-Khayzurān, became ruler on the day on which his brother, Mūsā (al-Hādī), died. This was on 14 Rabī' 170, in Aylūl (September) of the months of the non-Arabs.

On that day the Sun was in Virgo, 20°; the Moon in Pisces, 25° 50'; Saturn in Aquarius, 11°, retrograde; Jupiter in Sagittarius, 17°; Mars in Sagittarius, 28° 10'; Venus in Virgo, 5° 40'; and the Ascending Node in Libra, 8° 6'.

Al-Ma'mūn was born on the night in which al-Rashīd became caliph. Al-Rashīd was delighted with this and therefore named him al-Ma'mūn.<sup>3050</sup> Muḥammad b. Hārūn<sup>3051</sup> was born | six months after him. On the night when he became ruler, al-Rashīd sent Mūsā b. 'Īsā to lead the pilgrimage. Then, having changed his mind and having decided to go himself, he set out, overtook Mūsā along the way, and led the pilgrimage. He lavished many gifts upon the people of Mecca and Medina, and distributed sums of money. Then he returned and made his way to the tomb of al-Mahdī in Māsabadhān. There he gave out large sums in charity, which he made a practice every year.

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He put al-Faḍl b. Yahyā<sup>3052</sup> in charge of Khurāsān. By the time he arrived, the people of al-Ṭālaqān had risen in dissent, but he seized control over al-Ṭālaqān. The ruler (*ṣāhib*) of the Turks advanced with many men and engaged al-Faḍl's army, and fighting ensued between them. The Turkish ruler's face was struck, knocking him out. Al-Faḍl destroyed his army and seized his possessions. The poet<sup>3053</sup> commented on al-Faḍl as follows:

3049 Omitted in ed. Leiden.

3050 That is, "the Trustworthy." The account is misleading, as most sources agree that his given name was 'Abdallāh and that "al-Ma'mūn" was a regnal title assumed later.

3051 That is, the future caliph al-Amīn, whose given name was Muḥammad.

3052 For a summary of his career, see the articles by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Faḍl b. Yahyā al-Barmakī, and by Kevin van Bladel in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids.

3053 The poem is cited with three additional verses in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:615, where the poet, Abū Thumāma al-Khaṭīb, is said to have received a gift of 100,000 dirhams for his effort.

To al-Faḍl belongs the Day of al-Ṭālaqān, and before it  
was a day on which he besieged Khāqān.

Never has there been the like of his two battle days that succeeded each  
other,  
in which two battle days succeeded each other in two campaigns.

2:493 Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan had fled to Khurāsān and then had entered the land of al-Daylam. Hārūn wrote to the ruler (*ṣāhib*) of al-Daylam, demanding him from him and threatening him; the latter therefore sought out Yaḥyā. When Yaḥyā saw this, he requested a guarantee of safe-conduct from al-Faḍl. Al-Faḍl gave it to him and took him to al-Rashīd, who imprisoned him. Yaḥyā remained in prison until his death. According to one account, the person who was charged with his care denied him food for days and he therefore died of hunger. One of the clients (*mawālī*) of the Banū Hāshim told me: “I was imprisoned in the same building as Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh. I was next to the room he was in, and he often spoke to me from behind a low wall. One day he said to me, ‘I have been denied | food and drink for nine days.’ On the tenth day, the servant in charge of him entered and searched the room. He stripped Yaḥyā of his clothes, untied his drawers, and found a tube made of cane that Yaḥyā had fastened to the inside of his thigh. It contained cow’s ghee that he would lick bit by bit to sustain himself. After taking it away, the servant continued to search his leg until Yaḥyā died.”

Abū Jamīl<sup>3054</sup> told me: “During the reign of al-Ma’mūn, I set out for Basra. Riding on the boat with us was a servant who told us that he was one of al-Rashīd’s servants.<sup>3055</sup> He recounted to us the fate of Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh and that he had been the one responsible for his death, as described previously. During the night, a man who was on the boat pushed him into the water while the boat was moving and drowned him.”

In the year 175,<sup>3056</sup> Hārūn had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son Muḥammad as heir apparent. Muḥammad was five years old. To mark the occasion, Hārūn distributed copious gifts to the people and brought Muḥammad before the commanders. Muḥammad, standing on a cushion, praised God and

3054 The identity of this narrator, other than what he reveals in his account, is unknown. The words “as described previously,” seem to imply that Abū Jamīl is the client of the Banū Hāshim who narrated the account of the death of Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh in the previous paragraph.

3055 Arabic *khādīm*. Possibly in the sense of “eunuch”; in any case, a palace servant.

3056 175 A.H. = May 10, 791 – April 27, 792.

invoked blessings upon His Prophet. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī<sup>3057</sup> then rose and said, “People, do not be deceived by his youth, for this is the Blessed Tree whose roots are true and whose branches reach to the sky.” Men of the Banū Hāshim continued to declaim in this fashion until the occasion ended. Dirhams, dinars, bags of musk, and pellets of ambergris were scattered over them.

Hārūn appointed Sālīm al-Yūnusī,<sup>3058</sup> a client (*mawlā*) of Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī, over al-Sind, replacing al-Layth, a client of the Commander of the Faithful. He conducted himself well. Shortly thereafter, he appointed Ishāq b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī al-Hāshimī, who arrived in the province and was an abstemious man. Then he dismissed him and appointed Ṭayfūr b. ‘Abdallāh b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyārī.

Fighting erupted between the Yamāniyya and the Nizāriyya;<sup>3059</sup> he therefore sent Jābir b. al-Ash‘ath al-Ṭā‘ī to govern the region west of the river<sup>3060</sup> and Makrān. Then he appointed Sa‘īd b. Salm b. Quṭayba, who sent his brother, Kathīr b. Salm. The latter conducted himself badly and was criticized; al-Rashīd therefore assigned al-Sind to ‘Isā b. Ja‘far b. al-Manṣūr, who dispatched Muḥammad b. ‘Adī al-Taghlibī<sup>3061</sup> to the province. Upon his arrival, he stirred up factional tensions, displayed favoritism, and pitted the tribes one against the other. He left al-Manṣūra for al-Multān, where, engaging his forces, the local populace fought and defeated him and plundered all the weapons in his possession. Defeated, he fled, turning aside for nothing, until he reached al-Manṣūra. The enmity between the Yamāniyya and the Nizāriyya grew fiercer and continued unabated, so al-Rashīd appointed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [...],<sup>3062</sup> followed by Ayyūb b. Ja‘far b. Sulaymān. Then, in 184,<sup>3063</sup> he appointed Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, who dispatched his brother al-Mughīra to the province.

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3057 A prominent member of the ‘Abbāsīd family; son of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whose death was recorded at ed. Leiden, 2:385–386.

3058 The reading “al-Yūnusī” is conjectural. In C the word is undotted; M reads “al-Tūnusī,” and in Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 463, he is called “al-Burnusī.” In any case, he was well-connected, being a client of another son of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, mentioned above at ed. Leiden, 2:386.

3059 That is, between Arabs tracing their ancestry to the southern tribes (the Yamāniyya) and those tracing their ancestry to the northern tribes (the Nizāriyya).

3060 That is, the Indus.

3061 Thus M; ed. Leiden, al-Tha‘labī. The reading al-Taghlibī is confirmed by Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 463, where Muḥammad b. ‘Adī is identified as “the son of the sister of Hishām b. ‘Amr,” who elsewhere (ibid., 433, 441) is identified as al-Taghlibī.

3062 Possible lacuna. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 463, identifies him as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān.

3063 184 A.H. = February 1, 800 – January 19, 801.

The Nizāriyya, taking note, set out to divide the region into four parts—one for the Quraysh, one for the Tamīm,<sup>3064</sup> one for the Qays, and one for the Rabīʿa—and to oust the Yamāniyya.

When al-Mughīra arrived, the people of al-Manṣūra locked the gates and prevented him from entering unless he promised them that he would not exploit factional enmity among them until they had all left the city, and only then would he enter it. All who still had any breath left in them departed and al-Mughīra entered the city. He discriminated against the Nizāriyya, and therefore they fought him and defeated him. When Dāwūd b. Yazīd received word of this, he marched until he reached the province, and, taking the sword to the Nizāriyya, he killed a great number of them. He then proceeded to al-Manṣūra, where he battled them for twenty days. The fighting between them lasted several months before he wrested control of the city. He then marched against the remaining towns of al-Sind, conquering and laying waste, until the entire province fell to him.

Hārūn appointed Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar<sup>3065</sup> over Damascus. Its inhabitants rose up against him | because of the rock crystal vase (*al-qulla al-billawr*) that had been in their *miḥrāb*.<sup>3066</sup> They ousted him and ransacked everything in his possession.

A man from the Banū Murra named ʿĀmir b. ʿUmāra, also known as Abū l-Haydhām, rebelled in Ḥawrān in the region of [Damascus]<sup>3067</sup> and killed members of the Yamāniyya. This occurred in the year 176.<sup>3068</sup> Al-Rashīd sent al-Sindī<sup>3069</sup> and a group of commanders against them. Abū l-Haydhām was killed and his men scattered.

Hārūn set off for Syria, but on learning of the death of Abū l-Haydhām he headed for the frontier and sent Harthama b. Aʿyan<sup>3070</sup> to campaign in

3064 The phrase, “one for the Tamīm” is absent from ed. Leiden, but present in M.

3065 The son of the caliph al-Manṣūr and therefore Hārūn al-Rashīd’s uncle.

3066 This refers to an incident in which the ʿAbbāsīd official sparked a riot when he made off with a famous ornament from the Umayyad mosque. See Nasser Rabbat, “The Dome of the Rock Revisited,” 71. Cobb, *White Banners*, 104–105, presents evidence from Ibn ʿAsākir’s *Taʾrīkh Dimashq* that the incident took place during the reign of al-Amin.

3067 Om. MSS; added by the Leiden editor. On the revolt of Abū l-Haydhām al-Murri, see the extensive treatment in Cobb, *White Banners*, 82–91.

3068 176 A.H. = April 28, 792 – April 17, 793.

3069 MSS, al-Suddī; corrected by the Leiden editor. He is the Khurāsānī commander al-Sindī b. Shāhak mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:439.

3070 On the career of this ʿAbbāsīd general and governor, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Harthama b. Aʿyan.

Byzantine territory. In 171, he ordered the reconstruction of Tarsus.<sup>3071</sup> He built it up solidly, giving the town five gates and eighty-seven towers around it. A large river spanned by vaulted bridges cut through the middle of the town. Construction began under his client Abū Sulaymān, but when he left for Iraq to take part in the pilgrimage, he appointed in his stead Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd over the districts of Syria and the Jazīra.

When intertribal strife (*ʿaṣabiyya*) broke out in Ḥimṣ, Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā ascended the pulpit and spoke.<sup>3072</sup> Having offered thanks and praise to God and having pronounced blessings upon Muḥammad, he said:

People of Syria, I warn you of the consequences of insolence, the dire outcome that awaits those who are ungrateful for their blessings, and the unhappy end of every regrettable act. Truly happy is he by whom others become happy;<sup>3073</sup> truly wretched is he who is wretched in himself and from whose fate others take warning. Truly deceived is he who is deceived in his intellect; truly seduced is he who is seduced from his religion. Truly deprived is he who is deprived of his share from God; truly a loser is he who sells his hereafter for this world, and his ultimate destiny for his immediate life. Only those of God's servants who possess knowledge fear Him, and only to those of His servants who are prudent has God given warning ...

—and he went on in the same vein for some time.

In 179,<sup>3074</sup> the Khārijite<sup>3075</sup> al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf rebelled in the Jazīra. | 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ was responsible for the province and part of Syria. Al-Walīd 2:496

3071 The conquest of this frontier city has already been mentioned at the end of the account of the reign of Mu'āwiya (ed. Leiden, 2:285) as having taken place in 53/673. On 'Abbāsīd fortification projects for the city, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tarsus. The river is the Cydnus (Arabic Baradān).

3072 For details about this episode, which can be dated to 180/796–797, see Cobb, *White Banners*, 91.

3073 The sense requires emending the text to read: *man sa'ida bihi ghayruhu*. By omitting one letter, the copyist has produced *man sa'ida bi-ghayrihi* (he who becomes happy because of others), but this makes little sense.

3074 179 A.H. = March 27, 795 – March 15, 796.

3075 Arabic *al-Ḥarūrī*; on al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf, who like many Khārijites was both a rebel and a poet, see the article by H. Eisenstein in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf. A verse attributed to him has been added in the margin of M at this point, apparently in another hand and probably not part of the original text. The verse, which occurs in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 1:9, may be translated: "I am al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf, al-Shārī (literally, "the vendor," i.e., who

besieged him at al-Raqqā. Al-Rashīd dispatched Mūsā b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī with an army, but al-Walīd defeated him. Then he sent Mu‘ammar b. ‘Īsā al-‘Abdī, and clashes took place between them. Mu‘ammar died in the midst of the campaign, and Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī therefore set out against him. He fought him for one day; then on the following day he said to him, “Walīd, come forth for single combat, so that no one will have to die on our account.” Al-Walīd came out for single combat, and Yazīd killed him, cut off his head, and sent it to al-Rashīd. Al-Walīd’s supporters scattered, but some of them regrouped afterward around a man known as Khurāsha<sup>3076</sup> and proceeded to the area of the Jazīra near Diyār Rabī‘a.

Yazīd b. Hātim al-Muhallabī governed Ifrīqiya from the days of al-Manṣūr until the days of al-Rashīd. Having designated his son, Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Hātim, as his successor over Ifrīqiya, he died. Dāwūd governed the people unjustly, so they fought him and defeated him. Al-Rashīd then appointed Rawḥ b. Hātim al-Muhallabī. He arrived in the country and subdued its people, after which he died. Al-Rashīd then appointed Naṣr b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī; afterward he dismissed him and appointed al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd rose against him, and the people of al-Maghrib rallied to him. Engaging al-Faḍl, they battled his troops. They overcame him and imprisoned him and his men. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd gained control of the province.<sup>3077</sup> He then requested a guarantee of safe-conduct and asked that certain demands, which he named, be guaranteed to him. They<sup>3078</sup> granted him all that he had requested and then returned to al-Rashīd with news of him.

2:497 Al-Rashīd dispatched Harthama b. A‘yan to Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib | to reconnoiter and set matters right. He proceeded from region to region, setting right whatever he thought needed to be set right, until, in the year 179, he reached Egypt, where the people had risen up against their governor. Harthama then proceeded to al-Maghrib. When he reached Tripoli in the region of al-Maghrib, he distributed payments that were in arrears to its army and gave a general guarantee of safe-conduct. He finally reached al-Qayrawān, in the year 179, and, offering safe-conduct to its inhabitants, he placated them. However,

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have sold my life for God’s sake), a lion; the heat of my fire cannot be endured. Your injustice caused me to leave my home.”

3076 The name is undotted in the MSS, and the first letter can be read as KH, H, or J. The translation follows the reading of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:645 (see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 63, note 585). The detailed account in Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 454–456, reads the name as Jurāsha, with a note that Ibn al-Athīr reads it as Ḥurāsha.

3077 A lacuna is likely here, as noted by the Leiden editor.

3078 Presumably, envoys from the caliphate.



certain men in one district rose against him, and he sent an army against them and dispersed them. Having stayed until he had set matters right, Harthama then returned to Egypt, where he remained until conditions there were became settled. Transporting those whom he saw fit to take with him, he departed.

Al-Rashīd appointed Muḥammad b. Muqātil [al-‘Akkī] over Ifrīqiya. [Tammām b. Tamīm al-Tamīmī rose against him]<sup>3079</sup> and besieged him [in] al-Qayrawān. The people of al-Qayrawān opened the gate to Tammām, who entered the city. Muḥammad b. Muqātil sought a guarantee of safe conduct, which Tammām granted him. Ibn Muqātil left [for] Iraq, and Tammām gained control over the province. The Khurāsāni and Syrian troops then rose against him and fought him. Tammām fled from them.<sup>3080</sup>

Then Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab<sup>3081</sup> arrived, and the people of al-Maghrib made him their governor; he managed their affairs well. When al-Rashīd received word of this, he sent Ibrāhīm his document of appointment over Ifrīqiya. He sent the document with Yaḥyā b. Mūsā al-Kindī.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab b. Sālīm was one of the soldiers who had been dispatched from Egypt to Ifrīqiya. He had led the security forces (*shurṭa*) of the governor (*ṣāhib*) of Ifrīqiya; and when Ibn Muqātil died, having named Ibrāhīm as his successor over the province, he managed it well and the people became more obedient. Whereas the sum of 600 dīnārs used to be sent to the governor (*ṣāhib*) of Ifrīqiya from Egypt every year, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab wrote to al-Rashīd informing him that he would administer the province without the money, so al-Rashīd appointed him to the governorship. His tenure in office and that of his descendants continues to the present day.

Al-Rashīd had appointed his client (*mawlā*) al-‘Abbās b. Sa‘īd over Yemen. The people of Yemen began to complain about him, and there were reports of disgraceful conduct by him. Al-Rashīd dismissed him and appointed in his stead Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām.<sup>3082</sup> He then dismissed him and appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī, then dismissed him and ap-

2:498

3079 The text in the MSS is defective and has been reconstructed by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6:105; similarly Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 464.

3080 Reading with M, *fa-haraba minhum*; ed. Leiden, *fa-nhazama minhum* (he was routed by them).

3081 On Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, whose family held the governorship of Ifrīqiya from 184 to 296 (800 to 909), see the articles by M. Talbi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibrāhīm I, and G. Marçais and J. Schacht in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Aghlabids*.

3082 I.e., the grandson of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbas, surnamed “the Imam,” active in unleashing the ‘Abbāsīd revolution.

pointed in his stead Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī, then dismissed him and appointed his client (*mawla*) Ḥammād al-Barbarī, who subjected the people of Yemen to injustice and harshness.

In the year 179, al-Hayṣam b. [ʿAbd al-Majīd]<sup>3083</sup> al-Hamdānī rebelled in Yemen and gained control. His stronghold was at a mountain called Miswar.<sup>3084</sup> Supporting him was ʿUmar b. Abī Khālīd al-Ḥimyarī, who was based in ʿAshshatān.<sup>3085</sup> Also supporting him was al-Ṣabāḥ in an area called Ḥarāz. They engaged Ḥammād al-Barbarī, and clashes occurred between them in which over 20,000 people were killed. Ḥammād captured ʿUmar b. Abī Khālīd and sent him to al-Rashīd. The fighting between him and al-Hayṣam continued for nine years. Then a local man came to Ḥammād and informed him that al-Hayṣam had come down from his citadel and had gone into a certain village in disguise to gather information. Ḥammād sent with the man a commander named Jarād,<sup>3086</sup> who succeeded in capturing al-Hayṣam. Al-Hayṣam said, “By God, being killed is something I am untroubled by, for men have been created only for death and killing.” Ḥammād led him into Ṣanʿā mounted on a camel, and then sent him to al-Rashīd. In a long poem, it was said of him:

The remedy for what the soul does not desire  
is a quick departure.

Al-Rashīd called for al-Hayṣam and ordered that he be beheaded. Ḥammād al-Barbarī then turned his attention to Ṣabāḥ. Ṣabāḥ pleaded<sup>3087</sup> for a guarantee of safe conduct, which he gave him. Others have said that he did not grant it to him, but rather | took him prisoner and sent him, along with 600 of his men and those of al-Hayṣam,<sup>3088</sup> to al-Rashīd, who had them all beheaded and had al-Hayṣam and Ṣabāḥ gibbeted together. Ḥammād al-Barbarī remained governor of Yemen for thirteen years, visiting cruel torment upon its people, until finally some Yemenis shouted to al-Rashīd at a time when the latter was in Mecca: “We

3083 Added by the Leiden editor, but no reference provided.

3084 The name is corrupt in both MSS. Yāqūt identifies Miswar as a fortress near Ṣanʿā.

3085 The name is corrupt in both MSS. Yāqūt identifies a place with this name in the district of Ṣaʿda in Yemen.

3086 The name is undotted in the MSS. Ed. Leiden prints “Ḥarād.”

3087 Following the reading in ed. Leiden (*fa-darraʿa*); M reads (undotted) *fa-ṣarakha* (he cried out).

3088 Following M, *min aṣḥābihi wa-aṣḥāb al-Hayṣam*; ed. Leiden has only *min aṣḥāb al-Hayṣam* (of al-Hayṣam's men).

entreat you by God, Commander of the Faithful: rid us of Ḥammād al-Barbarī if you can.” He replied, “No, absolutely not!”<sup>3089</sup>

Ḥammād had been Hārūn’s slave whom he had manumitted at the start of his caliphate. Al-Rashīd afterward dismissed Ḥammād and replaced him with ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik, who governed the province in praiseworthy and commendable fashion until the time of Hārūn’s death.

[The Death of Mūsā b. Jaʿfar]<sup>3090</sup>

Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Ḥamda, died in the year 183<sup>3091</sup> at the age of 58. His death took place in Baghdad in al-Rashīd’s prison that was administered by al-Sindī b. Shāhak. Al-Rashīd summoned the eunuch (*khādim*) Masrūr, the commanders, the secretaries, the Hāshimites, the judges, and all the Ṭālibids who were in Baghdad. He uncovered Mūsā’s face and asked them, “Do you know him?” They replied, “We know him very well; he is Mūsā b. Jaʿfar.” Hārūn said, “Do you see on him any marks or indications of a violent death?” They replied, “No.” He was washed, shrouded, and taken out and buried among the tombs of the Quraysh on the west side of the city.

Mūsā b. Jaʿfar was an exceedingly pious person and transmitted traditions from his father.

Al-Ḥasan b. Asad said: “I heard Mūsā b. | Jaʿfar say: ‘Whenever a people hold this world in contempt, God makes it pleasant for them and provides them with blessings in it; but whenever a people holds it in high regard, He renders it loathsome for them.’” 2:500

Mūsā also said: “There are some men who associate with the ruler; believers take them as caves of refuge, and they shall be safe on the Day of Resurrection—if only I could behold one of them!”<sup>3092</sup>

3089 Arabic *lā wa-lā karāma*, an expression meaning “I will give you neither what you seek nor anything else.”

3090 The section title was added by the Leiden editor; it is not in the MSS. The person whose death is recorded is Mūsā l-Kāzim, the seventh Imam, according to the reckoning of the Twelver Shīʿa. For biography and bibliography, see the article by E. Kohlberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūsā al-Kāzim.

3091 183 A.H. = February 12, 799 – January 31, 800. Other dates are given.

3092 Although the sense is vague, commentators have interpreted “one of them” as a veiled reference to a particular government official, ʿAlī b. Yaqtīn, said to have been a devoted Shīʿite and whom Mūsā l-Kāzim is said to have asked to exert his influence on behalf

A certain tyrant was mentioned in his presence, and he said “By God, if he finds glory by oppression in this world, he will surely be brought low by justice in the next.”

Someone said to Mūsā b. Jaʿfar when he was in prison, “Why haven’t you written to such and such a person to speak to al-Rashīd on your behalf?” He replied: “My father told me, on the authority of his ancestors, that God, may He be glorified and exalted, revealed to David: ‘David, whenever one of my servants holds fast to one of My creatures, rather than to Me—I knowing this about him—I sever his grasp of the ropes to Heaven and dissolve the very earth beneath him.’”

Mūsā b. Jaʿfar said: “My father related to me that Moses, the son of ʿImrān, said: ‘Lord, which of Your creatures is the most evil?’ He replied: ‘He who suspects My motives.’ Moses, the son of ʿImrān, asked: ‘Lord, is there among Your servants anyone who suspects Your motives?’ He replied: ‘Yes, he who seeks My protection but then is dissatisfied with My judgment.’”

He had 18 sons and 23 daughters. The sons were: ʿAlī al-Riḍā,<sup>3093</sup> Ibrāhīm, al-ʿAbbās, Qāsim,<sup>3094</sup> Ismāʿīl, Jaʿfar, Hārūn, al-Ḥasan, Aḥmad, Muḥammad, ʿUbaydallāh, Ḥamza, Zayd, ʿAbdallāh, Ishāq, al-Ḥusayn, al-Faḍl, and Sulaymān. Mūsā [b.] Jaʿfar stipulated that his daughters should not marry. None of them did, except for Umm Salama, who was married in Egypt to al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad. This led to such a terrible rift between him and his family that he swore that he had not consummated the marriage and that he intended only to accompany her on pilgrimage.



2:501 Al-Rashīd had the oath of allegiance taken to his son al-Maʿmūn as heir apparent after (his brother) Muḥammad (al-Amīn) in this | year—the year 183. The oath of allegiance to him was received from all the people, even from the people of the markets. Eight years separated the oath taken to Muḥammad and that taken to al-Maʿmūn. Al-Rashīd would send al-Maʿmūn and Muḥammad to

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of Shīʿites. The saying is then interpreted to mean that working through officials of a government illegitimate from a Shīʿite perspective is permitted when done to further the Shīʿite cause. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūsā al-Kāzim. Note, however, that the next dictum but one implies the opposite.

3093 Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, known as ʿAlī al-Riḍā, was the eighth Imam of the Twelver Shīʿa. On his life, see the article by Tamima Bayhom-Daou in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

3094 Sic M; ed. Leiden, al-Qāsim.

the religious scholars (*fuqahā'*) and traditionists to learn from them. He also summoned experts in theology and disputation to instruct them. Muḥammad was a slow learner, while al-Ma'mūn proved to be quick.

Al-Rashīd pursued officials, wealthy landowners,<sup>3095</sup> village chiefs,<sup>3096</sup> owners of estates, land agents,<sup>3097</sup> and holders of tax-farms,<sup>3098</sup> for they owed accumulated sums. He put 'Abdallāh b. al-Haytham b. Sām in charge of collecting the money from them, which he did by means of various forms of torture. This was in the year 184.<sup>3099</sup> Al-Rashīd came down with a severe illness in that year, but recovered from it. When al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyād visited him and saw that people were being tortured for payment of the land tax (*kharāj*), he said: "Relieve them, for I heard the Messenger of God say: 'He who tortures people in this world, God will torture him on the Day of Resurrection.'" So al-Rashīd ordered that torture should not be used against people, and torture was banned from that year on.

Al-Rashīd resided at al-Rāfiqa until he had completed construction there. He took up residence there in the year 186.<sup>3100</sup> He led the pilgrimage in that year, accompanied by Muḥammad (al-Amīn), al-Ma'mūn, illustrious Hāshimites, officers, and secretaries; no one of significance or standing stayed behind. On arriving in Medina, al-Rashīd distributed to the people of Medina the equivalent of three months' pay and many garments. Then he proceeded to Mecca, but he did not do the same there.

Upon reaching Mecca, he ascended the pulpit and delivered a sermon; then he descended and entered the Ka'ba. He summoned Muḥammad (al-Amīn) and al-Ma'mūn. He dictated to Muḥammad a document of stipulations incumbent upon him,<sup>3101</sup> and Muḥammad wrote out the document. He then had him take an oath to uphold its contents and adhere to the promises and pledges in it. He did the same with al-Ma'mūn and had him make the same declarations. The text of the document that Muḥammad wrote out in his own hand was as follows:<sup>3102</sup>

3095 The translation follows the emendation (*tana'a*) proposed by Houtsma in ed. Leiden. This would be an otherwise unattested plural of *tāni*, an Arabic synonym of *dihqān*. Both MSS read *bunāh* (builders).

3096 Arabic *dahāqīn*, pl. of *dihqān*.

3097 See Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, 98 and note 63.

3098 Term undotted in both MSS (see Leiden, 501, note c).

3099 184 A.H. = February 1, 800 – January 19, 801.

3100 186 A.H. = January 6, 802 – December 29, 802.

3101 That is, upon Muḥammad.

3102 Cf. the parallel account and text of the agreement in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:654 ff. Bos-

2:502

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a document of the servant of God, Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, written out by Muḥammad the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, in soundness of body [and mind],<sup>3103</sup> and in full exercise of his power.

The Commander of the Faithful, Hārūn, has appointed me to the succession after him and has made the oath of allegiance to me obligatory for all Muslims. He has designated my brother, ‘Abdallāh son of the Commander of the Faithful, to the succession, the caliphate, and all affairs of the Muslims, after me, with my agreement and consent, voluntarily and unconstrainedly. He has appointed him over Khurāsān, with its frontiers, its districts, its armies, its land tax (*kharāj*), its *ṭirāz* workshops,<sup>3104</sup> its post,<sup>3105</sup> its treasuries, its alms (*ṣadaqāt*), its tithe (*‘ushr*), its tribute (*‘ushūr*),<sup>3106</sup> and all its administrative functions, during his lifetime and after his death.

I have promised my brother ‘Abdallāh to fulfill all that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has stipulated for him regarding the oath of allegiance, the succession, [the executive authority, the caliphate, and the affairs of the Muslims after me, and to deliver this to him, along with the]<sup>3107</sup> governorship of Khurāsān and its administrative offices; all grants of land that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has provided to him;

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worth, in his notes to his translation (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 183 ff.), summarizes the differences between the primary versions—al-Ya‘qūbī, al-Azraqī, and al-Ṭabarī—and gives a bibliography of recent discussions.

3103 Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel versions, but neither MS contains the words.

3104 Arabic *ṭirāz* (from a Persian word meaning ‘adornment’): the workshops that produced the official sashes or fabric inlays (*ṭirāz*) embroidered with the name of the caliph or his governors and worn on ceremonial occasions. See the article by Y. Stillman and P. Sanders in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṭirāz*.

3105 Arabic *barīd*, a system of post riders used to convey official documents as well as to provide the central government with intelligence. See Adam J. Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World*.

3106 Arabic *‘ushrahā wa-‘ushūrahā*. The meaning of the phrase, which also appears in the parallel versions, is not clear. De Goeje in the glossary to the Leiden Ṭabarī (p. ccclxiii) saw *‘ushūr* as tribute to be paid by non-Muslims, implying that *‘ushr* referred to tithes paid from the harvest of land owned by Muslims. See also the article by T. Sato in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *‘Ushr*.

3107 The Leiden editor restored the bracketed words on the basis of the parallel version in al-Azraqī. Their omission in the MSS of al-Ya‘qūbī can be explained as due to homeoteleuton.

any and all revenue-generating properties and estates from his estates and properties, or those estates and properties that he may have purchased; and whatever he has given to him during his own lifetime in the way of money, ornaments, jewels, furniture, clothing, and slaves, be it little or much. All this shall belong to ‘Abdallāh son the Commander of the Faithful, my brother, set aside for him and granted to him. I acknowledge all of this, item by item, by its name, kind, and location, as does my brother, ‘Abdallāh b. Hārūn.

If we disagree over any of these matters, the decision therein shall belong to ‘Abdallāh my brother. I will take nothing, small or large, of his wealth or of | his governorship of Khurāsān and its administrative functions. I will not remove him from any of them, nor will I seek to replace him with any other or to succeed him,<sup>3108</sup> nor will I advance any person over him with regard to the succession or the caliphate. I will visit no harm upon him in his soul or his body, in his affairs private or public, in his authority, in his wealth, in his land grants and revenue-generating properties. I will [alter] to his detriment [nothing] for any reason. I will not call to account any of his secretaries, officials, or administrators, of those who have accompanied him and taken up residence with him in the governorship of Khurāsān, its districts, and all else over which Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful shall have appointed him in his lifetime, and those whom he shall have made his associate<sup>3109</sup> in tax-collection, sources of wealth, production of official garments, the post, alms, tithes, tribute, and anything else related to its governance. I will never command anyone to do so, allow anyone else to do so, or contemplate imposing any such step upon him. I will make no demands upon his land grants, neither will I diminish anything that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful designated and gave to him during his lifetime, his caliphate, and his dominion, of all that I have specified in this document of mine.

I make the oath of allegiance to him binding upon myself and upon all the people. I will permit no person to repudiate him or defy him; I will give ear to no creature who speaks of such a thing, neither will I approve of it secretly or openly, or turn a blind eye to it, or overlook it. I will not accept from anyone, be he pious or sinful, truthful or mendacious, sincere or deceitful, close or far, or from any member of the human race, male or

2:503

3108 The translation follows M: *lā akhlufuhu*. This apparently means that al-Amīn will not attempt to to wrest the governorship of Khurāsān from al-Ma’mūn’s heirs. Ed. Leiden emends the text to read *lā akhla’uhu* (I will not depose him).

3109 Reading with M *wa-aṣḥabahū*; ed. Leiden emends to *wa-ṣiḥḥatihi* (in his health).

2:504

female, any advice, device, or stratagem regarding any matter, whether secret or open, valid or invalid, | [hidden] or apparent, or any means whereby I might intend to impair anything that I myself have granted to ‘Abdallāh son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful and stipulated as incumbent upon me in this document of mine.

I have made it my duty, have stipulated, and have specified that if any person intends evil, villainy, repudiation, warfare, or assault against his soul and his body, his womenfolk, wealth, authority, or governorship, all together or any one of the same, secretly or openly, I will help him, protect him, and defend him as I would defend myself—my person, my blood, my hair, my flesh, my womenfolk, and my authority. I will equip armies for him and provide him support against everything that opposes or defies him. He and I shall stand as one in this forever, so long as I live. I will not desert him, turn away from him, or distance myself from him. If the event of death befalls Hārūn whilst I and ‘Abdallāh are in the presence of the Commander of the Faithful, or one of us, or we are both absent, together or separately, and ‘Abdallāh is not in his governorship of Khurāsān, it shall be incumbent upon me to see that ‘Abdallāh son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful reaches Khurāsān; to deliver to him its governorship, all of its administrative functions, and its armies, not restraining him from them or detaining him, either at my side or in any of the provinces other than Khurāsān; and to expedite his arrival in the province in his capacity as the one assigned to be in charge of it and all its administrative functions, possessing it alone and entrusted with all its administrative functions. With him I will dispatch all such persons as the Commander of the Faithful has joined to him from among his commanders, soldiers, companions, secretaries, clients, servants, and all other sorts of people subordinate to him, along with their property and households. I will bar none of these persons from him; I will make no one a partner with him in these matters; | I will send no agent, secretary, or tax agent<sup>3110</sup> to him; and I will impede him in nothing small or large.

2:505

I have given to the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn and to ‘Abdallāh son of Hārūn, against what I have stipulated to them as incumbent upon myself regarding all that I have laid down and written out in this document, God’s pact and covenant, the agreement of protection of the

<sup>3110</sup> Arabic *bundār*, a Persian term used in a variety of senses in Arabic. Here it seems to mean someone placed next to or under the main tax official; see al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, cxli.



Commander of the Faithful, my own agreement of protection [and those of my forefathers],<sup>3111</sup> the agreements of protection of the believers, and the most binding of the solemnly pledged charges and covenants that God has laid upon the prophets, the messengers, and all His creatures, with the solemn oaths whose fulfillment God has commanded and whose violation or alteration He has forbidden.

If I violate or alter anything that I have stipulated to Hārūn and to ‘Abdallāh son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, or [if I contemplate violating a single item of what is incumbent upon me]<sup>3112</sup> or accept such a thing from any person, may I be cut off from God, [His dominion and religion, and from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God; may I come before God on the Day of Resurrection]<sup>3113</sup> as an unbeliever and polytheist; may every woman who is now my wife or whom I shall marry within thirty years be divorced with threefold repudiation, definitively, with the divorce of *ḥaraj* and of *sunna*;<sup>3114</sup> may it become incumbent upon me to walk in pilgrimage to the Sacred House of God thirty<sup>3115</sup> times, as an act

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- 3111 The Leiden editor has added the bracketed words on the basis of the parallel version in al-Azraqī.
- 3112 The Leiden editor has restored the bracketed words on the basis of the parallel versions.
- 3113 The Leiden editor has added the bracketed words on the basis of the parallel version in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:662.
- 3114 Arabic *ṭalāq al-ḥaraj wa-l-sunna* (with the divorce of straitness/sinfulness and *sunna*). Various explanations have been given for this phrase. (See, for example, ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī, *Al-Muṣannaḥ*, “Bāb Ṭalāq al-Ḥaraj.”) It seems that the question early arose among legal scholars as to whether the formula *anti ḥaraj ‘alayya* (you are straitness/sinfulness to me) was a valid formula for divorcing one’s wife. One opinion was that it was valid. Another interpretation of the phrase was that it meant a divorce pronounced at a moment when, according to the *sunna*, a wife could not be divorced, as, for example, when she was menstruating. Such a divorce, although sinful (another term for it was *bid’a*, ‘innovation’) could be interpreted as valid. Therefore, Muḥammad al-Amīn would be swearing to divorce all his wives, whether divorcing them involved sin on his part or whether it could be done in accordance with the *sunna*. In his 1927 Italian translation of the parallel version in al-Ṭabarī, F. Gabrieli translated “con divorzio implicante peccato [ove la donna venga ripresa].” In other words, a divorce upon which sin would ensue if the husband remarried the wife. (Gabrieli, “Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in al-Ṭabarī,” 197.) Bosworth in his English translation (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 191, and note 685) follows Gabrieli.
- 3115 Accepting the emendation (*thalāthīn*) of the Leiden editor. M and C read what looks like *mī’atayn* (two hundred), but the grammatical form is wrong for the context and the two words look very similar when written without dots.

of atonement incumbent upon me, barefoot and on foot, [which God will accept from me only if fulfilled in its entirety; may all the wealth that I possess today or that I shall acquire within thirty years be a gift brought to the Sacred Ka'ba];<sup>3116</sup> and may every slave that I possess today or that I shall acquire within thirty years be set free for the sake of God, May He be glorified and exalted.

2:506

Everything that I have undertaken toward the Commander of the Faithful and toward 'Abdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful, that I have written out and stipulated to them, and that I have sworn and specified in this document of mine, I am bound to fulfill; I harbor no other thought and intend nothing else. | If I ever harbor any such thought or intend anything other than this, all of these covenants and oaths shall ensue and take their effect on me; and the officers of the Commander of the Faithful, his armies, the people of the provinces and garrison cities, and ordinary Muslims shall be released from the oath of allegiance to me, my caliphate, and my covenant, and shall be free to depose me and strip me of my authority over them, so that I become as one of the market people and as a man of the populace at large, with no claim over them, no authority over them, and no allegiance to me incumbent upon them. They shall be released from the oaths they have given to me, and released from the consequences and sin of (breaking) them, in this world and the next.

—Written by Muḥammad b. Hārūn in his own hand.

—Witnessed by Sulaymān, the son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr; 'Īsā b. Ja'far; [Ja'far b. Ja'far];<sup>3117</sup> 'Ubaydallāh<sup>3118</sup> b. al-Mahdī; Ja'far, the son of Mūsā the Commander of the Faithful; Ishāq b. 'Īsā b. 'Alī; 'Īsā b. Mūsā, the son of the Commander of the Faithful; Ishāq b. Mūsā the Commander of the Faithful; Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. 'Alī; Sulaymān b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān; 'Īsā b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī; Dāwūd b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā; Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Ja'far; Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā; Yaḥyā b. Khālīd; Khuzayma b. Khāzim; Harthama b. A'yan; 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī'; [al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'];<sup>3119</sup> al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl; al-Qāsim b. al-Rabī'; Dhufāfa<sup>3120</sup> b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; Sulaymān b.

3116 The bracketed words have been added by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:662.

3117 Added by the Leiden editor.

3118 C, M, 'Abdallāh; emended by the Leiden editor in *Addenda et emendanda*, 1:viii.

3119 Added by the Leiden editor. The omission in the MSS can be explained by homeoteleuton.

3120 Thus apparently in M; ed. Leiden, "Duqāqa."

‘Abd [Allāh b. al-Aṣamm; Muḥammad b. ‘Abd]<sup>3121</sup> al-Raḥmān, the chief judge of Mecca; ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ḥajabī;<sup>3122</sup> Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān<sup>3123</sup> al-Ḥajabī; Abān, the client of the Commander of the Faithful; al-Ḥārith, the client of the Commander of the Faithful; Khālīd, the client of the Commander of the Faithful; Muḥammad | b. Manṣūr; and Ismā‘īl b. Ṣubayḥ. 2:507

—Written in Dhū l-Ḥijja in the year 186.<sup>3124</sup>

The text of the terms written out by ‘Abdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful in his own hand in the Ka‘ba:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a document of the servant of God, [Hārūn] the Commander of the Faithful, written out for him by ‘Abdallāh the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, in soundness of mind, in full exercise of his power, with sincerity of intention regarding what he has written in this document of his, and with recognition of what it contains of benefit and well-being for himself, the members of his family, and the community of Muslims.

The Commander of the Faithful has appointed me to the succession, the caliphate, and all of the affairs of the Muslims in his dominion after my brother, Muḥammad son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful. He has appointed me, during his lifetime and after his death, as governor over the frontier regions of Khurāsān, its districts, and all of its administrative functions, including alms (*ṣadaqāt*), tithes (*‘ushr*), [tribute (*‘ushūr*)],<sup>3125</sup> the post, *ṭirāz* workshops,<sup>3126</sup> and all other functions. He has stipulated for me and for Muḥammad<sup>3127</sup> the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful to fulfill all that has been entrusted to me as regards the caliphate, authority over the servants of God and the provinces after him, and the governorship of Khurāsān and all of its administrative functions. He shall

3121 The bracketed words were added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Azraqī.

3122 The *nisba* is undotted in both MSS.

3123 Al-Azraqī: “b. ‘Abdallāh.”

3124 Dhū l-Ḥijja 186 began on December 1, 802.

3125 Added by the Leiden editor.

3126 M, *al-ṭuruq* (the roads) is probably a copyist’s mistake for *al-ṭuruz*, the plural of *al-ṭirāz*.

3127 The translation follows M (*wa-shtarāṭa lī wa-li-Muḥammad*). The Leiden editor emends to *wa-shtarāṭa lī ‘alā Muḥammad* (he has stipulated on my behalf as an obligation upon Muḥammad).

interfere with me in nothing that the Commander of the Faithful has granted to me or acquired [for me], or what I have acquired for myself, of estates, revenue-generating properties, buildings, and dwellings, or regarding what the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn has given me of wealth, jewels, garments, furniture, and riding beasts on the pretext of calling my companions to account, neither shall he investigate any of them.

2:508

He shall not inflict upon me, upon anyone with me or representing me, upon any of my officials or secretaries, or upon any persons whom I have charged to assist me anything hurtful to person, | blood, hair, or skin, or wealth, small or large. Muḥammad has acknowledged this to him, has agreed to it, and has written out a document to this effect. He has bound himself to it, and Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has approved it and has acknowledged the sincerity of his intention.

I have promised the servant of God, Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, and have given him a commitment that I will hear and obey Muḥammad [the son of]<sup>3128</sup> the Commander of the Faithful and will not oppose him. I will offer him sincere advice and never mislead him; I will fulfill the oath of allegiance to him and acknowledge his authority; I will not betray or violate; I will carry out his writs and commands; I will support and assist him properly; and I will strive to combat his enemies in the regions assigned to me, as long as he fulfills for me the terms that he has laid down for me and for the servant of God, Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful; which he has agreed to on my behalf, and I have accepted. I will not diminish any of this or any matter that the Commander of the Faithful has stipulated for him regarding me.

If Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful requires any soldiers and writes to me, commanding me to dispatch them to him, to one province or another, or against any of his enemies [that has risen against him]<sup>3129</sup> and that seeks to diminish any of the authority that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has entrusted us and to which he has appointed us, [it shall be my duty]<sup>3130</sup> to carry out his command and not disobey him or fall short in anything whereof he has written to me.

If Muḥammad son of the Commander of the Faithful wishes to appoint one of his sons to the succession after me, he may do so, as long as he

<sup>3128</sup> The Leiden editor has added the bracketed words, which are in neither MS.

<sup>3129</sup> Added in ed. Leiden.

<sup>3130</sup> Adding *fa'-alayya*, as suggested by the editor of the parallel text in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:661.

has fulfilled what the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn has stipulated for me and made incumbent upon him regarding me and which he has committed himself to undertake concerning me.

I pledge to carry out and fulfill this. I will not diminish, alter, or replace any of it, neither will I give precedence over him to any of my sons or any other person near or far; save that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful may appoint one of his sons [as heir apparent]<sup>3131</sup> after me and may obligate me | and Muḥammad to honor that decision.

2:509

I have pledged to the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn and to Muḥammad son of the Commander of the Faithful the fulfillment of all that I have stipulated and specified in this my document, as long as Muḥammad son of the Commander of the Faithful fulfills all of the obligations towards me that Hārūn Commander of the Faithful has stipulated for me and all such matters as the Commander of the Faithful has granted as specified in the document that he wrote out for him.<sup>3132</sup> [Upon me be]<sup>3133</sup> God's pact and covenant, the agreement of protection of the Commander of the Faithful, my own agreement of protection, the agreements of protection of my forefathers, the agreements of protection of the believers, and the most binding of the solemnly pledged charges and covenants that God has laid upon the prophets, the messengers, and all His creatures, with the solemn oaths whose fulfillment God has commanded.

If I violate, alter, replace, break, or betray anything that I have stipulated and specified in this document of mine, may I be cut off from God, His dominion and religion, and from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God; may I come before God on the Day of Resurrection as an unbeliever and polytheist; may every woman who is now my wife or whom I shall marry within thirty years be divorced with threefold repudiation, [definitively, with the divorce of]<sup>3134</sup> sinfulness;<sup>3135</sup> may every slave that I possess today or that I shall acquire within thirty years be set free; may it become incumbent upon me to walk in pilgrimage to the Sacred House in Mecca thirty times, as an act of atonement [incumbent upon me],<sup>3136</sup> barefoot and on

<sup>3131</sup> Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:662.

<sup>3132</sup> That is, the document that Muḥammad al-Amin wrote out for Hārūn.

<sup>3133</sup> Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:662.

<sup>3134</sup> Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:662.

<sup>3135</sup> On "the divorce of straitness/sinfulness" (*talāq al-ḥaraj*), see note 3114 above.

<sup>3136</sup> Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:662.

foot, which God will accept from me only if fulfilled in its entirety; and may all the wealth that I possess today or that I shall acquire within thirty years be a gift brought to the Sacred Ka'ba.

Everything that [I have undertaken] toward the servant of God, Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, and that I have stipulated in this document of mine is binding upon me; I harbor no other thought and intend nothing else.

2:510 The men who bore witness were the same as those who had been witnesses for his brother, Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful. Al-Rashīd led the people in the pilgrimage and commanded that these two documents should be hung up, and so they were hung on the door of the Ka'ba during the days of the pilgrimage; they were read to the people several times | and were placed inside the Ka'ba.

Al-Rashīd left and stopped in al-Ḥīra, where he remained for some days. He then set out on the desert road and stopped at a place near al-Anbār known as al-Ḥurf, in a monastery called al-'Umr, where he remained for a day. That night, his wazīr, Ja'far b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd, was killed without any prior incident.<sup>3137</sup> Al-Rashīd accompanied his body to Baghdad the following day. Ja'far's corpse was cut into three parts, and each was gibbeted on a bridge in Baghdad—Baghdad had three bridges at the time. Al-Rashīd imprisoned Yaḥyā b. Khālīd b. Barmak, his sons, and the members of his household, confiscated their wealth, and seized their estates. He said: "If my right hand had learned the reason why I acted as I did, I would have cut it off." People gave many explanations for the wrath that was visited upon them.

Ismā'īl b. Ṣubayḥ said: "One day al-Rashīd sent for me while he was in Baghdad. I entered, but saw no one in the private rooms and galleries until I reached him. 'Ismā'īl,' he asked, 'did you see anyone in the palace?' 'No, by God,' I replied. He said, 'Go and check the audience chambers, the galleries, and the private rooms.' I did, but I found no one. 'Do it a third time,' he said. I did. Then he said, 'Take that chair.' I did. He went out with a club in his hand and made his way to the middle of the inner courtyard. Then he said, 'Put the chair

3137 That is, without any incident that would explain his killing. The Arabic verb could also be read in the active voice, in which case the translation would be, "he killed his wazīr," emphasizing al-Rashīd's direct agency. Thus begins al-Ya'qūbī's account of the fall of the Barmakī family. The Arabic sources and modern treatments of the subject are summarized by C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 201, n. 697. See also the article by Kevin van Bladel in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids, which discusses possible motives for al-Rashīd's actions and provides a comprehensive bibliography.

down.' I did. He sat down, holding the club, and said, 'Sit down.' I suddenly was overcome with fear, but I sat down. He said, 'I want to reveal a secret to you, but, by God, if I hear it from anyone else, I will have you beheaded.' Recovering my composure, I said, 'Commander of the Faithful, if you have told it to someone already or will tell it to someone, there is no need for me to hear it.' He said: 'I have not told it to anyone else and will not. I intend to inflict on the Barmak family what no one has ever inflicted on anyone. I want to make them a subject of every conversation and an example to others until the end of time.' I said, 'May God grant you success, Commander | of the Faithful, and guide your affair aright.' Then he stood up and headed back. I took the chair and put it back. I said to myself, 'He only wanted to find out what they mean to me.' He sent me to them as he had done many times before. A year went by, then a second, then a third. At the beginning of the fourth year, he had them killed."

2:511

Ja'far was killed in Ṣafar of the year 188 at the monastery of al-'Umr.<sup>3138</sup> Yaḥyā b. Khālīd had stopped at this monastery on the way back from the pilgrimage, a full year before what befell his family, and had entered the monastery in which his son Ja'far was killed. As he wandered through it, a monk appeared before him. He asked the monk, "How long ago was this church built?" The monk replied: "Six hundred years ago, and this is the tomb of its founder."<sup>3139</sup> Yaḥyā stopped before a tomb with writing on it, which he read. It said:

In the year the Banū l-Mundhir perished,  
 at the time when the monk erected the church,  
 Their necks were suffused with musk  
 and with amber collected by the gatherer;  
 Their clothes were of cotton and linen—  
 no one tailored them clothes of wool.<sup>3140</sup>  
 Yet by morning they became a garden for earthworms:  
 Fate's favorites do not endure!  
 By midday no one approached them for favors,  
 and no one feared them any longer.  
 It was as if a curse had veiled them,  
 and a rider had traveled to ...<sup>3141</sup>

3138 Ṣafar 188 began on January 19, 804.

3139 Arabic *ṣāhibihā*, literally, "its master," referring either to the founder or perhaps to the relics of a saint.

3140 That is, they never wore wool, a less luxurious fabric. See al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, 8:53.

3141 The last half line, found in no parallel version, is too corrupt to be deciphered.

Ja'far's face fell, and he said, "I seek God's protection from your evil, O monk." Before his very eyes, the monk vanished. He searched for him, but without success.

2:512 Yaḥyā and his sons remained in prison for several years. Yaḥyā wrote to al-Rashīd, hoping to gain his sympathy, reminding him | of the reverence due to him and of his role in his upbringing.<sup>3142</sup> Al-Rashīd wrote on the back of his note: "People like you, Yaḥyā, are those concerning whom God, may He be glorified and exalted, fashioned a parable: *A city that was secure, at rest, its provision coming to it easefully from every place, but then it was unthankful for the blessings of God; so God let it taste the garment of hunger and of fear for the things that they were working.*"<sup>3143</sup>

In this year—that is, the year 188—al-Rashīd sent his son, al-Qāsim, on the summer campaign. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ al-Hāshimī accompanied him, and Ibrāhīm b. 'Uthmān b. Nahīk was in charge of his affairs. He besieged the fortress of Sinān and Qurra. Severe famine, scarcity, and high prices beset the people, so that the Byzantines sought a settlement in exchange for the return of 320 Muslims. He accepted the offer and departed.

Al-Rashīd seized Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-'Alawī and imprisoned him in al-Rāfiqa in the year 188. Aḥmad b. 'Īsā escaped from prison and made his way to Basra. He began writing to the Shī'a, calling on them to rise up in his name. Al-Rashīd sent spies against him and offered money to anyone who laid hold of him, all to no avail. Then Ḥāḍir, Aḥmad's companion who managed his affairs, was seized and taken to al-Rashīd. On reaching Baghdad, at Bāb al-Karkh, he said: "People, I am Ḥāḍir, the companion of Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-'Alawī, and the authorities have seized me." The men in charge of him prevented him from speaking. When he was brought before al-Rashīd, the latter questioned him about Aḥmad b. 'Īsā and threatened him. Ḥāḍir replied, "By God, if he were under the soles of my feet, I would not lift them away from him." And he<sup>3144</sup> answered coarsely and he said: "I am an old man of over ninety years of age. Am I to seal my life's work by revealing the whereabouts of the descendant of the Messenger of God, so that he can be killed?" Al-Rashīd ordered that he be beaten to death and that his body be gibbeted in Baghdad. This put an end to the affair of Aḥmad b. 'Īsā, and from then on there was no further word of him.

3142 As mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:490, Yaḥyā had been al-Rashīd's tutor.

3143 Qur'ān 16:112.

3144 The pronouns are ambiguous. The Arabic suggests that "he" refers to Ḥāḍir, but it is possible that al-Rashīd replied coarsely, whereupon Ḥāḍir replied, "I am an old man ..."



In this year—that is, the year 188—al-Rashīd imprisoned ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī al-Hāshimī.<sup>3145</sup> This was because his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and his secretary Qumāma b. Yazīd, a client (*mawlā*) of ‘Abd al-Malik, accused him of declaring himself qualified for the caliphate and of corresponding with the heads of tribes and clans in Syria and the Jazīra. ‘Abd al-Malik was an eminent man, eloquent, and a skillful rhetorician. He asked: “What is the reason for my imprisonment? If it is for a sin, I will confess it; if it is slander, I will clear myself.” Al-Rashīd had him brought before him and said, “Here is your son, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, telling us of the disobedience and disorder that you were planning.” He replied, “My son is either acting under orders and is therefore excused, or he is an enemy to be guarded against. As God Almighty has said: *Among your wives and children there is an enemy to you; so beware of them.*”<sup>3146</sup> Al-Rashīd said, “And here is Qumāma b. Yazīd, your secretary, saying the same thing, and he has asked that you and he be brought face to face.” ‘Abd al-Malik replied, “He who has lied about me and exposed me to peril can hardly be trusted not to slander me.” 2:513

According to what one of our elders reported to me: One day, al-Rashīd had ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī brought out (from prison). Al-Rashīd turned to him and said: “It is as if I were looking at its raincloud having burst, and its thunderhead having flashed, and the threat having kindled a spreading flame, leaving hands without wrists and heads without throats! So be careful, Banū Hāshim; be careful! Do not mistake smooth ground for rough, or rough ground for smooth. Do not make light of blessings and invite certain punishment. Soon the wise man will scorn his opinion, and the resolute man will turn from his course. You will be replacing glory with humiliation, security with fear.” ‘Abd al-Malik replied: “Am I speaking as an individual or | as twins?”—He meant as one person or two.<sup>3147</sup> “As an individual,” replied al-Rashīd. ‘Abd al-Malik said: “Then fear God in regard to the office to which He has appointed you, and heed Him in regard to your flock that He has chosen you to tend. Do not set ingratitude in the place of gratitude, or punishment in the place of reward. Do not sever the bonds of kinship that God has made incumbent upon you, whose claims He has made binding, and whose rending the Book<sup>3148</sup> has declared 2:514

3145 Parallel with more detail in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:688–694 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 230–238, where the other parallels are listed). For a summary of his career, see the article by Paul M. Cobb in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ.

3146 Qurʾān 64:14.

3147 The intention is unclear; parallel in al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, 8:132.

3148 That is, the Qurʾān.

to be unbelief. Restore to the claimant what is his due, and do not turn aside what is due to those to whom it does not belong. For you have I united voices that once spoke against you, quieted hearts that had turned from you, and made the hitching loops<sup>3149</sup> of your dominion to be stronger than the corner of Yalamlam.<sup>3150</sup> As a member of the Banū Jaʿfar b. Kilāb said:<sup>3151</sup>

Many a narrow standing-place have I opened up  
with my tongue, my eloquence,<sup>3152</sup> and argument.  
If an elephant or its keeper had stood there,  
they would have slipped and withdrawn from a standing-place like  
mine.”

Then he left. Al-Rashīd watched him go and said, “By God, [were it not for sparing the blood of the Banū Hāshim, I would have you beheaded].”<sup>3153</sup>

Hārūn al-Rashīd set out for al-Rayy in the year 189.<sup>3154</sup> When he reached Qarmāsīn, he had the oath of allegiance taken to his son al-Qāsim as heir apparent after al-Maʿmūn. There were six years between the oath of allegiance to al-Maʿmūn and the oath to al-Qāsim. Al-Rashīd continued on and stopped in al-Rayy. He wrote to his son Muḥammad, who was in Baghdad, ordering him to leave for al-Rayy to take charge of what he<sup>3155</sup> had left behind there. He wrote to Bindād-Hurmuz,<sup>3156</sup> the lord (*ṣāhib*) of Ṭabaristān, who set out, and

3149 Arabic *awākhī*, plural of *ākhiyya*: “a loop tied to a peg or stake driven into the ground, to which a beast is attached,” used metaphorically for “a sacred or inviolable right” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:34).

3150 The corner, side, or support (*rukn*), or the corners, sides, or supports (in the dual, as in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:691) of Yalamlam, a place in the lowlands of Yemen (possibly a building there, or a mountain; cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, s.v.) was proverbial for strength, see al-Maydānī, trans. Freytag, 1:271.

3151 Part of a longer poem by the pre- and early Islamic poet Labīd b. Rabīʿa (so identified in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6:183). For the full poem, see C. Brockelmann, *Die Gedichte des Labīd*, 11–17.

3152 Thus in ed. Leiden. In M the undotted word seems to be *wa-bi-yadī* (and with my hand), which does not fit the meter, but can be corrected to *wa-yadayya* (and my two hands), which does fit the meter.

3153 The words in brackets are missing from both MSS; the Leiden editor has supplied them from al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:692.

3154 189 A.H. = December 8, 804 – November 26, 805.

3155 That is, al-Rashīd.

3156 M, C: Bindār Hurmuz, corrected by the Leiden editor. Parallel, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:705. For the more correct form of this Iranian name, Wandād-Hurmuzd, and the back-

to Sharwīn,<sup>3157</sup> the lord (*ṣāhib*) of Ṭukhāristān. Bindād-Hurmuz came to him, accompanied by Harthama b. Aʿyan, bringing his son Qārin, whom he delivered to al-Rashīd's camp.<sup>3158</sup> Al-Rashīd departed from al-Rayy, having delegated ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuzāʿī over Qūmis, Ṭabaristān, and Dunbāwand [and made his way to Baghdad].<sup>3159</sup> He passed through Baghdad during the day without staying there. When he reached the bridge, he ordered the burning of Jaʿfar b. | Yaḥyā's body and the execution of al-Walīd b. Jusham.<sup>3160</sup>

2:515

In the year 189, al-Rashīd appointed ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān over Khurāsān, replacing Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī. He joined to him a group of commanders, among them Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth al-Laythī,<sup>3161</sup> commanding him not to appoint the latter over any country while he was far away. When ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā arrived in Khurāsān, he appointed Rāfiʿ b. Layth over Samarqand. He had been there barely a year when he rebelled, calling for disobedience and making war. Word reached al-Rashīd that this was due to plotting on the part of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, and so he sent Harthama b. Aʿyan with 4,000 troops on the pretext of providing ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā with reinforcements. When Harthama entered the city,<sup>3162</sup> he proceeded to the governor's residence and led the forces under his command into the residence. He produced the letter<sup>3163</sup> and gave it to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā. When the latter finished reading it, Harthama asked: "Do you heed and obey?" "Yes," he replied. Harthama called for a heavy chain, bound him, and immediately took him away. He accompanied him until he had crossed from the district of Marw. Then he dispatched him, with envoys acting on his behalf, to al-Rashīd. Al-Rashīd ordered ʿAlī and his sons imprisoned and his wealth confiscated. He remained in prison until the death of al-Rashīd.

Armenia had rebelled following the death of al-Mahdī and remained in rebellion in the days of Mūsā (al-Hādī). When al-Rashīd appointed Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī over Armenia, he served there for a year and two months, bringing the province under control. The province was pacified and its people

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ground of al-Rashīd's summons to him, see the article on this local Iranian dynasty by M. Rekaya in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḳārinids*.

3157 On this local Iranian ruler, see the article by R. N. Frye in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Bāwand*.

3158 That is, as a hostage.

3159 Added by the Leiden editor.

3160 On the execution of this Khārījite, cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:683.

3161 For a summary of the life of this leader of a rebellion against the governor of Khurāsān, which lasted until after the death of al-Rashīd, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth* b. Naṣr b. Sayyār.

3162 Marw, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:719.

3163 The text of al-Rashīd's letter to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā is given in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:716–717.

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gave their obedience. Al-Rashīd then appointed Yūsuf b. Rāshid al-Sulamī to replace Khuzayma b. Khāzim. Yūsuf moved a group of the Nizāriyya to the province, where the Yamāniyya heretofore had been dominant. The Nizāriyya became numerous during Yūsuf's time. Al-Rashīd then appointed Yazīd | b. Mazyad b. Zā'ida al-Shaybānī as governor. He brought in Rabī'a tribesmen from everywhere, so that today they dominate the province. He maintained such a firm grip on the province that no one was able to cause trouble. Afterward, al-Rashīd appointed 'Abd al-Kabīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, a descendant of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-'Adawī, whose residence was in Ḥarrān. He proceeded to Armenia with a group of tribesmen from Diyār Muḍar, but remained there only four months before he was dismissed. Al-Rashīd then appointed al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī, who set out for the province in person. On arriving, he proceeded toward Bāb al-Abwāb. He attacked the fortress at Ḥamzīn, but the people of Ḥamzīn defeated him. He departed in defeat<sup>3164</sup> and headed back to Iraq, leaving 'Umar b. Ayyūb al-Kinānī as his deputy over the province.

When al-Faḍl reached Iraq, he sent Abū l-Ṣabbāḥ to be in charge of taxes (*kharāj*) in Armenia and Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarrānī al-Lihbī<sup>3165</sup> over its military affairs. The people of Bardha'a rose up against Abū l-Ṣabbāḥ and killed him. Armenia rebelled, and Abū Muslim the Khārijite rose up [in the province]. Al-Faḍl therefore appointed Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Asīd al-Sulamī over Armenia and sent 'Abd al-Malik b. Khalifa al-Ḥarashī to him with 5,000 troops. They engaged Abū Muslim the Khārijite at Rūyān, but he defeated them. Abū Muslim went off to the fortress of al-Kilāb and captured it.

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Al-Rashīd appointed al-'Abbās b. Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī over Armenia. When he reached Bardha'a, the inhabitants of al-Baylaqān rose against him. He fortified himself against them in the outer town<sup>3166</sup> of Bardha'a. He<sup>3167</sup> dispatched Ma'dān al-Ḥimṣī against Abū Muslim the Khārijite<sup>3168</sup> with 6,000 troops. Their forces met and a battle took place between them. Ma'dān al-Ḥimṣī was killed, and Abū Muslim the Khārijite proceeded to Dabīl. | He besieged the city for four months; then he withdrew and made his way to al-Baylaqān, where he stayed.

The situation in Armenia grew serious. Al-Rashīd dispatched Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī with 12,000 troops, and Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī with 10,000. He

3164 Reading with M, *munhaziman*; ed. Leiden (conjectural reading), *mā yalwī 'alā shay'in* (not turning aside for anything).

3165 Possibly to be vocalized as "al-Lahabī."

3166 Arabic *rabaḍ*; for this translation, see R. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishāpūr*, 7 f.

3167 The referent of the pronoun is uncertain.

3168 Arabic *al-Shārī*.

ordered Yazīd b. Mazyad to proceed to Armenia and ordered al-Ḥarashī to Azerbaijan. Muḥalhil al-Tamīmī had taken control of Azerbaijan. Al-Ḥarashī engaged him, fought him, defeated him, and pacified the province. He then proceeded to Armenia to join Yazīd b. Mazyad in campaigning against Abū Muslim the Khārijite. He reached the province only to find that the latter had died. Al-Sakan b. Mūsā al-Baylaqānī, the client (*mawlā*) of [...],<sup>3169</sup> rose in his stead. His residence was al-Baylaqān. When he received word of the arrival of Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī, he sent al-Khalīl b. al-Sakan against him with his best cavalry. Al-Khalīl engaged al-Ḥarashī, who captured him, and then proceeded against al-Baylaqān. When al-Sakan received word of this, he fled and made his way to the fortress of al-Kilāb. The people of al-Baylaqān went to al-Ḥarashī to ask for safe-conduct. They opened the city to him, and al-Ḥarashī gave the people a guarantee of safe-conduct and razed the city's fortress. Al-Sakan marched toward Yazīd b. Mazyad with 8,000 men to ask him for a guarantee of safe-conduct. He escorted him to al-Rashīd.

When the the province became quiet, al-Rashīd appointed Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Hāshimī, who remained in Armenia for a year. Then the unrest resumed and its regions fell into turmoil. He wrote to al-Rashīd with this news. Al-Rashīd said, "I see no one suitable for Armenia except al-Ḥarashī." He therefore dismissed Mūsā b. ʿĪsā and sent al-Ḥarashī to be its governor. Al-Ḥarashī unleashed the sword on its people until the province was set aright.

Afterward, al-Rashīd appointed Aḥmad b. Yazīd b. Asīd al-Sulamī. When he arrived, the Khurāsānians in the province who had come with al-Ḥarashī and before al-Ḥarashī rose up against him, fought him, and conspired against him, saying, "We will neither heed you nor obey you." Al-Rashīd then appointed Saʿīd b. Salm b. | Qutayba al-Bāhili. When he arrived in the province, the people were reconciled with each other for several months. He then offended the nobles,<sup>3170</sup> and the people of Bāb al-Abwāb therefore turned against him and rose up against his resident governor. Al-Najm b. Hāshim, the lord (*ṣāhib*) of Bāb al-Abwāb, had been killed by Saʿīd b. Salm, and so his son, Ḥayyūn<sup>3171</sup> b. al-Najm, rose up, killed Saʿīd's resident governor in Bāb al-Abwāb, and bared his head in (a sign of) rebellion.<sup>3172</sup> He wrote to Khāqān, the Khazar king,

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3169 Lacuna in both MSS.

3170 Arabic *baṭāriqa*, pl. of *biṭriq*; from the Latin, *patricius*.

3171 The reading of the name, undotted in both MSS, is uncertain. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:648, merely identifies him as the son of his father, whose name appears in al-Ṭabarī as "al-Munajjim."

3172 Or possibly, "exposed the (severed) head."

[who advanced]<sup>3173</sup> with a huge force and attacked the Muslims, killing many people and taking many captives. He advanced as far as the bridge over the Kurr River, taking many Muslims captive and killing many others. He burned the land and killed women and children. When al-Rashīd received word of his actions, he dispatched \_\_\_\_\_<sup>3174</sup> and ordered him to confront Saʿīd b. Salm and expose him to public shame. When he arrived in the province, Saʿīd offered him money.<sup>3175</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ was inclined to accept the money; however, when al-Rashīd received word of this, he dispatched Naṣr b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī as governor of the province, but it was only a short time before al-Rashīd dismissed him and replaced him with ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān. No sooner had the latter arrived than his misconduct led the people of Sharwān to rise against him, and the province was in turmoil. Al-Rashīd therefore appointed Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī and sent ʿAlī back to Khurāsān. Armenia and Azerbaijan together were assigned to Yazīd b. Mazyad. When he arrived, the people became reconciled with each other. He set the country right; he treated the Nizāriyya and the Yāmāniyya on equal terms and wrote to the local princes and nobles, enlarging their hopes. The province settled down.

2:519 Al-Rashīd then appointed Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī, who seized the notables and princes and beheaded them; he treated the people very badly, and so Jurjān and the Ṣanāriyya rose in rebellion. He<sup>3176</sup> dispatched an army<sup>3177</sup> against them, but they killed him.<sup>3178</sup> He then sent Saʿīd b. al-Haytham b. Shuʿba b. Ḥuhayr al-Tamīmī with a large army. He fought the people of Jurjān and the Ṣanāriyya until he had expelled them from the province. He then departed for Tiflīs. Khuzayma b. Khāzim remained for less than a year. Al-Rashīd dismissed him and appointed Sulaymān b. Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm al-ʿĀmirī, a virtuous but dimwitted old man. He became so weak that none of his orders were carried out and control over the province was nearly lost. Al-Rashīd then appointed al-ʿAbbās b. Zufar al-Hilālī, but the Ṣanāriyya rose against him. He fought them but was too weak for them, and so al-Rashīd sent Muḥammad b. Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī, who was the last of al-Rashīd's governors of Armenia.

3173 Added by the Leiden editor.

3174 Name corrupt in both MSS.

3175 That is, to buy him off.

3176 The referent of the pronoun is unclear; it could refer to Khuzayma.

3177 Sic, but it would make more sense to see the Arabic *jayshan* (an army—the first letter is undotted in M) as a copyist's mistake for the name of the person sent by Khuzayma to fight the rebels.

3178 Or: "they killed/destroyed the army." The sentence is apparently corrupt as there is no indication of who the commander of this force was.

The people of Ḥims threw off their allegiance in the year 190<sup>3179</sup> and attacked their governor. Al-Rashīd set out against them; when he reached Manbij, their delegation met him submissively, asking that he pardon them. He forgave them and then set out for Byzantine territory to lead the summer campaign. He conquered Heraclea<sup>3180</sup> and al-Maṭāmīr.<sup>3181</sup>

Umm Jaʿfar, the daughter of Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr, made the pilgrimage in this year—the year 190. The people suffered great thirst, and Zamzam became so depleted that there was barely any water in it. Zamzam was deepened by several cubits and the water level rose slightly. The length of the bucket-rope of Zamzam was eighteen cubits. A further nine cubits were dug to deepen it. This was the first time that Zamzam was deepened.

Al-Rashīd's paternal uncle, his father's paternal uncle, and his grandfather's paternal uncle came together. His uncle was Sulaymān b. | Jaʿfar, his father's uncle al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, and his grandfather's uncle ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī said: "I praise God, O Commander of the Faithful, for His favors toward you, for He has brought together for you what He never brought together for any caliph before you, and He has brought together for you your uncle, your father's uncle, and your grandfather's uncle." 2:520

The person with the greatest influence over al-Rashīd was Yaḥyā b. Khālīd b. Barmak, along with his two sons, Jaʿfar and al-Faḍl, for part of his caliphate—so much so that with them he ceased to wield the authority to command and forbid. They continued thus, controlling the affairs of the kingdom, for seventeen years. Afterward, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ had the greatest influence over him, along with Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ. Al-Qāsim b. Naṣr<sup>3182</sup> b. Mālīk headed his security forces (*shurāṭ*). Al-Rashīd then dismissed him and appointed Khu-zayma b. Khāzim. Afterward, he dismissed him and appointed al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī; then he dismissed the latter and appointed ʿAbdallāh b. Mālīk; then he dismissed the latter and appointed ʿAlī b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Khuzāʿī; then he dismissed the latter and appointed ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath headed his palace guard (*ḥaras*); then he dismissed him and

3179 190 A.H. = November 27, 805 – November 16, 806.

3180 Arabic *Hiraqla*, modern Ereğli in the vilâyet of Konya, a frontier fortification on the way from Iconium to Cilicia. See the Article in *EI*<sup>2</sup> by J. H. Mordtmann and F. Taeschner, s.v. Ereğli.

3181 Al-Maṭāmīr (the underground storage pits or dwellings, pl. of *maṭmūra*) refers to an area with dwellings of cave-dwellers. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maṭmūra.

3182 Sic M, agreeing with al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:455, where the same person is mentioned as heading the *shurṭa* of al-Mahdī; ed. Leiden prints "al-Naḍr."

appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik, followed by Harthama b. A‘yan. His chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘.

Hārūn (al-Rashīd) set out for Khurāsān in the month of Sha‘bān of the year 192.<sup>3183</sup> He stopped at Qarmāsīn, spending the month of Ramaḍān there and celebrating the Feast of Sacrifice<sup>3184</sup> in al-Rayy. When he reached Jurjān, he wrote to ‘Īsā b. Ja‘far, ordering him to join him. ‘Īsā set out, but he died along the way.

2:521 An elder of the al-Muhallab family, who was with ‘Īsā b. Ja‘far, recounted to me: “We visited him one day when he was very ill, and heard him say, ‘*Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.*’<sup>3185</sup> By God, my soul has departed.’ We said to him: ‘But today, God be praised, you are healthy.’ He replied: ‘I have tasted what is coming from my ear | and have found it to be decayed.’ Then he fainted. The women heard the weeping of the men and, overpowering the servants, they rushed out. Coming to, he lifted his head, looked at them, and said:

“They used to conceal their faces in modesty,  
but today they have come and displayed themselves to onlookers.’

He died immediately afterward.”

When al-Rashīd received word of his death, he was deeply grieved. Then he visited a slave girl, who said: “Commander of the Faithful, ‘Īsā wished for you what has overtaken him, but God caused him to be beset by it himself. Behold, Masrūr and Ḥusayn know this well.” “She has spoken the truth,” they said. Al-Rashīd was consoled and called for something to eat.

Hārūn proceeded to Ṭūs and stayed at a village known as Sanābādh;<sup>3186</sup> he was very ill. He died on the first day of Jumādā 1 in the year 193,<sup>3187</sup> at the age of 46. His son Ṣāliḥ b. Hārūn led the prayers over him. Al-Ma‘mūn had left for Marw some 23 days earlier. The announcement of his death arrived in Baghdad<sup>3188</sup> from Ṭūs on Wednesday, 12 nights remaining in Jumādā 1.

3183 Sha‘bān 192 began on May 31, 808.

3184 The ‘Īd al-Aḍḥā, celebrated on 10 Dhū l-Ḥijja (October 5, 808).

3185 Qur‘ān 2:156.

3186 About 15 miles from Ṭūs. Because the eighth Imam of the Shī‘a, ‘Alī al-Riḍā, was buried in the same village about ten years later, the village came to be called al-Mashhad (the sepulchral shrine). It is the modern city of Mashhad in Iran. See the article by M. Streck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mashhad.

3187 1 Jumādā 1 193 = February 20, 809.

3188 Here called by its more formal name, *Madīnat al-Salām* (City of Peace).



Al-Rashīd left twelve sons: ‘Abdallāh al-Ma’mūn, Muḥammad al-Amīn, al-Qāsim, Abū Ishāq al-Mu‘taṣim, Abū ‘Īsā, Abū l-‘Abbās, ‘Alī, Ṣāliḥ, Abū Ya‘qūb, Abū ‘Alī, Abū Aḥmad, and Abū Ayyūb. The name of any of the Banū Hāshim known by a *kunya* is Muḥammad.<sup>3189</sup>

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule:

- in the year 170, Hārūn al-Rashīd;
- in the year 171, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 172, [Ya‘qūb b. al-Manṣūr;
- in the year 173]<sup>3190</sup> al-Rashīd;
- [in the year 174 and]<sup>3191</sup> 175, al-Rashīd;
- in the year 176, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja‘far;
- in the year 177, al-Rashīd;
- in the year 178, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year | 179, al-Rashīd, who had performed the *‘umra*, and remained on 2:522  
the *‘umra* until he performed the pilgrimage, then departed for Basra;
- in the year 180, Mūsā b. ‘Īsā, who was sent by al-Rashīd from al-Raqqā;
- in the year 181, al-Rashīd;
- in the year 182, [Mūsā b. ‘Īsā;
- in the year 183]<sup>3192</sup> al-‘Abbās b. Mūsā;
- in the year 184, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī;
- in the year 185, Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī;
- in the year 186, al-Rashīd;
- in the year 187, ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad;
- in the year 188, al-Rashīd—this was the last pilgrimage that he led, and no caliph after him led the pilgrimage;
- in the year 189, al-‘Abbās b. Mūsā b. ‘Īsā;
- in the year 190, ‘Īsā b. Mūsā l-Hādī;
- in the year 191, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 192, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ja‘far.

3189 That is, any of them known usually by a name taking the form Abū N. (Father of N., a *kunya*) really had the given name Muḥammad and was called by his *kunya* in order to avoid ambiguity in a family with so many Muḥammads.

3190 Added by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:607, 609.

3191 Added by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:610.

3192 Added by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:647, 649.

The leaders of campaigns during his days:

- in the year 171, Yazīd b. ‘Anbasa al-Ḥarashī, who served on behalf of Ishāq b. Sulaymān;
- in the year 172, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 173, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān;
- in the year 174, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja‘far;
- in the year 175, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, but it was said that he did not enter Byzantine territory and that once he reached the pass<sup>3193</sup> he dispatched al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ;
- in the year 176, Hāshim b. al-Ṣalt;
- in the year 177, Dāwūd b. al-Nu‘mān, on behalf of ‘Abd al-Malik;
- in the year 178, Yazīd b. Ghazwān;
- in the year 179, al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad;
- in the year 180, Ismā‘īl b. al-Qāsim;
- in the year 181, Hārūn al-Rashīd, who conquered the fortress of al-Ṣafṣāf;<sup>3194</sup>
- in the year 182, Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim, on behalf of ‘Isā b. Ja‘far;
- in the year 183, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās;
- in the year 184, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 185, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān;
- in the year 186, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān again;
- in the year 187, al-Qāsim b. al-Rashīd, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, and Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān b. Nahīk—it was in this year | that al-Rashīd had Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān killed;
- in the year 189, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās;
- in the year 190, al-Rashīd, who conquered Heraclea and al-Maṭāmīr; he also dispatched Ḥumayd b. Ma‘yūf to lead a campaign by sea—the people of Cyprus had broken the terms of the settlement, and so he raided them, killing and taking prisoners;
- in the year 191, al-Rashīd, who set out intending to campaign, but on reaching al-Ḥadath sent the men to campaign with Harthama b. A‘yan; he himself remained on the frontier until Harthama returned.

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The religious scholars (*fuqahā’*) during his days:

3193 Arabic *al-darb*: one of the two major passes into Byzantine territory.

3194 A fortress beyond the northern end of the Cilician gates, on the road to Constantinople; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:647 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 165, note 601).

- Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān b. Ibrāhīm,<sup>3195</sup>
- Mālik b. Anas,<sup>3196</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Aslamī,
- Abū al-Bakhtārī b. Wahb al-Qurashī,<sup>3197</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far al-Madīnī,<sup>3198</sup>
- Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far Abū ‘Uqayl,<sup>3199</sup>
- Abū Ma‘shar al-Sindī,<sup>3200</sup>
- Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jumahī,
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Ḥāzim,
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī,<sup>3201</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Umarī,<sup>3202</sup>
- Sulaymān b. Fulayḥ,<sup>3203</sup>
- [...] <sup>3204</sup> ‘Aṭā’ b. Yazīd,

3195 Apparently not Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, a judge in Medina who died in 154/770–771; possibly Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān al-Taymī, who served as judge in Medina under al-Mahdī (cf. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 442).

3196 Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) was a jurist of Medina, the author of the oldest surviving Muslim lawbook, *Kitāb al-Muwatta’*, and the founding authority of the Mālikī *madhhab* (legal school). See the article by J. Schacht, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mālik b. Anas.

3197 Abū l-Bakhtārī Wahb b. Wahb b. Kabīr al-Qurashī (d. 200/815) served as a judge under al-Rashīd and was a traditionist, genealogist, and historian. Al-Ya‘qūbī cites him as one of the authorities for his history (ed. Leiden, 1:3). See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:267.

3198 ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far al-Madīnī (d. 178/794–795) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:174–176.

3199 Identified in the index of ed. Leiden as Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, the son of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq mentioned above, 2:460; but this is impossible, as this Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far (around whose claim to the imamate the Ismā‘īlī movement coalesced) predeceased his father, who died in 148/765. The vocalization of ‘Uqayl is uncertain; it may be ‘Aqīl.

3200 Miscopied as al-Asadī in both MSS and corrected by the Leiden editor. Al-Ya‘qūbī cites him as one of the authorities for his history (ed. Leiden, 1:4).

3201 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd al-Darāwardī (d. c. 187/803) was a Medinese traditionist of Persian origin; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:353–355.

3202 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Umarī (d. 186/802), a descendant of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was a Baghdad traditionist of poor reputation; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:213–214.

3203 Sulaymān b. Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān is reported to have taken word of a revolt in Medina to al-Manṣūr in 145/762–763; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:267.

3204 M reads *wa-Aṭā’* (and ‘Aṭā’), which the Leiden editor notes is impossible, as ‘Aṭā’ b. Yazīd died in 107/725–726. He therefore proposed emending *wa-* to *ibn* (son of) and assuming that a name has dropped out. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:217, notes that ‘Aṭā’ b.

- Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna,<sup>3205</sup>
- Sharīk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī,
- Salama al-Aḥmar,
- Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm,<sup>3206</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d al-Zuhrī,
- Sufyān b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmānī,<sup>3207</sup>
- Ja‘far b. ‘Attāb,
- Ibn Abī Zā‘ida,<sup>3208</sup>
- ‘Alī b. Mishar,
- ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs al-Awdī,<sup>3209</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Marwān al-Suddī,
- Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kūfī,<sup>3210</sup>
- Shu‘ayb b. Ṣafwān,<sup>3211</sup> the companion (*ṣāhib*) of Ibn Shubruma,<sup>3212</sup>

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Yazīd transmitted traditions to a son named Sulaymān, whose name conceivably could have occurred here, with the copyist omitting the name Sulaymān by mistake as the previous name began with Sulaymān.

- 3205 Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna b. Maymūn al-Hilālī (d. 196/81) was a well-known Meccan traditionist, also known as a Qur’ān commentator and legal scholar. See the article by Susan A. Spector in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna.
- 3206 Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm (d. 182/798) was a prominent legal scholar. After studying law in Kufa and Medina with Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik b. Anas, among others, he returned to Kufa, where he lived until he was appointed chief judge of Baghdad. He was one of the founders of the Ḥanafī school of law. See the article by Brannon M. Wheeler in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Yūsuf.
- 3207 The MSS give his *nisba* “al-Ḥimmānī” before his name; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of the previous occurrence of his name at ed. Leiden, 2:486.
- 3208 On Ibn Abī Zā‘ida, see the note to al-Barā’/Yaḥyā b. Abī Zā‘ida, above, ed. Leiden, 2:471.
- 3209 ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs b. Yazīd al-Awdī (d. late 192/808) was a Kufan judge and respected traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:144–146. Both MSS miscopy his *nisba* as “al-Azdī”; corrected by the Leiden editor.
- 3210 Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Qurṭ al-Kūfī (d. 188/804) was a respected traditionist who was born in Isfahan, educated in Kufa, and then moved to Rayy, where he became a judge (hence his *nisba* is also given as al-Rāzī); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:75–77.
- 3211 Shu‘ayb b. Ṣafwān b. al-Rabī‘ al-Thaqafī was a traditionist of Kufan origin, also identified as a “secretary” (*kātib*) active in Baghdad under al-Rashīd. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:353–354.
- 3212 ‘Abdallāh b. Shubruma (d. 144/761–762), a Kufan traditionist and poet, became a judge under al-Manṣūr. He is mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:433) as a companion of al-Saffāḥ; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:250–251. Note that as Ibn Ḥajar mentions no connection between Shu‘ayb b. Ṣafwān and Ibn Shubruma, the meaning of *ṣāhib* here is unclear.

- Ja‘far b. Sulaymān,<sup>3213</sup>
- | Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan,<sup>3214</sup>
- ‘Alī b. Hāshim,<sup>3215</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. al-Aṣḥab al-Kindī,<sup>3216</sup>
- al-Ṣalt b. al-Ḥajjāj,<sup>3217</sup>
- al-Qāsim b. Mālik al-Muzanī,<sup>3218</sup>
- ‘Alī b. Ḥabyān,<sup>3219</sup>
- Abū Shihāb al-Kūfī,<sup>3220</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Masrūq al-Qāḍī,<sup>3221</sup>
- ‘Adī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd,<sup>3222</sup>

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- 3213 Probably to be identified as the Basran traditionist of Shī‘ī leanings Ja‘far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍubā‘ī (d. 178/794); see Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7:2, 44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:95–98.
- 3214 Probably to be identified as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybanī (d. 189/804–805), a jurist and traditionist, a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa and of the latter’s disciple Abū Yūsuf. He also appears in an *isnad* of al-Ya‘qūbī (ed. Leiden, 1:284). He served for a time as chief judge of al-Raqqa, but was dismissed and returned to Baghdad. He died in Rayy, where he had gone as a member of Hārūn’s entourage. See the article by E. Chaumont in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Shaybānī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farḳad.
- 3215 Probably to be identified as ‘Alī b. Hāshim b. al-Barīd (d. 181/797), a Kufan traditionist of Shī‘ī leanings; see Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:273; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:392–393.
- 3216 Unidentified.
- 3217 The name is miswritten as al-Ṭalab in C, but the reading “al-Ṣalt,” suggested by the Leiden editor, is fairly clear in M. Al-Ṣalt b. al-Ḥajjāj was a Kufan traditionist (dates unknown); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:433–444.
- 3218 Al-Qāsim b. Mālik al-Muzanī (d. after 190/805–806) was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:332–333.
- 3219 ‘Alī b. Ḥabyān, of Kufan origin, was a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa and became chief judge of Baghdad. He died at Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ in western Iran in 192/807–808; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 3:732; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:441–443.
- 3220 Abū Shihāb al-Kūfī: of uncertain identification; probably the Kufan traditionist, Qur’ān reciter, and judge ‘Abd Rabbīhi b. Nāfi‘ al-Kinānī (d. c. 171/787–788), known as Abū Shihāb al-Aṣghar; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:128–130. The other Kufan Abū Shihāb (called Abū Shihāb al-Akbar) was Mūsā b. Nāfi‘ al-Asadī, a traditionist and Qur’ān reciter, who receives a brief notice without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:374–375.
- 3221 M, C: “Masrūr,” corrected by the Leiden editor. This judge is otherwise unknown.
- 3222 ‘Adī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd: At ed. Leiden, 2:538, he is called ‘Awn b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd, and the Leiden editor suggests reading ‘Awn here, instead of ‘Adī. The name suggests that he was the brother of ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd, one of the “Seven Jurists of Medina.” However, as the latter died in 98/716–717, the identification is not plausible, unless one assumes that a name has dropped out: i.e., ‘Adī/‘Awn [b. ...] b. ‘Abdallāh.

- Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāh,<sup>3223</sup>
- Yaḥyā b. al-Yamānī,<sup>3224</sup>
- ʿAmr b. Hishām,<sup>3225</sup>
- Ḥammād b. Zayd,
- Abū ʿAwāna,<sup>3226</sup>
- Yazīd b. Zurayʿ,<sup>3227</sup>
- ʿUbayd[allāh] b. al-Ḥasan,<sup>3228</sup>
- al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān,<sup>3229</sup>
- Dāwūd b. al-Zibriqān,<sup>3230</sup>
- ʿAbbād b. ʿAbbād al-Muhallabī,<sup>3231</sup>
- Ḥamza b. Najīḥ,<sup>3232</sup>

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- 3223 Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāh (d. 197/812) was a famous Iraqi traditionist. He is said to have been offered a judgeship by al-Rashīd, but to have refused out of piety. See the article by R. G. Khoury in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wakīʿ b. al-Djarrāh b. Malīḥ al-Ruʿāsī, Abū Sufyān.
- 3224 Following M, where the reading “al-Yamānī” is clear. Ed. Leiden prints an undotted ductus. He is probably to be identified as Yaḥyā b. al-Yamān al-ʿIjlī (d. 188/803–804 or 189/804–805) a Kufan traditionist who transmitted from Hishām b. ʿUrwa and Sufyān al-Thawrī, among others. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:306–307; and F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:39.
- 3225 ʿAmr b. Hishām: of uncertain identify. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:113, lists a certain ʿAmr b. Hishām b. Yazīn al-Jazarī Abū Umayya al-Ḥarrānī, but the date of his death (245/859–860) makes him unlikely.
- 3226 Abū ʿAwāna al-Waḍḍāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Yashkurī (died c. 176/792–793) a *mawlā*, was a prolific traditionist with an interest in historical traditions; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:116–120.
- 3227 Yazīd b. Zurayʿ (d. 182/798) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:325–328.
- 3228 M: ʿUbayd b. al-Ḥasan; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*. He may be ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan (mss al-Ḥusayn) al-ʿAnbarī, mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:484), who served as judge in Basra under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī; however, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:2517, he died in Dhū l-Qaʿda 168/May–June 784, more than a year before the accession of al-Rashīd. His presence here may have to do with the fact that al-Yaʿqūbī gives no list of religious scholars at the end of his section on al-Hādī. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:7–8.
- 3229 Al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī (d. 187/802–803) transmitted traditions of a historical character from his father Abū l-Muʿtamir; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:227–228.
- 3230 Dāwūd b. al-Zibriqān al-Raqāshī (d. c. 180/796–797) was a traditionist (deemed unreliable) of Basran origin who moved to Baghdad; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:185–186.
- 3231 Abū Muʿāwiya ʿAbbād b. ʿAbbād al-Muhallabī (d. c. 177/793–794) was a descendant of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra. Originally from Basra, he settled in Baghdad. Brief notice in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:2558 (trans. E. Landau-Tasseron, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxix, 330 and note); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:95–96.
- 3232 Possibly “Nujayḥ”: Ibn Ḥajar identifies Ḥamza b. Najīḥ as a traditionist of Muʿtazilī

- Khālīd b. Yazīd,<sup>3233</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Rāshid,<sup>3234</sup>
- ‘Imrān b. Khālīd, the companion (*ṣāḥib*) of ‘Aṭā’,<sup>3235</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Wāsiṭī,<sup>3236</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Nu‘aym,<sup>3237</sup>
- ‘Umar b. Jamī‘,<sup>3238</sup>
- Yūsuf b. ‘Aṭīya,<sup>3239</sup>
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad.<sup>3240</sup>

### The Days of al-Amīn

The oath of allegiance was sworn to Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Hārūn al-Rashīd. His mother was Umm Ja‘far bt. Ja‘far b. al-Manṣūr. Of the caliphs, only ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muḥammad (al-Amīn) were of two Hāshimite parents.<sup>3241</sup> The oath of allegiance to him was sworn in Ṭūs on the day that al-Rashīd died. It was a Sunday, the first day of Jumādā 1, 193.<sup>3242</sup> | Al-Faḍl b. Rabī‘ received the oath of allegiance on his behalf from the Hāshimites and commanders who

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- leanings who transmitted traditions from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but gives no dates; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:34.
- 3233 Khālīd b. Yazīd: of uncertain identity; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:125 ff. gives at least four possibilities.
- 3234 Muḥammad b. Rāshid: of uncertain identity; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:158 ff. gives three possibilities.
- 3235 Leiden, 524, identifies him as *ṣāḥib ‘aṭā’* but M breaks after “Khālīd.” Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:129–130, lists two traditionists named ‘Imrān b. Khālīd, one too early, one too late, and neither connected with ‘Aṭā’.
- 3236 Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Kulā‘ī al-Wāsiṭī (d. c. 188/803–804) was a *mawlā* of Syrian origin. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:527–528.
- 3237 ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Nu‘aym al-Aswārī (no date) was a Basran traditionist deemed unreliable; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:431–432.
- 3238 Unidentified.
- 3239 Ibn Ḥajar lists two possible traditionists of this name: Yūsuf b. ‘Aṭīya b. Thābit al-Ṣaffār (d. 187/802–803) was a Basran *mawlā* traditionist generally deemed unreliable; Yūsuf b. ‘Aṭīya al-Bāhili (no dates) was another Basran traditionist generally deemed unreliable. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:418 ff.
- 3240 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad (d. after 187/802–803) was a blind Basran Qur’ān reader and traditionist generally deemed reliable; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:346–347.
- 3241 Virtually all of the Umayyad mothers were free, non-Hāshimite women. Most, though not all, of the ‘Abbāsīd mothers were slave concubines.
- 3242 February 20, 809; as usual, the date and the day of the week do not coincide.

were present. Rajā' al-Khādim<sup>3243</sup> came to Muḥammad (al-Amīn) in Baghdad on Wednesday, 12 nights remaining in Jumādā I, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ādhār (March).<sup>3244</sup>

On that day the Sun was in Aries, 3° 53'; Saturn in Sagittarius, 6° 20', retrograde; Jupiter in Sagittarius, 6° 20', retrograde; Mars in Aquarius, 26° 30'; Venus in Pisces, 7° 30'; and the Ascending Node in Cancer, 22°.

The notables<sup>3245</sup> gave their oath of allegiance on this day in Baghdad. Ishāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās came out and ascended the pulpit. Having praised God and invoked blessings upon (the Prophet) Muḥammad, he said:<sup>3246</sup>

We are people who have suffered the greatest loss, but we are people who have been blessed with the finest successors.<sup>3247</sup> We have lost the Messenger of God, and no one has ever suffered greater loss than we; but we have been compensated with God's caliphs,<sup>3248</sup> and who has compensation equal to ours?

He announced the death to the people, reminded them of the succession agreement, and then descended. The next Friday, Muḥammad (al-Amīn) ascended the pulpit. Having praised and extolled God, having invoked blessings upon the Prophet Muḥammad, and having mentioned all that God had bestowed upon him, he said:

God's caliphate and His Prophet's legacy devolved upon the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd. He acted righteously and ruled justly; he performed the pilgrimage to the House of God,<sup>3249</sup> strove mightily in the path

3243 *Khādim* literally means "servant." Although Arabic has an explicit term (*khaṣī*) for "eunuch," *khādim* was used as a euphemism. After a proper name as part of the person's title, it is generally not ambiguous. See the articles by A. J. Wensinck in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khādim*, and by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khaṣī*.

3244 That is, 18 Jumādā I, 193 (March 9, 809).

3245 Arabic *al-nās*.

3246 Cf. the parallel version of the speech in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:771.

3247 Arabic *baqīyya*, literally, a remnant, in the sense of survivor or survivors (collective); the context points to the latter sense.

3248 Reading with M: *khulafā'* ['] *Allāh*; ed. Leiden, *khalafan ibnahu* (with, as successor, his son).

3249 In M the word *bi-l-nās* has been deleted; if it is kept, the translation would be, "he led the people in pilgrimage to the House of God."



of God, and gave his utmost in obedience to God. Seeking to please God—may He be exalted and glorified—he waged jihād personally, so that God strengthened his religion, confirmed him as ruler, and upheld his right. He repelled the enemy, made the roads safe, counseled the faithful, and brought prosperity to the land. God has chosen for him what lies with Him, and has honored him by having him meet Him. | To God we now entrust him, asking God for a good caliphate after him and for assistance with all your affairs with which God has charged me. I entreat God for guidance and for success in achieving for you that which pleases Him.

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Having exhorted to obedience and the giving of good counsel, he descended.

On the first day of Jumādā 11,<sup>3250</sup> al-Faḍl b. Rabīʿ presented (al-Amīn) with the imperial depots, treasures, and al-Rashīd's will. Muḥammad b. [Hārūn] had announced his intention to lead the pilgrimage, but al-Faḍl b. Rabīʿ said to him: "Your father commanded me to say to you, 'No caliph of the 'Abbāsids shall (lead) the pilgrimage after me.'" Al-Amīn therefore stayed behind. His mother, Umm Ja'far, performed the minor pilgrimage (*'umra*) in the month of Ramaḍān. Earlier, in the days of al-Rashīd, she had ordered the digging of the well of al-Mushāsh, and by the time she reached Mecca the project was complete. There she had cisterns constructed, as well as watering troughs and water-wheels.<sup>3251</sup> Muḥammad (al-Amīn) sent twenty thousand *mithqāls*<sup>3252</sup> of gold which were made into plates for the door of the Ka'b and nails for the door and lintel.

Al-Amīn had 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ released from prison. He appointed him over the regions he had previously governed: the Jazīra, the district of Qinnasrīn, al-'Awāṣim, and al-Thughūr.<sup>3253</sup> He returned to him his money and estates, and ordered that his son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and his secretary, Qumāma, be delivered to him. Qumāma had been imprisoned in a bathhouse that was shut tight and heated as hot as possible, and cats had been sealed in with him; there he remained until he expired. His son had also been imprisoned, and

3250 March 22, 809.

3251 Umm Ja'far's name was Zubayda (literal meaning, "Little Butterball"). She died in 210/831. The system of wells and other water works built along the pilgrimage route and around Mecca on her instructions came to be known as the Darb Zubayda (Zubayda's Way). See the article by Renate Jacobi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zubayda bt. Dja'far.

3252 The *mithqāl* was the weight of the dinar (20 *qirāṭs* of 0.2125 grams). Thus, 850 kg of gold were sent.

3253 The fortresses along the Byzantine frontier.

he remained so.<sup>3254</sup> Upon his release from prison, recalling al-Rashīd's unjust treatment of him, 'Abd al-Malik said:<sup>3255</sup>

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By God, kingship is something I never aimed for, desired, pursued, or requested. But had I sought it, it would have come to me faster than water rushing downstream or flames consuming the driest | brush. Instead, I was accused of a transgression I did not commit, and charged with a misdeed about which I had no knowledge. By God, al-Rashīd perceived me to be worthy of rule and a rival to the caliphate; he saw that my hand could snatch it had I exerted myself, and gain mastery over it had I proffered it; he saw in my soul the perfect qualities and the best disposition for rule, though I had never cultivated those qualities nor sought to improve those traits, neither had I ever secretly plotted to seize the caliphate or announced such intentions publicly; and he recognized that the caliphate yearned for me as would a mother and inclined to me as would a dutiful wife. So, fearing that it longed for me dearly and yearned for me deeply, he meted out to me punishment fit for one who sought the caliphate without rest, made every sacrifice to attain it, struggled single-mindedly to achieve it, and prepared for it with all that he possessed. Now if he imprisoned me only because I was best suited for it and it best suited for me, and because I was best qualified to fill it and it most worthy to be filled by me, then this is not a crime for which I should repent, or something to which I had the temerity to aspire, or a matter about which I should be ashamed. If, however, he claims that his punishment of me was unavoidable and his retribution inescapable unless I renounced to him my authority, wisdom, prudence, and determination, (I would reply that) as a profligate cannot be frugal, so a man of intellect cannot become a fool. It makes no difference whether he punished me because of my wisdom or because of the people's devotion to me. Had I desired the caliphate, I would have acted swiftly enough to deny him the opportunity to deliberate or take stock of the matter. It would have required but a brief announcement and a moment of effort.<sup>3256</sup>

Al-Amīn had 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān released from prison and had his property returned to him. He appointed him to head his security force, promoted him, and showed him preference.

3254 Ed. Leiden suggests supplying "until he died" or a similar phrase.

3255 The translator wishes to thank Tayeb El-Hibri for his help with this passage.

3256 Parallel with variants in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, 2:125.

Al-Amīn appointed Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad over Armenia; the latter proceeded there. An area of the province had fallen to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, who was known as the Morning Star,<sup>3257</sup> and Ismāʿīl b. Shuʿayb, a client (*mawlā*) of Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān. The two men were in the area of Jurzān.<sup>3258</sup> Ibn Mazyad, through a clever stratagem, finally captured them. He then forgave them and granted their release as he was by nature a generous man. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) then dismissed him and appointed over Armenia in his stead Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī. The latter dispatched his son, al-Faḍl, to the province as his deputy. Al-Faḍl retained the post throughout the days of the Deposed One.<sup>3259</sup>

Muḥammad (al-Amīn) appointed Saʿīd b. al-Sarḥ al-Kinānī over Yemen.<sup>3260</sup> A man from Palestine, he remained in Yemen for three years. Then, dismissing him, al-Amīn appointed Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Bajalī. Saʿīd b. al-Sarḥ departed Yemen with a large quantity of money and made his way to Palestine, where he acquired houses and estates. Jarīr b. Yazīd remained in charge of Yemen until allegiance was sworn to al-Maʾmūn.

[Al-Rashīd]<sup>3261</sup> had sent Harthama b. Aʿyan with an army to Samarqand to fight Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth. He found that Rāfiʿ's following had grown enormous: he had won over the people of al-Shāsh and Farghāna, the people of Khujanda, Ushrūsana, al-Ṣaghāniyān,<sup>3262</sup> Bukhārā, Khwārazm, Khuttal, and other districts of Balkh, Tukhāristān, Soghdia, and Transoxania, as well as the Turks, the Kharlukhs,<sup>3263</sup> the Toghuz-ghuz, the forces of Tibet, and others. He relied on their backing to fight against the governing authority (*sulṭān*) and to kill Muslims. He made his way to the city of Samarqand and fortified himself there. Harthama pressed the war against him, killing a number of Rāfiʿ's followers. Rāfiʿ then sought help from Jabbūya<sup>3264</sup> of the Kharlukhs. This Jabbūya, who had converted to Islam | under al-Mahdī, sought to deceive Harthama by leading him

3257 Arabic *Kawkab al-Ṣubḥ*.

3258 Jurzān is roughly the area of modern Georgia in the Caucasus.

3259 Arabic *al-Makhlūʿ*, meaning both "the Deposed One" and "the Wanton One," was a nickname given to al-Amīn by his detractors.

3260 Ed. Leiden has "Muḥammad [b.] Saʿīd" (though no reference to such a person is in the index). M (167r) seems to indicate the correct reading: Saʿīd b. al-Sarḥ.

3261 Houtsma is probably correct in this addition, since all other sources indicate that Ibn al-Layth rose up late in al-Rashīd's reign.

3262 The reading is uncertain.

3263 Arabic, Kharlukh, later Qarluq; a Turkish tribal group in central Asia. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qarluq*.

3264 An Arabic version of the title of the ruler of the Kharlukhs, more often given as Yabghu.

to believe that he was his ally, when in truth his support and leaning were for Rāfi'. Now he openly declared his determination to revolt and depose the caliph, and Rāfi's position was greatly strengthened. Rāfi' set fire to the black banner,<sup>3265</sup> declared himself free of all ties to its supporters, and called for a non-Hāshimite leader. Harthama moved to suppress the movement, until Rāfi' requested a settlement, which Harthama granted to him. Rāfi' presented himself to him, along with his sons, his household, and his property in Muḥarram 194.<sup>3266</sup> Al-Ma'mūn<sup>3267</sup> wrote to Muḥammad (al-Amīn) with news of the victory. He informed them of his careful planning and determined effort that had led to his God-given victory.

Certain men poisoned Muḥammad al-Amīn's heart against al-Ma'mūn and sowed malice between the two brothers. Those who incited him were 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān and al-Faḍl b. Rabī'. They caused him to decide<sup>3268</sup> to have the oath of allegiance sworn to his son as his heir apparent and to remove al-Ma'mūn (from the succession). He did so and had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son Mūsā—this took place on 3 Rabī' II 194.<sup>3269</sup> He gathered together the documents of agreement between himself and al-Ma'mūn that al-Rashīd had drafted and had them burned, and the estrangement between the two brothers took its course. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) wrote to al-Ma'mūn, ordering him to come to him with all of his commanders. Al-Ma'mūn wrote back informing him that he would neither harken nor obey him in the matter. Al-Amīn then wrote to the commanders in Khurāsān, but they replied in the same manner, saying, "We are obliged to be loyal to you only if you fulfill your agreement with your brother; you, however, have broken the agreements, introduced innovations, and made light of the oaths and covenants." Muḥammad (al-Amīn) sent a message to al-Ma'mūn's wife Umm 'Īsā bt. Mūsā l-Hādī, demanding from her a jewel belonging to al-Ma'mūn that was in her possession. She refused, saying, "There is nothing in my possession that I own." Al-Amīn sent someone who raided her residence, plundered the entire house, and seized the jewel. When word of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he assembled the commanders who were with him and said to them: "You know the terms that my father imposed on me | and on Muḥammad. Now he has violated and broken the agreements. He

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3265 Or "raiment," black being the symbol of the 'Abbāsīd house.

3266 Muḥarram 194 began on October 15, 809.

3267 Al-Ma'mūn, as governor of Khurāsān, had assumed responsibility for the campaign following the death of al-Rashīd in 193/809.

3268 Reading with M, *wa-arayā lahu*; ed. Leiden emends to *wa-zayyanā lahu* (they suggested to him).

3269 January 14, 810.

has provided ground for removing him because of his violation and breach, his interference with my property, family ties and duties, his burning of the documents and covenants that bound him, his disdain for God's right by his violation, and his preoccupation with eunuchs." They decided to write to al-Amīn; if he did not back down, they would depose him.

When Muḥammad (al-Amīn) received word of this, he assembled his commanders. He told them about al-Ma'mūn's deposing of him, and he called on them to set out against him. They chose 'Iṣma b. Abī 'Iṣma al-Sabīṭ<sup>3270</sup> and dispatched a large force under his command. He set out and reached the border of Khurāsān, at which point he stopped. Al-Amīn wrote urging him to continue, but he refused, saying: "The terms of the oath of allegiance administered to us do not permit us to enter Khurāsān, and on the same grounds you yourself are not to enter or send anyone into the province. If anyone comes to me at this very place from al-Ma'mūn, I will fight him; otherwise I will not cross the border." Muḥammad (al-Amīn) then dispatched 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān as governor of Khurāsān, ordering him to bring back al-Ma'mūn and those in his company. He assigned him forty thousand stipendiary<sup>3271</sup> commanders and troops and saw that the necessary funds were provided to him. Al-Amīn handed him a silver shackle, saying, "When you reach Khurāsān, bind al-Ma'mūn with this shackle and bring him before me."

When news of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he placed Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣ'ab al-Būshanjī in the charge of the campaign, having previously appointed him over the district of Būshanj and met his needs for livestock and funds. Ṭāhir set out and encountered 'Alī b. 'Īsā at Rayy in 195.<sup>3272</sup> 'Alī b. 'Īsā was at the head of a large force, while Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn had but five thousand under his command. 'Alī b. 'Īsā set out with a small band of men to circle round the army. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, spotting him, galloped toward him with a group of | his men. He engaged 'Alī, who was seated on a pale destrier,<sup>3273</sup> wearing a black hooded cloak and a tall hat. Those who had accompanied 'Alī defended him, and a number of them were killed. 'Alī galloped away, but Ṭāhir on his own chased him down and struck him with his sword. Badly weakened, 'Alī fell to the

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3270 Probably to be identified with the 'Iṣma b. Ḥammād b. Sālim cited by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:794. The MSS read *al-Shī'ī* (the Shī'ite); *al-Sabīṭ* is the Leiden editor's correction.

3271 Arabic *murtaziq*. Apparently referring to soldiers issued military stipends although not registered in the diwān; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, *Glossary*, 45.

3272 The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:801, places the fighting in Sha'bān of 195, between April 29 and May 27, 811.

3273 Arabic *birdhawn*, a war horse capable of carrying a man in full armor, as opposed to the lighter-limbed and fleeter Arabian horse. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:86.

ground, whereupon Ṭāhir dismounted and cut off his head.<sup>3274</sup> Returning to his camp, he mounted the head upon a lance and proclaimed to ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā’s army, “The commander has been killed!” When ‘Alī’s companions found out what had happened to him, they fled, abandoning the stores of cash and livestock, so that by day’s end Ṭāhir was able to take possession of everything in ‘Alī’s camp. Many of ‘Alī’s men sought promises of safe-conduct from Ṭāhir.

Ṭāhir wrote of the victory to al-Ma’mūn, who was in Marw, and sent the head to him with one of his men. When the man came before Dhū l-Ri’āsātayn<sup>3275</sup> and the latter asked after his news, the man became so confused and tongue-tied that he could not answer him. This unsettled al-Faḍl; so, opening the satchel, he read the letters and asked, “Where is the head?” The man’s belongings were searched, but it was not there, and, when he was queried about it, he did not respond. Sent to find it, he discovered that it had fallen some two miles back. It was retrieved and brought into Marw. The announcement of the victory was read in public, following which the oath of allegiance was sworn to al-Ma’mūn as caliph, and he announced the deposition of Muḥammad (al-Amīn). All the people of Khurāsān gave their obedience to al-Ma’mūn.

Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kalbī related to me: “After al-Ma’mūn was greeted as caliph, he ascended the pulpit. He praised and extolled God and invoked blessings on Muḥammad. Then he said:

People, I have pledged myself before God that if He entrusts me with your affairs, I will obey Him with regard to you. I will not intentionally shed blood not permitted by His stipulations (*ḥudūd*) or mandated by His precepts; I will not seize anyone’s wealth, properties, or valuables forbidden to me; I will not pass judgment rashly, whether out of anger or pleasure, but only as devotion to God requires.<sup>3276</sup> | I have pledged all this as an indissoluble pact and inalterable trust that I will fulfill out of desire that He increase my well-being and out of fear that He will call me to account regarding His law and creation. If I change or alter, I will

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3274 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:801, identifies ‘Alī’s slayer as Ṭāhir b. al-Tājī, an otherwise obscure member of Ṭāhir’s army. Al-Ya’qūbī (or his source) apparently conflated the two Ṭāhirs.

3275 That is, al-Faḍl b. Sahl, al-Ma’mūn’s chief advisor. The significance of the title (Possessor of Two Primacies) and its formal bestowal on al-Faḍl b. Sahl by al-Ma’mūn are explained in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:841. The two primacies refer to al-Faḍl’s primacy in war and primacy in civil administration. According to al-Ṭabarī, the title was not bestowed until 196, which makes its use here a possible anachronism.

3276 Arabic *illā mā kāna fī-llāhi lahu*. The meaning of the phrase is unclear. Possibly a word is missing.

deserve admonition and be liable to censure.<sup>3277</sup> I take refuge with God from His wrath; I seek His help in obeying Him and ask that He prevent me from disobeying Him.”

Muḥammad (al-Amīn) received word that ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Māhān had been slain, that his troops had been defeated and had retreated to Ḥulwān, and that the people of Khurāsān had repudiated his caliphate and were united in supporting al-Ma’mūn. He also received word that Ṭāhir had been strengthened by the funds, weapons, and livestock that had fallen into his hands and that al-Ma’mūn had written to Ṭāhir urging him to not tarry, but to march directly on Baghdad. In response, al-Amīn [dispatched ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabala against him],<sup>3278</sup> ordering him to join to his forces the commanders and troops in Ḥulwān who had been with ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā. Ibn Jabala encountered Ṭāhir at Hamadhān in Dhū l-Qa‘da in the year 195.<sup>3279</sup> Ṭāhir killed him and plundered everything in his camp. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) then sent out ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā‘ī, but he retreated from Ḥulwān.

A man named ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya rose up in Syria claiming the caliphate for himself.<sup>3280</sup> Muḥammad (al-Amīn) sent al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Māhān against him; however, when al-Ḥusayn reached al-Raqqā, he stopped there and did not set out to fight him.

Dāwūd b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī, governor of al-Sind, died. (Al-Amīn) appointed his son to succeed him.

Mālīk b. Labīd al-Yashkurī rebelled in the Sawād and announced his support for al-Ma’mūn.

Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd—he was the senior commander of al-Ḥarbiyya<sup>3281</sup> | and a person with a strong local following—received word that Muḥammad (al-Amīn) was set on his death and ruin. He gathered to himself the people of al-Ḥarbiyya and the Abnā’,<sup>3282</sup> and they rose up against Muḥam- 2:533

3277 The text is uncertain.

3278 The words in brackets, absent from the MSS, were added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:826.

3279 The month began on July 26, 811.

3280 For what can be gleaned from the sources about the revolt of this descendant of Mu‘āwiya (and, through his mother, of ‘Alī), usually called Abū l-‘Umayyir al-Sufyānī, see Cobb, *White Banners*, 55–62.

3281 Al-Ḥarbiyya quarter of Baghdad was located to the northwest of the Round City, beyond the Syrian Gate (Bāb al-Shām). It was occupied mainly by participants in the original ‘Abbāsīd revolution from Khurāsān. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 107 ff.

3282 Short for *Abnā’ al-Dawla* (Sons of the Dynasty): Arabs and Iranians of Khurāsānian

mad (al-Amīn). Muḥammad (al-Amīn) sent [...] <sup>3283</sup> against them, and they clashed at a place in Baghdad known as Bāb al-Shām. This was the first fighting to take place in Baghdad in that year. <sup>3284</sup>

Muḥammad (al-Amīn's) governor in Egypt was Ḥātim b. Harthama b. A'yan. Al-Amīn dismissed him and appointed Jābir b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'i in 195. <sup>3285</sup> When Jābir b. al-Ash'ath arrived in Egypt, he did not have al-Ma'mūn's name proclaimed from the pulpits after that of Muḥammad (al-Amīn) as had been customary. When the soldiers rioted and said they would not obey, Ibn al-Ash'ath had them paid a double stipend. Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Madīnī arrived with a letter from al-Ma'mūn. Jābir b. al-Ash'ath refused to swear allegiance to al-Ma'mūn and remained loyal to Muḥammad (al-Amīn). Al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam al-Balkhī, one of the commanders of Egypt, and a group of supporters rebelled. They called on the soldiers to swear allegiance to al-Ma'mūn, promising them two years' pay; they responded favorably by ousting Jābir b. al-Ash'ath from the governor's residence and replacing him with 'Abbād b. Muḥammad. 'Abbād had been Harthama b. A'yan's deputy (*khalīfa*) in the province. <sup>3286</sup> He proclaimed al-Ma'mūn as caliph in Rajab 196. <sup>3287</sup>

[...] a group. <sup>3288</sup> 'Abbād sent [...] <sup>3289</sup> b. Ḥakīm b. Kūr <sup>3290</sup> and Muḥammad b. Ṣu'ayr <sup>3291</sup> against them. They clashed but were subsequently reconciled, and

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origin who had come to Iraq with the 'Abbāsīd revolution, settled in Baghdad, and formed the dominant force in the army of al-Amīn. See the article by John P. Turner in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abnā'. To the bibliography listed there, one may add Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 104; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 66; Lassner, *The Shaping of 'Abbāsīd Rule*, 133–136; and Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, xvii and 4.

3283 The wording implies that the commander's name originally occurred here and has dropped out of the text.

3284 The Arabic might also mean: "And that fighting, the first fighting to occur in Baghdad, took place in that year."

3285 According to al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 147–148, this took place in Jumādā 11 of 195 (began March 1, 811).

3286 Cf. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 148–149, where he is called the agent (*wakīl*) for Harthama's estates (*diyā'*) in Egypt.

3287 Rajab 196 began on March 18, 812.

3288 There apparently is a lacuna in the MSS. The sense is that a group loyal to al-Amīn refused to obey 'Abbād.

3289 A name has fallen out of the MSS.

3290 Sic M; ed. Leiden, *Kūn*.

3291 Or *Ṣa'īr* (the vocalization is uncertain); he appears in al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 148, as one of the first in Egypt to shift his allegiance to al-Ma'mūn.



they swore the oath of allegiance.<sup>3292</sup> Muḥammad (al-Amīn) then wrote to a man named Rabī'a b. Qays al-Ḥarashī, appointing him governor of Egypt, and he gathered the people of al-Ḥawf and others to his side. Rabī'a fought against 'Abbād b. Muḥammad, marching against him until he came near al-Fuṣṭāṭ, where clashes occurred between them. Rabī'a seized control over the province from 'Abbād, until al-Ma'mūn dispatched al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī as governor of Egypt.

'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ died in al-Raqqā in this year, that is, the year 196. 2:534 He had been Muḥammad b. [Hārūn's] governor over the Jazīra, the district of Qinnasrīn, al-'Awāṣim, and al-Thughūr. After his death, the region became unsettled, with each tribal chief asserting control over his people. The people divided into two parties: one supporting Muḥammad (al-Amīn), the other supporting al-Ma'mūn. There remained not a single area where people were not fighting each other, with no authority (*sultān*) to prevent them or disperse them. Ṭāhir (b. al-Ḥusayn) seized control of the area from al-Jabal to al-Ahwāz, killing Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim, Muḥammad (al-Amīn's) governor,<sup>3293</sup> and Jaylawayh<sup>3294</sup> al-Kurdī. Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī set out for Fārs, seized the area, and exacted the oath of allegiance (to al-Ma'mūn) there. Ṭāhir proceeded to Wāsiṭ, on the third of Rajab,<sup>3295</sup> after he had the oath of allegiance to al-Ma'mūn administered to the people of Basra by Maṣṣūr b. al-Mahdī; in Kufa by al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā; in Mosul by al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh; and in Egypt by 'Abbād b. Muḥammad.

Meanwhile, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. ['Īsā b.] Māhān was in al-Raqqā,<sup>3296</sup> but he was expelled by the Zawāqil<sup>3297</sup> and others there, and so he arrived in Baghdad on 8 Rajab 196.<sup>3298</sup> He denounced Muḥammad (al-Amīn's) conduct after learning about it something hateful to him. He called on the army in

3292 Presumably to al-Ma'mūn, though the episode is somewhat obscure. See al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 148–151.

3293 That is, al-Amīn's governor of al-Ahwāz; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:851–855.

3294 The reading of the name, undotted in the MSS, is conjectural.

3295 3 Rajab 196 = March 20, 812.

3296 The translation follows M. The Leiden editor mistakenly inserted the phrase *'alā yad* (by) after the words *wa-bi-l-Raqqā* (and in al-Raqqā), yielding, "and in al-Raqqā by al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. ['Īsā b.] Māhān." Al-Ḥusayn was the son of 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, whose death fighting on behalf of al-Amīn has been reported above, ed. Leiden, 2:531.

3297 The term *Zawāqil* refers to certain Arab tribal elements in Syria and the Jazīra, identifiable from other sources as belonging to the northern or Qaysī tribes and having a reputation for lawlessness and brigandage. See the article by P. M. Cobb in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zawāqil*.

3298 March 25, 812.

Baghdad to swear allegiance to al-Ma'mūn; the troops responded favorably, and he rose up against Muḥammad (al-Amīn), imprisoning him, his mother, and his sons. Following his imprisonment of them, the soldiers demanded that he pay their salaries. When he offered only excuses, they seized him, freed Muḥammad (al-Amīn), [his mother,] and his sons from prison, swore allegiance to him, and beheaded al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. They asked Muḥammad (al-Amīn) for their salaries, and he paid them each five hundred (dirhams) and a flask of perfume. He assembled four hundred contingents of troops under various commanders  
 2:535 and put them all under the command of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. [ʿĪsā b.]<sup>3299</sup> | Nahīk, ordering them to march against Harthama, who was then encamped at al-Nahrawān. The two armies clashed in the month of Ramaḍān.<sup>3300</sup> Harthama defeated them, capturing 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Nahīk, whom he sent on to al-Ma'mūn. Harthama proceeded with his army until he reached a place called the Bīn Canal,<sup>3301</sup> one or two farsakhs from Baghdad. Ṭāhir, for his part, made his way to the Ṣarṣar Canal about four farsakhs from Baghdad; Ṭāhir was on the west bank (of the Tigris), Harthama on the east bank. Fighting in Baghdad took place on both banks, although the marketplaces remained open and the merchants went about their business undisturbed. A group of al-Ma'mūn's men and a group of Muḥammad (al-Amīn's) men would gather around the same merchant with no strife between them.

The Abnā' and (the people of) al-Ḥarbiyya rose up against Muḥammad (al-Amīn); they proclaimed their allegiance to al-Ma'mūn and wrote to Ṭāhir with their pledges of support.<sup>3302</sup> Ṭāhir entered Baghdad and took the west bank up to al-Anbār Gate. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) had imprisoned Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far and Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī on a matter about which he had been informed. When Harthama reached the gate of Baghdad, al-Amīn released the two men from prison and sent them with a group of Hāshimites to Harthama to summon him to obedience to al-Amīn and that the latter would provide him with whatever

3299 Added by the Leiden editor.

3300 Between May 16 and June 14, 812.

3301 The Bīn Canal (Nahr Bīn) branched from the main Nahrawān Canal that flowed east of the Tigris and roughly parallel to the river. The Bīn Canal left the Nahrawān Canal at Jisr Nahrawān, where the main Khurāsān road crossed the canal, and flowed into the Tigris at Kalwādhā. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 59.

3302 Arabic *rahā'in* (pledges) could also refer to persons to be kept as hostages. Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:866–867, where the mutiny is portrayed as a revolt of senior officers against the new officers appointed by al-Amīn, the so-called “perfume commanders,” with reference to the flask of perfume that al-Amīn bestowed on each of them.

goods and estates he desired. Harthama replied to them, "Were it not that messengers are not to be slain, I would have your heads." The two men returned to Muḥammad (al-Amīn), who let them go free.

The people of the eastern part of Baghdad rose up against Muḥammad (al-Amīn) and declared their support for al-Ma'mūn. They [...] <sup>3303</sup> Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī, who made his way to the bridge and cut it loose. Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab approached from the direction of Kalwādhā <sup>3304</sup> with boats bearing *manjāniqs* and *'arrādas*. <sup>3305</sup> Muḥammad (al-Amīn) withdrew to his palace known as al-Khuld in the western part of Baghdad and fortified himself there. Zuhayr bombarded it | with the *manjāniqs*. Harthama, for his part, entered by the Khurāsān Gate from 'Askar al-Mahdī, <sup>3306</sup> located on the east bank of Baghdad, and Ṭāhir from his camp entered Madinat Abī Ja'far. <sup>3307</sup> They surrounded al-Khuld. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) left through the Khurāsān Gate and made his way to the Tigris, intending to go to Harthama. <sup>3308</sup> When Ṭāhir's men got word of this, they attacked Harthama, who was aboard a bark (*ḥarrāqa*) of his, <sup>3309</sup> causing him to fall into the water, but they fished

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3303 The text is corrupt. The MSS read *wa-awḥalū* (and they mired), which makes no sense. A plausible emendation is *wa-awjalū* (and they frightened), which fits with the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:904, where Khuzayma's friends and family say to him, "By God; it seems to us that this man (viz., Ṭāhir) has our master (viz., al-Amīn) by the nape of the neck; so make an arrangement for yourself and for us." (Trans. M. Fishbein, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxi, 173.) The Leiden editor emended to *wa-ajallū* (and they magnified), possibly to be read *wa-ajlaw* (and they drove out). In any case, Khuzayma, who had been a trusted member of al-Amīn's court, went over to al-Ma'mūn's side and cut loose the pontoon bridge over the Tigris connecting east and west Baghdad.

3304 Town and district on the east bank of the Tigris River.

3305 The *manjāniq* and the *'arrāda* were stone-hurling machines of the traction trebuchet type. An asymmetrically positioned beam was rotated swiftly around a fulcrum by several men pulling ropes attached to the beam's shorter end. The projectile was attached to a sling on the beam's longer end. The *manjāniq* was larger, with two trestles supporting a horizontal beam that served as fulcrum for the arm. In the *'arrāda*, a single upright beam with a U-shaped socket at its upper end supported the arm. See P. Chevedden et al., "The Traction Trebuchet: A Triumph of Four Civilizations."

3306 Later known as al-Ruṣāfa.

3307 That is, the City of Abū Ja'far (al-Manṣūr), the Round City, site of al-Manṣūr's original settlement.

3308 For detailed accounts of al-Amīn's last days, his desperate decision to entrust himself to Harthama's mercy, rather than to Ṭāhir, and Ṭāhir's thwarting of this plan, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:911 ff.

3309 The referent of "his" is ambiguous; it could be either al-Amīn or Harthama, but the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:917, makes it clear that the bark belonged to Harthama,

him out after a short while. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) emerged wearing only an undergarment and drawers and sat on the bank. The troops passed by without recognizing him. Finally a client (*mawlā*) of Shakla<sup>3310</sup> passed by, recognized him, and took him to his home. Then word of what had happened to al-Amīn was brought to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn. A quarrel ensued between Ṭāhir on the one side and Harthama and Zuhayr on the other. Ṭāhir finally ordered his client (*mawlā*) Quraysh al-Dandānī<sup>3311</sup> to behead al-Amīn. Ṭāhir mounted the head on a spear which he took with him to his encampment in the gardens. Then he sent it to al-Ma'mūn. The killing of al-Amīn took place on a Sunday in Muḥarram 198. I have heard some say that it took place on the 5th of Ṣafar.<sup>3312</sup>

Ṭāhir wrote the following letter to al-Ma'mūn in his own hand:

Although the Deposed One was the partner of the Commander of the Faithful<sup>3313</sup> in lineage and kinship, the judgment of the Book<sup>3314</sup> has distinguished between them as regards the duty of friendship<sup>3315</sup> and sanctity, because he<sup>3316</sup> has severed the bond of religion and departed from that which unites the Muslims. God, who is mighty and exalted, in relating to us the story of Noah, says: *Noah, he is not of thy family; it is a deed not righteous.*<sup>3317</sup> No obedience is due to anyone in disobedience to God, nor are the obligations of kinship violated if the violation is done for the sake of God. I send this letter of mine to the Commander of the Faithful after God has killed the Deposed One and abandoned him because of his treachery and perfidy. He has consolidated the rule of the Commander of the Faithful and carried out on his behalf His awaited | promise. Praise be to God, who has returned to the Commander of the Faithful what was

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who himself was aboard and fell into the Tigris along with al-Amīn when Ṭāhir's men attacked the bark. Ṭāhir's men pulled Harthama out of the water, but al-Amīn eluded them by swimming for the shore.

3310 The mother of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, a leading member of the 'Abbāsīd house.

3311 Thus in al-Ṭabarī, followed by ed. Leiden; M apparently reads al-Daydānī.

3312 For a discussion of the various dates given for the death of al-Amīn, see Fishbein, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxi, 210, note 718. Muḥarram 198 began on September 1, 813; Ṣafar, the following month, began on October 1, 718.

3313 That is, of al-Ma'mūn.

3314 That is, the Qur'ān.

3315 Arabic *walāya*; echoing Qur'ān 8:72.

3316 That is, al-Amīn.

3317 The Qur'ānic verse (11:46) concerns Noah's son who refused to embark on the Ark. By rejecting the warning of his father, the Prophet Noah, he severed the ties of kinship and was, so the verse implies, no longer a member of Noah's family.

rightfully his and who has devised on his behalf concerning the one who betrayed his oath and violated his trust. So, through the Commander of the Faithful, He has restored harmony after division, united the community after it had been fragmented, and restored the banners of the faith after their true meaning had been obliterated.<sup>3318</sup>

Ṭāhir then composed a letter concerning the victory, describing his exploits from the day he departed Khurāsān and his achievements, province by province and day by day. We have placed the letter in a separate book.<sup>3319</sup>

Al-Amīn's caliphate, from the day of al-Rashīd's death to his own murder, lasted four years, seven months, and twenty-one days; there were three years between the death of Hārūn (al-Rashīd) and al-Amīn's deposition. On the day of his murder he was twenty-seven years and three months old, although some have said that he was twenty-eight years old. He left two sons: Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh. The persons with the greatest influence over him were Ismā'īl b. Ṣubayḥ al-Ḥarrānī and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'. Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab was in charge of his security forces (*shuraf*), whom al-Amīn subsequently removed, appointing him governor of Armenia and replacing him (as head of security) with Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Mālik. Afterward he dismissed the latter and appointed in his place 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī. 'Iṣma b. Abī 'Iṣma was in charge of his palace guard (*ḥaras*) and his chamberlain was al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī', whose sons<sup>3320</sup> carried out the day-to-day duties of the post.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule:

- in the year 193, Dāwūd b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā;
- in the year 194, 'Alī b. Hārūn al-Rashīd;
- in the year 195, Dāwūd b. 'Īsā;
- in the year 196, al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā, who was governor of Mecca;<sup>3321</sup>
- in the year 197, al-'Abbās.<sup>3322</sup>

3318 Curiously, al-Ṭabarī, who cites a virtually identical text in *Ṭārīkh*, 3:950, attributes its composition not to Ṭāhir, but to al-Ma'mūn's secretary, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, who is reported to have ghost-written the text at the urging of al-Faḍl b. Sahl, who feared that the death of al-Amīn might draw down people's wrath on al-Ma'mūn. For parallel translations, see El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*, 70–71, and Fishbein, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXI, 224–225.

3319 The text of the letter can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ṭārīkh*, 3:926–930.

3320 M: “whose son al-Faḍl carried out ...”

3321 Probably on behalf of al-Ma'mūn; see the notice in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:868.

3322 That is, al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā, who, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:903, was loyal to al-Ma'mūn.

The leaders of campaigns during his caliphate:

- in the year 194, al-Ḥasan b. Muṣ‘ab on behalf of Thābit b. Naṣr;
- in the year 195, Thābit b. Naṣr al-Khuzā‘ī;
- in the year 196, Thābit b. Naṣr;
- in the year 197, Thābit b. Naṣr.

2:538 The religious scholars (*fuqahā’*) during his days were:

- Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Wāqid,<sup>3323</sup>
- Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān al-Ṭā’ifi,<sup>3324</sup>
- Abū Mu‘āwiya Muḥammad b. Ḥāzim al-Makfūf,<sup>3325</sup>
- Asbāt, a client (*mawlā*) of Quraysh,<sup>3326</sup>
- ‘Awn b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd,<sup>3327</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mushir,
- Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Kūfi, author of the *Tafsīr*,<sup>3328</sup>
- Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna,
- Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ,
- ‘Abdallāh b. Numayr,<sup>3329</sup>
- Yazīd b. Ishāq,

3323 Usually known as al-Wāqidi; al-Ya‘qūbī has already cited him as one of his sources; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:3, and the note there.

3324 Probably the same as Yaḥyā b. Salīm/Sulaym al-Qurashī al-Ṭā’ifi (d. c. 193/808–809), a traditionist from al-Ṭā’if active in Mecca; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:226–227.

3325 Probably to be identified as Abū Mu‘āwiya Muḥammad b. Khāzim al-Ḍarīr (*ḍarīr* and *makfūf* both mean blind), a Kufan traditionist known as a *Murji‘ī* who died in 195/810–811; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:137–139.

3326 Asbāt b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was a Kufan traditionist who died early in 200/815; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:211.

3327 A Kufan traditionist and ascetic (*zāhid*) named ‘Awn b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:171–173, but the date of his death between 110 and 120 makes the identification doubtful.

3328 Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Qurashī has been mentioned as a source by al-Ya‘qūbī (ed. Leiden, 2:4, and note), but since the date of Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Qurashī’s death is 120/737, he could scarcely be the person meant here. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:415–420, mentions five traditionists with the name Muḥammad b. Kathīr, but none is both Kufan and an author of a tafsīr (Qur’ān commentary).

3329 ‘Abdallāh b. Numayr al-Hamdānī (d. 199/814–815) was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:57–58.

- Ismā'īl b. 'Ulayya,<sup>3330</sup>
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī,<sup>3331</sup>
- Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān,<sup>3332</sup>
- Yazīd b. Mālīk,
- al-Walīd b. Muslim, the associate of al-Awzā'ī,<sup>3333</sup>
- Ishāq al-Azraq,<sup>3334</sup>
- Zayd b. Hārūn,
- 'Alī b. 'Āṣim,<sup>3335</sup>
- Ḥammād b. 'Amr,
- Salm b. Sālīm al-Tamīmī.

### The Days of al-Ma'mūn

'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn b. Hārūn al-Rashīd, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) from Bādhghīs named Marājil, was given the oath of allegiance in 195 in the days of Muḥammad (al-Amīn), as we have described in our account of the events between him and Muḥammad (al-Amīn). Most of the people of the provinces swore allegiance to him in 196. By Muḥarram 198<sup>3336</sup> and with the murder of Muḥammad (al-Amīn), the people of the provinces had rallied to him; no one remained who had not given his obedience, and everyone anywhere who had held back now claimed that he had supported al-Ma'mūn and inclined to him all along.

On that day, the Sun was in Libra, 1° 53'; the Moon [...]; [Saturn]<sup>3337</sup> in Leo, 26° 20', retrograde; Jupiter in Aries, | 18° 10', retrograde; Mars in Leo, 4° 40'; 2:539

3330 Ismā'īl b. 'Ulayya (really Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Miqṣam, known as Ibn 'Ulayya) was a Basran traditionist who died in 193/809; see Ibn Ḥajar, 1:275–279.

3331 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Thaqafī (d. 194/809–810) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:449–450.

3332 Yahyā b. Sa'īd b. Farrūkh al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198/814–815) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:216–220.

3333 Abū l-'Abbās al-Walīd b. Muslim al-Umawī (d. 195/810–811) was a Damascus traditionist and historian, a pupil of al-Awzā'ī; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:151–155; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:293.

3334 Ishāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq is mentioned by Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 466, as having died in 195/810–811.

3335 'Alī b. 'Āṣim b. Ṣuhayb (d. c. 200/815–816) was a traditionist from Wāsit; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:344–347; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:97.

3336 Muḥarram 198 began on September 1, 813.

3337 The text in the MSS and ed. Leiden reads, “the moon in Leo, 26° 20', retrograde.” This is

Venus in Leo, 24°; Mercury in Virgo, 23° 10'; and the Ascending Node in Aries, 24° 50'.

Al-Ma'mūn sent al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuṣṣā'ī to Egypt as governor of the province in 198. He remained there for seven months. Al-Ma'mūn then appointed al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā al-Hāshimī over Egypt in 199. The latter sent his deputy<sup>3338</sup> 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās. 'Abdallāh imprisoned al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh, deputed Ibrāhīm b. Tamīm to be in charge of taxation (*kharāj*), and entrusted his security forces (*shurṭa*) to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Wazīr al-Jarawī. When 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās' comported himself badly, al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam rose in revolt and won support from the army. He fought 'Abdallāh, drove him from the area,<sup>3339</sup> and freed al-Muṭṭalib from prison. Al-Sarī swore allegiance to him, and the latter settled in the governor's residence. He then tortured<sup>3340</sup> 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and seized from him all that was in his possession. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jarawī went to Tinnīs, remaining in control there and over the adjoining districts of Lower Egypt, while al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam took control of the central district of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Upper Egypt. Al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā controlled the al-Ḥawf region among the Qays.<sup>3341</sup> They subsequently abandoned him, and so he remained in Bilbays (only) thirty-five days and then died.<sup>3342</sup>

In the year 198, al-Ma'mūn<sup>3343</sup> sent al-Ḥasan b. Sahl as governor of Iraq and other regions. Al-Aṣfar, usually known | as Abū l-Sarāyā<sup>3344</sup>—his real name

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impossible, as the moon never displays retrograde motion. The text can be restored by assuming that a copyist skipped from the word *qamar* (moon) to 26° 20', *retrograde*, omitting the figure for the position of the moon and the word *zuḥal* (Saturn), which regularly comes between the moon and Jupiter in al-Ya'qūbī's horoscopes. A similar mistake occurs at ed. Leiden 2:351.

3338 Following M (*nā'ibahu*); ed. Leiden reads the undotted text of C as *bi-bnihi* (his son). 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Mūsā was indeed his son, so either reading makes sense.

3339 Arabic *al-balad*, which might also mean "the country/province"; however, the text implies that al-Muṭṭalib was able to get hold of 'Abdallāh, and so he could hardly have left Egypt.

3340 Following M, *wa-'adhdhaba*; ed. Leiden, *wa-bayyata* (and he raided/attacked by night).

3341 The text is uncertain and there may be a lacuna (cf. the more detailed account in al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 154–155). M reads *fi Tinnīs* (in Tinnīs); the translation follows ed. Leiden in emending to *fi Qays*.

3342 Ed. Leiden (apparently following C) omits *wa-tuwuffiya* (and he died). According to al-Kindī, loc. cit., he was poisoned by the Qays at the instigation of al-Muṭṭalib.

3343 He was still in Khurāsān; according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1037, he did not arrive in Baghdad until 15 Šafar 204 (August 11, 819).

3344 On Abū l-Sarāyā and his revolt see the article by John P. Turner in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū l-Sarāyā al-Shaybānī. In addition to the bibliography cited there, one should add the article by A. Arioli, "La rivolta di Abū Sarāyā: appunti per una tipologia del leader islamico."



was al-Sarī b. Manṣūr al-Shaybānī—had rebelled in Kufa and with him was the 'Alid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, who was known as Ibn Ṭabāṭabā.<sup>3345</sup> When Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm died, Abū l-Sarāyā replaced him with Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd.<sup>3346</sup> Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ja'farī took control of Basra. Zayd b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad came [from] Kufa,<sup>3347</sup> where he had rejected (his allegiance to the caliph)<sup>3348</sup> and made his way to Basra to join al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Ja'farī. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, known as al-Salaq,<sup>3349</sup> took Wāsiṭ; Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far took Yemen; Muḥammad b. Ja'far took the Ḥijāz. [Aḥmad b.]<sup>3350</sup> 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Raba'ī took control of Niṣībīn and its hinterland; al-Sayyid b. Anas in Mosul; Mūsā b. Mubārak al-Yashkurī in Mayyāfāriqīn; 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Jaḥḥāf al-Sulamī and Muḥammad b. 'Attāb in Armenia; Muḥammad b. al-Rawwād al-Azdī, Yazid b. Bilāl al-Yamanī, Muḥammad b. Ḥamid<sup>3351</sup> al-Hamdānī, 'Uthmān b. Afkal, and 'Alī b. Murr al-Ṭā'ī in Azerbaijan; Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī, Murra b. Ubayy al-Rudaynī, 'Alī b. al-Bahlūl, Muḥammad b. Zuhra, Sinān, and Zayd b. ...<sup>3352</sup> in al-Jabal; Biṣṭām b. al-Salas al-Raba'ī in [ ] and [ ]<sup>3353</sup> and environs; | Ḥabīb b. al-Jahm in Kafartūthā and Ra's 'Ayn; Naṣr b. Shabath al-Naṣrī,<sup>3354</sup> who was the most powerful and formidable of these individuals, in Kaysūm and the surrounding area of Diyār Muḍar; al-'Abbās b. Zufar al-Hilālī in Qūrus and the outlying villages of al-'Awāṣim; 'Uthmān b. Thumāma al-'Absī in al-Ḥiyār and the outlying villages of Qinnasrīn; and Manī' al-Tanūkhī in al-Ḥāḍir, which lies near Aleppo. Ya'qūb b. Ṣāliḥ al-Hāshimī campaigned against al-Ḥāḍir, and so none of the inhabitants remained; they dispersed in all directions, with most of them making their way to the city of Qinnasrīn. Ya'qūb destroyed al-Ḥāḍir and razed it to the

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3345 His full name was Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl al-Dībāj b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghamr b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā; see the article by B. Scarcia Amoretti in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā.

3346 His full name was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:978 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 15).

3347 The translation follows the emendation proposed by the Leiden editor. The MSS read, "Muḥammad al-Kūfi came."

3348 Or perhaps, "where he had been rejected." But this translation seems better, given Zayd's conduct against the Abbasids in Kufa.

3349 Following the reading of ed. Leiden. The MSS here have *al-s-l-f*.

3350 Addition suggested by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6:223.

3351 Or possibly Ḥumayd.

3352 A lacuna is visible in the MSS.

3353 As the Leiden editor notes, "the names are badly corrupted." His conjectures do not seem supported by M.

3354 Usually appears with the *nisba* "al-'Uqaylī".

ground. There had been twenty thousand fighters there, but it remains a ruin to this day. Al-Ḥawārī b. Ḥanṭān<sup>3355</sup> al-Tanūkhī was in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Tall Mannas, and the surrounding area around Ḥims; Ḥarāq<sup>3356</sup> al-Bahrānī<sup>3357</sup> in Hama and its hinterland; the Banū Bisṭām in Shayzar and its hinterland; the Banū l-Simṭ in the city of Ḥims; and in al-Maṣṣīsa, Adana, and the outlying areas of al-Thughūr was Thābit b. Naṣr al-Khuzā'ī. He had been Muḥammad (al-Amīn)'s governor, but when matters turned out for al-Amīn as they did, al-Khuzā'ī asserted control over the region. A number of disparate tribes settled in Damascus, Jordan, and Palestine.

2:542 In Egypt, al-Sarī (b. al-Ḥakam) was in the central region of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Upper Egypt; 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jarawī was in Lower Egypt; the Qaysiyya and Yamāniyya were in the two al-Ḥawf districts; the Lakhm and Banū Mudlij gained control over Alexandria—the head of the Lakhm was a man named Aḥmad b. Raḥīm al-Lakhmī—but afterward the Andalusians took control. | The affair of the Andalusians began when they arrived from al-Andalus in four thousand ships and anchored in the harbor of Alexandria at al-Raml. Numbering around three thousand men, they remained along the coast for a time.<sup>3358</sup> Then one of the officials of the government (*al-sultān*) assaulted one of their number, which sparked factional violence. The Andalusians rose up against al-Faḍl b. 'Abdallāh, the brother of al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh, killing the head of his security force. They proceeded to the citadel and attacked the people of Alexandria until they drove them from their homes. The inhabitants abandoned their homes and property as a result. The Andalusians chose a certain Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ṣūfī to lead them, a man who shed blood and killed Muslims. Then, removing him, they followed a man named al-Kinānī and drove the Banū Mudlij and Lakhm from the area. The entire city fell to their control. In Barqa, Muslim b. Naṣr al-A'war al-Anbārī was in control.

After al-Ma'mūn appointed al-Ḥasan b. Sahl over Iraq, the latter sent as his deputy Dhū l-'Alamayn<sup>3359</sup> 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd. Al-Ma'mūn also wrote to Ṭāhir b.

3355 Sic MSS, but the reading is dubious. Cobb, *White Banners*, 94, reads al-Ḥawārī b. Ḥiṭṭān, a reading supported by al-Ya'qūbī, *Mushākala*, 26.

3356 Sic MSS, but perhaps to be read as "al-Ḥarāq."

3357 Although M reads al-Nahrānī, ed. Leiden's reading al-Bahrānī is preferable.

3358 The translation follows M, *zam[an]* (for a time). C reads *wa-mā* (and what), which led the Leiden editor to assume that a lacuna followed. The reading of M does not require the assumption.

3359 The title, if read in this way, means "He of the Two Banners/Standards." According to Wiet, *Les Pays*, 135, note 5, and Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 1:202 and note 7, the name should be read as *Dhū l-Qalamayn* (He of the Two Pens/Bureaus), referring either to administra-

al-Ḥusayn, directing him to proceed to the Jazīra to wage war against Naṣr b. Shabath. The arrival of Dhū l-ʿAlamayn in Iraq angered Ṭāhir, who said, “The Commander of the Faithful has not treated me fairly.” However, he did march to the Jazīra and wage war against Naṣr. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl reached Iraq and settled at Nahrawān. Harthama set out against Abū l-Sarāyā; their forces met near Kufa on 10 Jumādā II 199<sup>3360</sup> in a series of clashes before Harthama withdrew. [Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī then set out against him. When Abū l-Sarāyā defeated him, | Zuhayr retreated to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl then sent ʿAbdūs b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd against Abū l-Sarāyā]<sup>3361</sup> with a formidable army. He met Abū l-Sarāyā at a place called al-Jāmiʿ, located between Baghdad and Kufa, with twelve nights remaining in Rajab of this year.<sup>3362</sup> Abū l-Sarāyā killed him and captured his brother, Hārūn [b. Muḥammad]<sup>3363</sup> b. Abī Khālīd, and a number of his men. When word of this reached Zuhayr, he left Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra for Baghdad. Harthama then returned with a large number of troops and encountered Abū l-Sarāyā, pushing him back as far as Kufa, where he thoroughly defeated him, killing most of Abū l-Sarāyā’s following in the process. When Harthama entered Kufa, Abū l-Sarāyā fled the city in defeat, making his way first to Wāsiṭ and then to al-Ahwāz, where al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Bādhghīsī, known as al-Maʾmūnī, met and defeated him. Abū l-Sarāyā, soundly defeated, beat his retreat to Rūstuqbādh, very sick with a stomach disease.<sup>3364</sup> Word reached Ḥammād al-Khādim, known as al-Kundughūsh,<sup>3365</sup> of his whereabouts. Moving quickly against him, he seized Abū l-Sarāyā and with him Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī and his client (*mawlā*) Abū l-Shawk. He delivered them to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who was in al-Nahrawān. When he was brought before Ibn Sahl, Abū l-Sarāyā said to him, “Spare my life!—may God make the governor prosper.” Ibn Sahl replied, “May God not spare me if I spare you!” and passed sentence on him. Abū l-Sarāyā was beheaded, his corpse cut

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tion of the army and of taxation or to his mastery of two sorts of script. The reading Dhū l-ʿAlamayn, however, is clear in the MSS. Note that M here reads Dhū l-ʿAlamayn (He of the Two Worlds), the significance of which is not readily apparent, but reads Dhū l-ʿAlamayn in the next line.

3360 January 26, 815.

3361 The Leiden editor supplied the bracketed passage based on al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:978.

3362 18 Rajab 199 = March 4, 815.

3363 Added by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:978.

3364 But cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:985, where he is said to have been “severely wounded” (*wa-juriḥa jirāḥatan shadīdatan*). Al-Yaʿqūbī’s wording (*wa-huwa ʿalilun shadīdu l-ʿillati min baṭnīn/baṭanīn bihi*) clearly points to disease.

3365 A provisional reading of the name.

in twain, and the halves gibbeted on the two bridges of Baghdad. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī was brought in, and Ibn Sahl showed kindness, compassion, and graciousness, and said to him, “Have no fear; and may God curse anyone who would do evil to you.”<sup>3366</sup>

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Al-Maʾmūn appointed Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mazyad over Kufa. Al-Ḥasan | b. Sahl proceeded to al-Madāʾin, sending ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī against Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Salaq. Their forces met near Wāsiṭ on the east bank of the Tigris. Al-Ḥarashī defeated al-Salaq and scattered his following. (Ibn Sahl) sent ʿĪsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī against Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-ʿAlawī, who had taken control of Mecca and had ousted Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā al-Hāshimī. When al-Julūdī approached Mecca, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar did not fight him but rather asked him for a safe-conduct. Al-Julūdī seized him and personally took him to al-Maʾmūn, who was still in Marw, leaving his son to represent him in Mecca. Upon reaching Jurjān, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar died. A message arrived from al-Maʾmūn, ordering al-Julūdī to return to the Ḥijāz, which he did.

Al-Maʾmūn sent Ḥamdawayh b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān to Yemen, where Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar al-ʿAlawī had assumed control. Ibrāhīm fought him with the backing of those supporting him in Yemen. Dreadful clashes reduced both forces. Ḥamdawayh had appointed Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanzala al-Makh-zūmī as his deputy in Mecca; Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā set off from Yemen heading for Mecca. Alerted, Yazīd b. Muḥammad fortified Mecca against him with ditches. He also sent a message to the guardians (of the Kaʿba) and took the golden throne<sup>3367</sup> that al-Maʾmūn had sent from Khurāsān along with the statue from the king of Tibet. These he minted into dinars and dirhams, with which he paid Bedouin tribesmen whom he enrolled as troops.<sup>3368</sup> When Ibrāhīm (b. Mūsā) reached Mecca, Yazīd (b. Muḥammad) and his supporters resisted him. Ibrāhīm sent one of his men who entered from the mountain; Yazīd was defeated, and one of Ibrāhīm’s men overtook him and killed him. Ibrāhīm entered Mecca, took control of the city, and remained there, [while] Ḥamdawayh was in an area of Yemen.<sup>3369</sup>

3366 Reading with M, *man ʿarraka*; ed. Leiden reads, *man gharraka* (whoever misled you).

3367 Reading the singular (*al-sarīr*) with M, rather than the plural (*al-sarāʾir*) of ed. Leiden.

3368 Reading *wa-faraḍa farḍan*, rather than ed. Leiden’s *wa-qaraḍa qarḍan* (he struck an agreement).

3369 The MSS and ed. Leiden read: “and Ḥamdawayh remained there (viz. in Mecca) in an area of Yemen.” The illogic can be avoided by emending by inserting *wa-* (and/while) before Ḥamdawayh.

Al-Ma'mūn brought al-Riḍā 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far from | [Medina]<sup>3370</sup> to 2:545 Khurāsān. His envoy to al-Riḍā was Rajā' b. [Abī] I-Ḍaḥḥāk, a relative of al-Faḍl b. Sahl.<sup>3371</sup> He went to Baghdad and then brought al-Riḍā along the road to [Māh] al-Basra<sup>3372</sup> until he reached Marw. Al-Ma'mūn had the oath of allegiance sworn to him as heir apparent. This occurred on Monday, 7 Ramaḍān 201.<sup>3373</sup> Al-Ma'mūn had the people wear green instead of black<sup>3374</sup> and sent letters announcing the decision to all corners of the realm. The oath of allegiance was sworn to al-Riḍā, his name was proclaimed from the pulpits, and dinars and dirhams were struck in his name. Everyone now donned green, except Ismā'īl b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī al-Hāshimī, al-Ma'mūn's governor of Basra, who refused to wear green, saying, "This is a breach with the revolution (*dawla*),"<sup>3375</sup> and calling publicly for the deposition (of al-Ma'mūn). Al-Ma'mūn sent 'Isā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī against him. When he drew near Basra, Ismā'īl fled without show of force or opposition. Al-Julūdī entered Basra and established authority there. Ismā'īl went to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who, after imprisoning him, wrote concerning him to al-Ma'mūn, who wrote back ordering that he be brought to Marw. He was taken, but on his arrival at the outskirts of Marw, al-Ma'mūn ordered that he be taken back to Jurjān and confined there. Ismā'īl was confined in Jurjān and prevented from meeting him,<sup>3376</sup> until, some time later, al-Ma'mūn forgave him.

Al-Ma'mūn sent (the document requiring) the oath of allegiance to al-Riḍā to Mecca with 'Isā (b. Yazīd) al-Julūdī. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far remained in the city and continued to receive its support despite having declared his backing for al-Ma'mūn. Al-Julūdī arrived with (the documents concerning the wearing of) green and the oath of allegiance to al-Riḍā, and Ibrāhīm rode out to receive him. The notables took the oath of allegiance to al-Riḍā in Mecca and donned

3370 Added by ed. Leiden.

3371 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:993: "the son of al-Faḍl's paternal uncle."

3372 The Leiden editor has added *Māh* as necessary for the sense. *Māh* al-Basra (the Media of Basra) referred to the district of Nihāwand, whose taxes contributed to the support of the military population of Basra. See the article by M. Morony in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Māh* al-Basra.

3373 March 29, 817.

3374 Black had been the official color of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty to that point, while green stood for the Prophet's family.

3375 Reading with M, *hādhā naqḍun li-l-dawla*; ed. Leiden follows the inferior reading of C, *hādhā naqḍun li-llāh wa-lahu* (this is a breach toward God and to him).

3376 That is, al-Ma'mūn.

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green. Ḥamdawayh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā, following Ibrāhīm (b. Mūsā’s) departure for Mecca, had won a following among the people | of Yemen and withdrawn his allegiance (to al-Ma’mūn). Al-Ma’mūn wrote to Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā appointing him over Yemen, and he ordered al-Julūdī to go out and assist Ibrāhīm in fighting Ḥamdawayh. Ibrāhīm set out and reached Yemen, but al-Julūdī did not accompany him. One of Ḥamdawayh’s sons challenged Ibrāhīm, who fought him off, killing a number of his men. Ḥamdawayh’s son withdrew in defeat. Ibrāhīm proceeded to Ṣan‘ā’, and Ḥamdawayh rode out and attacked him with great force, killing a great many of Ibrāhīm’s followers. Ibrāhīm, defeated, made his way back to Mecca without stopping. Al-Julūdī departed for Basra, where Zayd b. Mūsā, had taken control and had seized houses and much property from its inhabitants with the backing of a group of the Qaysiyya and others. When al-Julūdī drew near, they fought him that day, but then they were routed and Zayd (b. Mūsā) was defeated. ‘Īsā (b. Yazīd al-Julūdī) arrested him and carried him off to al-Ma’mūn. The latter behaved graciously toward him and released him.

Harthama journeyed from Iraq to Marw in 201—according to some accounts he set out without permission from al-Ma’mūn. When he entered al-Ma’mūn’s presence [...],<sup>3377</sup> he said [...],<sup>3378</sup> and he addressed al-Ma’mūn with harsh words. Yaḥyā b. ‘Āmir b. Ismā‘īl al-Ḥārithī, who had entered with him, said (to al-Ma’mūn), “Peace be upon you, Commander of the Unbelievers!”<sup>3379</sup> Swords were unsheathed against him in al-Ma’mūn’s court and he was killed. Harthama said, “You have promoted these Magians<sup>3380</sup> over your true friends and supporters.” Al-Ma’mūn ordered a man to drag Harthama away and imprison him. He died after three days of imprisonment.

3377 The Leiden editor deduces a lengthy lacuna here, although the MSS show none. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:996–998, is longer, but worded differently.

3378 The Arabic in ed. Leiden (*mīn niqris wa-lā yumkinunī amshī fī miḥaffa*) is puzzling. It apparently means, “from gout, and I cannot go in a *miḥaffa* (a kind of camel saddle for women).” The parallel in al-Ṭabarī does not help. In M, the one can read, *man bi-faras* (Who will bring a horse?), followed by *wa-lā yumkinunī umassī fī miḥaffa* (I cannot offer an evening greeting while in/on a *miḥaffa*). This solution is quite conjectural.

3379 Arabic *amīr al-kāfirīn*, a distortion of the usual form of address to the caliph, *amīr al-mu’minīn* (Commander of the Faithful).

3380 Arabic *hādhihi l-majūs*. Arabic *majūs* is collective and need not refer to a single individual, although the parallel in al-Ṭabarī makes it clear that Harthama was particularly angry at al-Faḍl b. Sahl, whose father was indeed a Zoroastrian convert to Islam.

Manṣūr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf al-Barm<sup>3381</sup> rebelled in Khurāsān. Al-Ma'mūn sent [...] <sup>3382</sup> against him; he took [Manṣūr b.] <sup>3383</sup> ʿAbdallāh by surprise and killed him.

Muḥammad b. [Abī] Khālīd and the inhabitants of al-Ḥarbiyya rose up 2:547 against al-Ḥasan b. Sahl and forced him out of Baghdad. They captured Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī because he supported Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd. [...] <sup>3384</sup> They went to <sup>3385</sup> Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Manṣūr and said: "We are partisans of your revolution (*dawlatikum*), and we fear that this revolution will perish because of all that the Magians are plotting. <sup>3386</sup> Al-Ma'mūn has had the oath of allegiance taken to ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā; come then, let us pledge our allegiance to you, for we fear that this entire affair could slip from your (family's) hands." He replied to them, "I have pledged my allegiance to al-Ma'mūn"—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ was the first Hāshimite to swear allegiance to al-Ma'mūn in Baghdad—"and so I will not lead you." (Meanwhile) al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had gone to Wāsiṭ, and Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd followed him, accompanied by (the people of) al-Ḥarbiyya and the Abnā'. The two sides met at the village of Abū Quraysh just outside Wāsiṭ, and a violent clash ensued. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd was struck by an arrow and badly wounded. He was carried to Jabbul, where he died a few days later—his body was carried to Baghdad—and ʿĪsā b. Abī Khālīd assumed control of the army. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd had captured Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī; when Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd's body was brought into Baghdad, the Abnā' turned on Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab, who was a prisoner, and killed him. They fastened a rope to his legs, dragged him through the main thoroughfare <sup>3387</sup> of Baghdad, and mutilated his corpse.

The commanders of al-Ḥarbiyya assembled to swear allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who was known as Ibn Shakla. <sup>3388</sup> This occurred on 5 Muḥarram

3381 He was the grandson of Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Barm, who has been mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:478–479) as leading a revolt during the caliphate of al-Mahdī.

3382 The name has dropped out of the text.

3383 Addition suggested by the Leiden editor.

3384 The Leiden editor assumes a lacuna, although there is no break in the MSS.

3385 Reading *ataw* with ed. Leiden and C (undotted), rather than M's *abaw* (they rejected) which seems to be a copyist's error.

3386 The parallel in al-Ṭabarī implies that the reference is to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl and his brother, al-Faḍl ibn Sahl.

3387 Accepting the reading of the MSS, *bi-ṭariq Baghdād*; the Leiden editor emends to *bi-ṭuruq Baghdād* (in the main thoroughfares/streets of Baghdad).

3388 For an overview of this episode and a bibliography of the parallel sources, see the article by D. Sourdel in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.

202.<sup>3389</sup> He was proclaimed caliph and given the title al-Marḏī.<sup>3390</sup> He took up residence in al-Ruṣāfa, led the people in prayer in Baghdad in the mosque of the (Round) City, and established his encampment at Kalwādhā. He was accompanied | by al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd, Saʿīd b. al-Sājūr, and Abū al-Baṭṭ. Ibn al-Mahdī issued letters of appointment<sup>3391</sup> and affixed military standards,<sup>3392</sup> and matters came under his control. The Abnāʾ and the people of al-Ḥarbiyya and adjacent neighborhoods accepted his authority, except for those who were loyal to al-Maʾmūn. The latter group fought him, rallying behind Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭāʾī al-Ṭūsī. They would shout, “O Bunch of Grapes, O Singer!” This was because Ibrāhīm was very dark and had an unsightly mole in the middle of his face—they used to call him Bunch of Grapes because of it.<sup>3393</sup> Then Asad al-Ḥarbī, formerly one of Ibrāhīm’s commanders, rebelled at the head of a group from al-Ḥarbiyya. They withdrew their allegiance to Ibrāhīm and announced their backing for al-Maʾmūn. ʿĪsā b. Abī Khālīd seized Asad al-Ḥarbī and one of his sons, killed both of them, and gibbeted their bodies. Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd lived in an area known as Khān al-Ḥakam along the Ṣarṣar Canal. He sent a message to ʿĪsā b. Abī Khālīd, proposing that they join forces at Khān al-Ḥakam.<sup>3394</sup> Ḥumayd made his way to Baghdad, where he took part in the Friday prayer led by the *qāḍī* Ibn Abī Rajāʾ; then he returned to his encampment.

Mahdī b. ʿAlwān the Khārījite (*al-shārī*) rose in rebellion in the area of ʿUkbarā.<sup>3395</sup> Al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh went out against him and fought him in one clash after another. Mahdī routed him, and al-Muṭṭalib returned to Baghdad in defeat. Abū Ishāq b. al-Rashīd<sup>3396</sup> set out against Mahdī. He engaged Mahdī, defeated him, and captured him after a pursuit. Al-Maʾmūn showed favor to Abū Ishāq, made him a member of the court,<sup>3397</sup> and clothed him

3389 July 24, 817.

3390 That is, “the One Approved (namely, by God)”; note that in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1015, his regnal name is given as al-Mubārak (the Blessed One).

3391 That is, of governors and provincial officials].

3392 That is, he appointed military commanders.

3393 Ibn al-Mahdī was also famous as a poet and singer; hence his other nickname.

3394 Following M; the words “at Khān al-Ḥakam” are absent from C and ed. Leiden.

3395 Located about 10 farsakhs (60 km / 37 miles) north of Baghdad; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿUkbarā.

3396 The future caliph al-Muʿtaṣim.

3397 Arabic *alzamahu bābahu* (kept him at his gate)—“gate” being a frequent metonymy for the caliphal court. However, al-Maʾmūn presumably was still in Marw at this point and there is no evidence that Abū Ishāq ever traveled to Khurāsān. Either the phrase



in black.<sup>3398</sup> Abū Ishāq remained a member of al-Ma'mūn's court until the latter's death.

Al-Ma'mūn left Marw for Iraq in 202. With him were | al-Riḍā, who was his heir apparent, and Dhū l-Ri'āsatayn al-Faḍl b. Sahl, his vizier. He had drafted for al-Faḍl the document that he entitled *The Letter of Stipulation and Favor*.<sup>3399</sup> In it he described (al-Faḍl's) obedience and sincere counsel; his admonition and solicitude; his renunciation<sup>3400</sup> of the world; and his refusal of what he had been offered in the way of funds, estates, precious stones, and prefectures. (Al-Ma'mūn) himself stipulated that whenever al-Faḍl requested or sought anything he would not refuse him or withhold it. Al-Ma'mūn signed the document in his own hand and had it witnessed. Then, when al-Ma'mūn reached Qūmis, al-Faḍl b. Sahl was killed while in the bathhouse—Ghālib al-Rūmī and Sirāj the Eunuch (*al-khādim*) attacked him with swords. Al-Ma'mūn had both of them executed, along with some others. He killed Dhū l-'Alamayn 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd, the son of al-Faḍl b. Sahl's maternal aunt, who, it was said, was the one who had plotted the killing of al-Faḍl, and he sent 'Alī's head to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl in Iraq. He also killed Khalaf b. 'Umar al-Baṣrī, known as al-Ḥaff,<sup>3401</sup> Mūsā<sup>3402</sup> al-Baṣrī, and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Imrān al-Ṭā'ī along with Ghālib al-Rūmī and Sirāj the Eunuch. He dismissed a group of commanders who were known as "the Gloaters" (*al-Shāmita*) and made his great sorrow apparent. Al-Faḍl was found to have possessed no money, estates, horses, or housewares save for five slaves, a mare, and a hackney.

Ghassān b. 'Abbād said: "One day I said to al-Faḍl, 'My lord, why do you not command that estates and prefectures be assigned to you?' He replied: 'Why, you silly fellow? As long as things remain for me as they are, the whole world is my estate and at my command. If things change, whatever I have will not cease to be uprooted.'"

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is being used in a general sense, or the campaign described may have been completed roughly at the time of al-Ma'mūn's return to Iraq.

3398 That is, in the official color of the court.

3399 Arabic *Kitāb al-Sharṭ wa-l-Ḥibā'*. Its text is preserved in Ibn Babūya; see W. Madelung, "New Documents Concerning al-Ma'mūn, al-Faḍl b. Sahl and 'Alī al-Riḍā."

3400 Arabic (ed. Leiden) *wa-dhahābahu bi-naḥsihi 'an il-dunyā* (and his taking of his soul away from this world); however, the text is uncertain: M reads *wa-wahānahu* ..., an otherwise unattested word derived from a root meaning "to be weak."

3401 Perhaps, "the Hairless."

3402 Sic ed. Leiden, apparently following C and agreeing with al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1026; however, M gives the name as Mu'nīs.

Abū Samīr reported: "I often heard al-Faḍl b. Sahl say, in the days of al-Ma'mūn:

2:550            'If I or my mounts escape  
                     Ghālib and Ghālib's rabble,  
                     I shall indeed be one who always escapes from troubles.'

He did not know who *Ghālib* was and assumed it referred only to the Quraysh<sup>3403</sup>—until the day that *Ghālib al-Rūmī*, al-Ma'mūn's stable master, came in and killed him. Al-Faḍl said to Ghālib, 'Take one hundred thousand dinars.' Ghālib replied, 'The time for flattery and bribes is over,' and then he killed him."

Whenever al-Ma'mūn passed through a district, he remained there long enough to set its affairs in order and see to the needs of its inhabitants. At the time of his departure, he appointed Rajā' b. Abī l-Ḍaḥḥāk, a relative of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, as his successor over Khurāsān. The situation in Khurāsān was stable, its princes all having sworn loyalty to al-Ma'mūn. The king of Tibet, having converted to Islam, had journeyed to meet al-Ma'mūn at [...],<sup>3404</sup> bringing a golden statue of his<sup>3405</sup> atop a golden throne inlaid with jewels. Al-Ma'mūn sent the statue to be placed in the Ka'ba to make known to all men God's guidance of the king of Tibet.<sup>3406</sup> There remained not a single region of Khurāsān from which disobedience was feared. However, after al-Ma'mūn left Khurāsān, Rajā' b. Abī l-Ḍaḥḥāk became less tactful. He was a poor administrator and was not decisive concerning the province's affairs. Fearing disorder in Khurāsān, al-Ma'mūn dismissed him and appointed Ghassān b. 'Abbād, who conducted himself well and won over the princes of all the regions.

3403        The great-great-great-grandfather of Quṣayy, the progenitor of the Quraysh, was named Ghālib.

3404        Lacuna in both MSS.

3405        The Arabic is ambiguous: either a golden statue (*ṣanam*) *belonging to him*, or a golden statue *of himself*. The word *ṣanam* is also the regular word for pagan idols.

3406        That is, how God had guided the king to Islam. Needless to say, placing a statue of a living man in the Ka'ba, let alone a pagan idol, would be strange by later Islamic standards.

[The Death of ‘Alī al-Riḍā]<sup>3407</sup>

Following al-Ma’mūn’s arrival at Ṭūs, al-Riḍā ‘Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja’far b. Muḥammad died in a village known as al-Nūqān at the beginning of 203.<sup>3408</sup> His illness lasted | only three days. Some have said that ‘Alī b. Hishām fed him poisoned pomegranates. Al-Ma’mūn showed deep grief over his death. Abū l-Ḥasan b. Abī ‘Abbād recounted to me: “I saw al-Ma’mūn walking in al-Riḍā’s funeral procession bareheaded and wearing a white garment.”<sup>3409</sup> Standing between two supports of the bier, he said: ‘To whom shall I turn after you, Abū l-Ḥasan?’ He remained by his grave for three days, and on each day a loaf of bread and some salt were brought to him, which he ate. He departed on the fourth day.” Al-Riḍā was forty-four years old.

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Abū l-Ḥasan b. Abī ‘Abbād said: “I heard al-Riḍā say, ‘When men walk in step with a man, it is a temptation for the one who is followed, a humiliation for those who follow.’ I also heard him say, ‘Contained in the Books of Abraham<sup>3410</sup> are the words: *O deluded king, I did not send you to erect monuments or to bring the world under your sway, but to avert from me the cry of the oppressed, for I will not ignore it even if it comes from an unbeliever.*’ He also said to al-Ma’mūn: ‘Whenever two parties come together, God bestows His aid on the one greatest in forgiveness.’ And he said: ‘A true believer need only be commanded to do right and forbidden to do wrong and he takes heed, but not the master of sword and lash!’ [And he said:]<sup>3411</sup> ‘Whoever seeks the favor of an unjust ruler and suffers tribulation for his effort will receive no recompense for it and will not be granted the patience to endure it.’”<sup>3412</sup>



Al-Ma’mūn arrived in the City of Peace<sup>3413</sup> in the month of Rabī’ 1 204.<sup>3414</sup> His clothing and that of his commanders, soldiers, and all his retinue was green.

<sup>3407</sup> The subtitle, which is not in the MSS, was supplied by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3408</sup> 203 A.H. began on July 9, 818; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1030, dates his death to the end of Ṣafar, the second month of that year (ended on September 7, 818).

<sup>3409</sup> Ed. Leiden suggests *mubaṭṭanah* rather than the term apparently used in both MSS (*s-ṭ-n-ah*). Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:98, has “fur-lined garment” for *mubaṭṭanah*.

<sup>3410</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 87:19, which refers to “the ancient books, the books of Abraham and Moses.”

<sup>3411</sup> A conjectural addition by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3412</sup> This echoes a saying attributed to the Prophet; see above, ed. Leiden 2:108.

<sup>3413</sup> Arabic *Madīnat al-Salām*, the official name of Baghdad.

<sup>3414</sup> Rabī’ 1 204 began on August 26, 819.

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He remained in green for a week, then removed it and returned to wearing black. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī disappeared from view and no one knew of his whereabouts. He had left his residence accompanied by his secretary ‘Abdallāh b. Šā’id and a kinswoman. Along the way, he said to ‘Abdallāh b. Šā’id, “Go back to | my mother and ask her to hand over the jewels that she has.” ‘Abdallāh went back, while Ibn al-Mahdī continued on, his whereabouts a secret.

Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ fled to Basra and went into hiding in the household of Yazīd b. al-Minjāb al-Muhallabī. Al-Ma’mūn ordered the confiscation of his estates, funds, and landed properties. Then al-Faḍl made his way to al-Ma’mūn’s court, seeking a guarantee of safety. Al-Ma’mūn had received word that al-Faḍl had died, and a number of people had testified to this in his presence. Therefore, when it was announced to al-Ma’mūn that al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ was on hand, he said, “If he has been resurrected from the next world, al-Rashīd has been resurrected with him!” When al-Faḍl was ushered in, al-Ma’mūn granted his request for a guarantee of safety and was generous to him. One night he summoned him and said: “Granting that you could excuse yourself regarding Muḥammad (al-Amīn) by the fact that allegiance to him was incumbent upon you because of al-Rashīd, what excuse do you have regarding Ibn Shakla?<sup>3415</sup> Although his place was among the singers and jesters, you encouraged him to press for my deposition even after the oath of allegiance to me had become incumbent upon you.” Al-Faḍl replied: “Commander of the Faithful, my heart is troubled;<sup>3416</sup> my offense is inexcusable, and my guilt too great to be forgiven. My only hope for life is from your great mercy. Spare my blood because of my reverence for your forefathers!” Al-Ma’mūn therefore desisted from him and restored to him one of his estates, whose (annual) income was 360,000 dirhams, a sum deemed sufficient for his and his dependents’ upkeep.

Al-Ma’mūn assigned al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ’s residence to Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ b. al-Manšūr; he married him to Khadīja, the daughter of al-Rashīd, and ordered that he be given one million dirhams for the alacrity with which he had taken the oath of allegiance to him, extended his fealty, and refused to take the oath of allegiance to Ibrāhīm (b. al-Mahdī). He excused him from having to present himself before him and from making a personal appearance at the public audience hall. His secretary, Ja’far b. Wahb, appeared in his stead.

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Al-Ma’mūn married Muḥammad, the son of (‘Alī) al-Riḍā, to his daughter Umm | al-Faḍl, and ordered that he be given two million dirhams, saying, “I

3415 That is, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, referring to him as ‘Son of Shakla’ (his mother).

3416 Reading with M, *mā ajidu qalbī qārran makānahu* (literally, “I do not find/feel my heart quiet/still/at rest in its place”). Ed. Leiden (apparently following C) omits *qārran*, spoiling the sense.

should like to become the grandfather of one born to the Prophet and to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib." But she bore Muḥammad no children.

Al-Ma'mūn appointed Ṣāliḥ b. al-Rashīd over Basra. Ṣāliḥ in turn appointed Abū l-Rāzī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as his deputy. Al-Ma'mūn appointed [Abū]<sup>3417</sup> 'Īsā b. al-Rashīd over Kufa; the latter appointed Muḥammad b. al-Layth as his deputy.

At this time, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn was on campaign in the Jazīra against Naṣr b. Shabath. Al-Ma'mūn sent him his document of appointment over the Jazīra, Syria, and Egypt. He also appointed Dīnār<sup>3418</sup> b. 'Abdallāh over al-Jibāl. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, acting on al-Ma'mūn's orders, had appointed<sup>3419</sup> al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar al-Rustamī over al-Jibāl, but the latter also had renounced his oath of allegiance and had risen in revolt. When Dīnār arrived, he fought him and captured him. He also captured 'Alī b. al-Bahlūl.

Al-Ma'mūn sent Naṣr b. Ḥamza b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī to the frontier (*al-thughūr*). [Al-Rashīd had appointed Thābit b. Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī to it]<sup>3420</sup> and it was feared that he might rebel. Naṣr b. Ḥamza assumed the position from him and took over administration of the frontier districts. Less than a week later, Thābit b. Naṣr died. It was said that Naṣr b. Ḥamza b. Mālik had served him a poisoned drink.

Al-Ma'mūn sent 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī to be governor of Yemen, which was under the control of Ḥamdawayh b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā. The latter had started a rebellion sometime after the revolt of the 'Alid Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far. As soon as 'Īsā reached Mecca, he sent Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā off to Baghdad and appointed in his place the 'Alid 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan with a document sent by al-Ma'mūn. When al-Julūdī went on to Yemen, | Ḥamdawayh marched out against him. Their forces met on 5 Jumādā 1 205.<sup>3421</sup> Al-Julūdī called on Ḥamdawayh to declare his obedience, but the latter refused and fighting commenced between them. Many of Ḥamdawayh's men were killed, and Ḥamdawayh, defeated, entered the city of Ṣan'a'. Al-Julūdī pursued him until he came to the house in which he resided. Having seized Ḥamdawayh, who was wearing the gown of one of his slave-girls, al-Julūdī said to him: "Shame on you!—that you, an officer and an officer's son, should fight against the caliph and then flee from

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3417 Added by the Leiden editor in the *Addenda* on the basis of the list of al-Rashīd's children, above, ed. Leiden 2:521.

3418 Both MSS read "Ziyād" here, but have the correct name (Dīnār) below.

3419 Text possibly corrupted here.

3420 The Leiden editor has added the bracketed text on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:732.

3421 October 17, 820.

death in this way! God has spared your life so that you might appear before the Commander of the Faithful. He will judge you as he sees fit." And he sent him to al-Ma'mūn.

The army rose up against Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who was then in al-Raqqā on campaign against Naṣr b. Shabath. He returned to Baghdad, and in his stead he<sup>3422</sup> appointed Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh, who remained in al-Raqqā until his death. Al-Ma'mūn appointed Ṭāhir over the security forces (*shurat*), a post he retained for a year. He then complained to Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd al-Aḥwal, al-Ma'mūn's secretary, that he was tired of staying at court and that he desired to leave Baghdad. A deep and sincere friendship existed between the two men. After Ṭāhir arranged for Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd to receive three million dirhams, the latter devised a stratagem: he sent a letter purportedly from Ghassān b. 'Abbād, the governor of Khurāsān, to al-Ma'mūn in which he asked to be relieved of his post over Khurāsān. Al-Ma'mūn said: "By God, I know of nothing in the realm better than Khurāsān. I don't understand what has driven this simpleton to submit his resignation unless it is that he no longer feels up to the job." Whereupon Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd said to him, "Then appoint Ṭāhir!" So he appointed Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn over Khurāsān, at the beginning of 206,<sup>3423</sup> in place of Ghassān b. 'Abbād, and Ṭāhir went to the province. Ḥamza the Khārijite (*al-shārī*) had rebelled in Khurāsān, and one army after another had been sent against him. Then Ḥamza had died, and his son Ibrāhīm b. al-Naṣr<sup>3424</sup> | al-Tamīmī took his place and continued to be active throughout Ṭāhir's governorship. Ghassān b. 'Abbād came from Khurāsān, but al-Ma'mūn refused to see him for a month. Then al-Ḥasan b. Sahl wrote on his behalf, and al-Ma'mūn agreed to meet him. "Commander of the Faithful," he said, "may God make me your ransom! What is my offense?" (Al-Ma'mūn) replied: "You ask me to relieve you of your post in Khurāsān, when it is the very empire itself!" (Ghassān) swore to him about it.<sup>3425</sup> Thus (al-Ma'mūn) discovered the machinations of Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd.<sup>3426</sup>

Al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir over the Jazīra, Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib. He put all the offices of these provinces under his control and ordered

3422 It is unclear whether the pronoun refers to Ṭāhir or al-Ma'mūn.

3423 206 A.H. began on June 6, 821.

3424 Sic M; C similar ductus (letter shapes), but undotted. The text may be disturbed, as Ḥamza's son ought to be named Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamza.

3425 That is, he swore that he had never written asking to be relieved of his governorship. The Leiden editor suggests a lacuna before this sentence; none is visible in M.

3426 At this point M notes the end of "Part 9" and the beginning of "Part 10 of the History of Wāḍiḥ the Secretary."

him to campaign against those who had taken control in them. 'Abdallāh set out in 206, two months after the departure of his father for Khurāsān. He went to al-Raqqā and attacked Naṣr b. Shabath al-Naṣrī, who was then in control of Kaysūm and the surrounding areas of the Jazīra. He wrote to the others who had taken control of districts of the Jazīra and the regions of Syria. He sent them messengers concerning the supplementary imposts,<sup>3427</sup> and, to a man, they wrote back with assurances of their obedience. They requested that he send them guarantees of safe-conduct, which he agreed to do.

Al-Ma'mūn sent Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī to Egypt and with him 'Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī at the head of an army. He ordered the two men to work in tandem to secure the province.<sup>3428</sup> Once they had established order, 'Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī was to be responsible for the land tax (*kharāj*), while Khālid was to be responsible for the supplementary imposts (*ma'āwin*) and the Friday prayers. They set out from Iraq, taking the desert route until they reached Palestine; then they made their way to Egypt. In Lower Egypt, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jarawī was in control. When they drew near him, he wrote to assure them of his loyalty and obedience, that he and his father had never ceased to be loyal and obedient, and that that their letters | had constantly demonstrated this.<sup>3429</sup> Khālid b. Yazīd and 'Umar b. Faraj proceeded to the region of Lower Egypt and remained there for several months while exchanging letters with 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī. Finally Khālid marched against him, while 'Umar remained in place. 'Ubaydallāh marched out from al-Fuṣṭāṭ against Khālid. When the fighting began, the troops that al-Jarawī had dispatched to accompany Khālid deserted him. Khālid fought for a time alongside his clients (*mawālī*) and kinsmen, but 'Ubaydallāh outnumbered him and took him prisoner. Khālid remained his prisoner, but was treated<sup>3430</sup> generously and kept in the best and most comfortable of conditions. 'Ubaydallāh then

3427 Arabic *al-ma'āwin* (plural of *ma'ūna*), literally, "assistances." Originally these were extraordinary contributions, imposed when the public treasury was exhausted. However, even in Umayyad times, they tended to become a fixed impost, and the word could be extended to cover all sorts of taxes beyond the normal *kharāj* and *jizya*, to payments made from these imposts, and to forces (often police forces) supported by such imposts. The exact meaning here is therefore ambiguous. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:192; and the article by P. Crone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ma'ūna*.

3428 Arabic *yatakānafū al-naẓar*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:502.

3429 Reading with M, *wa-anna kutubahumā lam tazal mutṭaṣilatan bi-hādhā*. Ed. Leiden, apparently following C, omits *mutṭaṣilatan* (constant, uninterrupted).

3430 The MSS are corrupt; the translation follows the emendation suggested by ed. Leiden.

put him on a boat, provided him with supplies, and permitted him to return to Iraq. Afterward Khālīd used to say: "I never was so grateful to anyone as I was to 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī. He showed me every kindness—if only he had not shipped me off by sea!" 'Umar b. al-Faraj remained in Lower Egypt until the time for the pilgrimage arrived. Ibn al-Jarawī then escorted him to Mecca.

The head of intelligence (*ṣāhib al-khabar*) in Khurāsān wrote to report that Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn had ascended the pulpit on Friday and addressed the congregation without invoking God's blessing on the Commander of the Faithful. Al-Ma'mūn summoned Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd by night and said to him, "You sold me for three million dirhams that you received from Ṭāhir." He replied, "I will go out to him and take care of him for you." Al-Ma'mūn ordered him to make ready. Then Ṭāhir's letter to Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd arrived in which he asked him to send on Muḥammad b. Farrukh al-'Umrakī,<sup>3431</sup> who was among the people dearest and most closely tied to Ṭāhir. Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd said to al-Ma'mūn, "Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad b. Farrukh will do just what I was going to do." Muḥammad assigned a number of land grants, gathered up large sums of money, and then proceeded to Khurāsān. He stayed with Ṭāhir less than a month before the latter died. It was said that al-'Umrakī's nephew |  
2:557 slipped him poison which killed him. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn died in Khurāsān in the year 207 at the age of forty-eight.<sup>3432</sup> Al-Ma'mūn appointed his son Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir over Khurāsān. He also sent Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd with the army that he had assigned to him. Ibn Abī Khālīd marched to Khurāsān accompanied by al-Afshīn Ḥaydar b. Kāwūs al-Ushrūsani<sup>3433</sup> and a number of the princes of Khurāsān.

Word reached al-Ma'mūn that Bishr b. Dāwūd al-Muhallabī, the governor of al-Sind, had become disobedient, so he sent Ḥājib b. Ṣālīḥ as governor in his stead. When the latter reached Makrān, he found Bishr b. Dāwūd's brother there and said to him: "Give up your office! The letter of (my) appointment is meant to be read to Bishr so that he can reply with a letter acknowledging the transfer of duties."<sup>3434</sup> The other replied: "But I am here on behalf of Bishr, who is in

3431 The reading of the *nisba* is provisional.

3432 207 A.H. = May 27, 822 – May 15, 823; cf. the parallel account, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1063–1066 (trans. Bosworth, 131–135).

3433 Usually known simply as al-Afshīn (the title borne by the native princes of Ushrūsana in Central Asia), he went on to a celebrated military career under al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim; see the article by W. Barthold and H. A. R. Gibb, updated by Matthew Gordon in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Afshīn.

3434 The text of the sentence is corrupt in the MSS; the translation is conjectural.



al-Manṣūra. You are two days' journey from him. When you<sup>3435</sup> have met with him and he has written me of his surrender of authority, I will surrender (my office) to you." A dispute ensued between them. Ibn Ṣāliḥ wrote to al-Ma'mūn informing him that Bishr had renounced his allegiance and had taken up arms against him. Al-Ma'mūn summoned Muḥammad b. 'Abbād al-Muhallabī, the leader of the people of Basra at that time, saying: "Bishr has become disobedient." "God forbid!" exclaimed Ibn 'Abbād. Al-Ma'mūn said, "Set out with Ghassān b. 'Abbād." With Ghassān he sent a number of commanders and Mūsā b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī, ordering him to install Mūsā as governor of the province. When Ghassān reached the province of al-Sind, Bishr came out to meet him and submitted to him without fighting or conflict. He dispatched him (back to Iraq) and placed Mūsā b. Yaḥyā in charge of the province. Mūsā remained in the province until his death, whereupon his son 'Imrān b. Mūsā succeeded him. | When Bishr b. Dāwūd and the Muhallabī family members accompanying him reached Iraq, al-Ma'mūn released them all and treated them well.

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Al-Ma'mūn apprehended Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī—Ibn Shakla—early in the year 208.<sup>3436</sup> He apprehended him by night, and on the same night he held a session of open court. He imprisoned him unshackled in the care of Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd, and ordered the latter to treat him well. Ibrāhīm wrote to al-Ma'mūn from his cell, not doubting that the caliph was going to execute him:<sup>3437</sup>

He who is charged with exacting vengeance, Commander of the Faithful, is given discretion with regard to retaliation, *but forgiveness is nearer to piety*.<sup>3438</sup> He who is led astray by what is extended to him of comfort and ease visits upon himself the misfortunes of fate. God has placed you above all others who are charged with mercy, just as He has placed every other sinner beneath me. If you forgive, it is by your graciousness; if you go forward, it is by your right.

3435 The unvocalized Arabic verb can be read as second person, as translated, or as first person (when I have met).

3436 208 A.H. = May 16, 823 – May 3, 824; note that al-Ya'qūbī dates these events two years earlier than al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 3:1073–1074.

3437 Cf. the parallels with significant variants in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 3:1076 (trans. Bosworth, 149) and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:325–326 (§ 2750–2751).

3438 Cf. Qur'ān 2:237.

Al-Ma'mūn wrote his reply on the back of Ibrāhīm's letter: "Power removes resentment, contrition is repentance, and between them is God's mercy, which is the greatest thing we can ask of Him." Al-Ma'mūn set Ibn al-Mahdī free and forgave him. He said: "I consulted all my advisors regarding you; I even consulted my brother Abū Ishāq and my son al-'Abbās. They all advised me to execute you, but I refused to do anything but forgive you." Ibn al-Mahdī replied:<sup>3439</sup> "As for advising you sincerely with respect to the authority of the caliphate and the administration of the realm, this they did; but you refused to seek God's support in the manner that they counseled." Al-Ma'mūn had consulted all his companions about him, and although each had recommended his execution, he said to them, "If I execute him, I shall be following the example of the kings who came before me as regards their treatment of those who opposed them and rose up against them; but if I forgive, I shall be a nation unto myself."<sup>3440</sup>

2:559 Ibn 'Ā'isha—that is, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb | b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās<sup>3441</sup>—rose in revolt with a group of followers, among them Mālik b. Shāhī al-Niffarī from the people of the Sawād, and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ifriqī. They established pay registers, recorded names of fighters, and designated governors. Al-Ma'mūn apprehended him, imprisoning him in al-Maṭbaq.<sup>3442</sup> Ibrāhīm b. 'Ā'isha won over the denizens of al-Maṭbaq and convinced them to rise up and revolt; they converted to Christianity and tied belts around their waists and crosses around their throats.<sup>3443</sup> Muḥammad b. 'Imrān, the head of intelligence (*ṣāhib al-barīd*) brought word of their activities. Al-Ma'mūn rode at night to al-Maṭbaq when the news was confirmed to him and brought a group of his commanders. He had Ibrāhīm brought forward and ordered him beheaded and his followers executed—they were al-Ifriqī and Faraj al-Baghawārī. Ibn 'Ā'isha was gibbeted in Baghdad and left for three days before being taken down. This took place in the year 210.<sup>3444</sup>

3439 The translation follows the emendation suggested by the Leiden editor.

3440 Arabic *kuntu ummatan waḥdī*. *Ummah* (nation, people) here has the extended sense of "religious group, kind" (a bit like the Latin *sui generis*). See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:90.

3441 He was known as Ibn 'Ā'isha after his grandmother, 'Ā'isha bt. Sulaymān b. 'Alī; see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn 'Ā'isha.

3442 Described as a subterranean dungeon, this was the principal prison in early Baghdad.

3443 The Arabic (*tanaṣṣarū*) is ambiguous: either "they converted to Christianity" or "they pretended to be Christians."

3444 210 A.H. = April 24, 825 – April 12, 826.

Al-Ma'mūn went from Baghdad to Fam al-Šilḥ, the home of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, and married Būrān, the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.<sup>3445</sup> He celebrated her wedding there, a wedding the like of which had never been seen. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl paid the expenses of al-Ma'mūn and his entire entourage—family, officials, companions, and camp followers—for the days that al-Ma'mūn was there, showering them with estates and villages, male and female slaves, horses and mounts. The names of these items were written on slips of paper that were inserted into balls of musk and strewn over the guests. Each person, on receiving a ball, read the slip of paper in it and collected the item from al-Ḥasan's deputies. He also showered the guests with dirhams and dinars, pieces of musk, and slivers of amber. Al-Ma'mūn remained there for forty days before departing.

In this year, 210, 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir overran Kaysūm, defeated Naṣr b. Shabath, and had him sent to al-Ma'mūn. Ibn Manṣūr b. Ziyād, who as head of 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir's intelligence and postal service (*barīd*) reported on 'Abdallāh's affairs to al-Ma'mūn, recounted that 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir would leave his encampment every evening; Naṣr b. Shabath would come out to meet him, and the two men would meet and talk. Al-Ma'mūn summoned 'Amr b. Mas'ada and ordered him to feign an illness that required him to remain at home. Unbeknownst to anyone, he was to take fifteen horses of the postal service, make his way to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, and say to him: "You son of a whore! The Commander of the Faithful has a mind to order the purchase<sup>3446</sup> of a black slave, send him to fill your post, and have you serve as his groom." He ordered 'Amr not to greet 'Abdallāh or listen to his reply. So 'Amr set out. When he met with 'Abdallāh, he did not greet him until he had conveyed the message to him publicly before the people. Then he departed without listening to any reply from 'Abdallāh. On the fortieth day after 'Amr's mission, Naṣr b. Shabath arrived.

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'Abdallāh set out methodically through the provinces of Syria, making certain in each one to round up the heads of the tribes and clans, the vagabonds (*ṣa'ālīk*) and the brigands (*zawāqīl*).<sup>3447</sup> He razed fortresses and city walls,

3445 The copyist of M omitted the words "and married Būrān, the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl," apparently by homeoteleuton. The words were added in the margin of C and therefore appear in ed. Leiden. For a list of other accounts of the wedding celebrations, see the article by Katherine H. Lang in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Būrān.

3446 The translation follows the apparent reading of M, *an ya'mura bi-širā* (the last word is unclear); ed. Leiden emends the reading of C to *an yu'ammira* (to appoint as commander), noting in the apparatus that another word follows, but implying that it has been miscopied and makes no sense.

3447 On the *ṣa'ālīk* and *zawāqīl* (translated here as 'vagabonds' and 'brigands,' although the

issued guarantees of safe-conduct to the Black, the White, and the Red,<sup>3448</sup> and brought all of them together.<sup>3449</sup> He saw to the needs of the provinces, in some cases lowering the land tax. There remained not one opponent or rebel who did not come down from his citadel and fortress. ‘Abdallāh proceeded with all these forces to Egypt, where ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jarawī, who was in control of Lower Egypt, met him and told him that he, along with his father, had never  
 2:561 ceased | to be obedient. ‘Abdallāh accepted his assurances and included him in his party; finally, having encamped at Bilbays, ‘Abdallāh fought several battles against ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī. One by one, ‘Ubaydallāh’s men requested safe-conduct, until not one of his original supporters remained at his side. Seeing this, ‘Ubaydallāh sought a guarantee of safe-conduct, on condition that he be allowed to keep what he had collected, along with permission to collect two months’ revenue from Upper Egypt. ‘Abdallāh granted the request and the guarantee of safety, saying: “Even if he had demanded that I lay my cheek on the ground for him to tread on, I would have done it. It would have been a small price to pay for my preferred course of preventing bloodshed.” ‘Ubaydallāh surrendered to him ten (nights) remaining in the month of Ṣafar in the year  
 211.<sup>3450</sup>

‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir entered al-Fuṣṭāṭ and wrote (to al-Ma’mūn) of his victory. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir retained ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī as governor of Upper Egypt for two months. He then sent him to Iraq and appointed al-‘Abbās b. Hāshim [b.] Bātījūr<sup>3451</sup> over the region.

A group of Andalusians had gained control over Alexandria. ‘Abdallāh marched against them and imposed a strict siege on the city. Then he gave them a guarantee of safe-conduct and took Alexandria in the year 212.<sup>3452</sup> He appointed Ilyās b. Asad al-Khurāsānī over the city and went back to al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

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terms may be synonymous), see the article by P. M. Cobb in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zawākīl*, and the article by A. Arazi in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṣu’lūk*; also the general article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Naṣr b. Shabath*.

3448 The Black refers to the partisans of the ‘Abbāsids; the White refers to partisans of the Umayyads; and the Red refers to the Qaysī Arabs, each group designated by the colors of its banners or garments.

3449 The suggestion seems to be that elements from the various groups were incorporated into ‘Abdallāh’s army, although it is also possible that he held individuals from each group as hostages as a means to win compliance from each group.

3450 20 Ṣafar 211 = June 1, 826.

3451 The Leiden editor has added *ibn* before *Bātījūr*; the reading of the name is uncertain.

3452 212 A.H. = April 2, 827 – March 21, 828.

Then he returned to Iraq, taking with him (ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) al-Jarawī and a number of people from Egypt and Syria. He appointed ʿIsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī as his deputy for Egypt.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿUmarī, a descendent of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, had risen up in Yemen, expelling Muḥammad b. Nāfiʿ and seizing the treasury. Al-Ma'mūn appointed Abū l-Rāzī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd over Yemen. When he arrived, al-ʿUmarī pleaded for a guarantee of safe-conduct, which he gave him. But then Abū l-Rāzī tricked him and | arrested him, along with a group of his family members and his sons. He bound them in irons and sent them to al-Ma'mūn, and he required the people of Yemen to pay two years of land tax that had been collected by Ibn al-ʿUmarī. He summoned Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ja'far al-Ḥimyārī, who was known as al-Munājī,<sup>3453</sup> from his fortified mountain redoubt, ordering him to come to him. When al-Munājī did not come, Abū l-Rāzī marched against him, seeking him out. When Abū l-Rāzī reached the mountain, he traveled along a narrow trail where Ibn Abī Ja'far attacked him, killing him and a number of his men and capturing others. He cut off their hands and feet and released them. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ja'far took control of Yemen and sacked the capital. This took place in the year 212.

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ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuzāʿī died in Dhū l-Ḥijja of this year.<sup>3454</sup> In the same year many fires occurred in al-Karkh.<sup>3455</sup>

Al-Ma'mūn had appointed Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Ṣanʿānī over Armenia and Azerbaijan—others say rather that Harthama b. Aʿyan had sent him from<sup>3456</sup> Hamadhān while he was making his way to Iraq. Al-Ṣanʿānī went to Warthān, a district of Azerbaijan. After he wrote to the commanders of Armenia and the notables of its army, they swore allegiance to al-Ma'mūn. The official there who had been appointed by the Deposed One<sup>3457</sup> was Ishāq b. Sulaymān. With him were ʿUmar, al-Ḥazūn, Narsī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (the chief [*biṭrīq*] of Arrān), and a number of other local notables (*baṭāriqa*). He approached, hoping to reach Bardha'a in order to punish its inhabitants for having driven out his son. Ṭāhir, al-Ma'mūn's governor, sent Zuhayr b. Sinān al-Tamīmī against them at the head of a large force. The armies met and fought | for the greater part of a day. Ishāq b. Sulaymān and his companions were defeated, and his son Ja'far b. Ishāq b.

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3453 This is the apparent reading of M; ed. Leiden, *al-Munākhi* (but with note that the word is written without dots in C).

3454 Dhū l-Ḥijja 212 = February 21, 828 – March 21, 828.

3455 A Baghdad neighborhood west of the Tigris and south of the Round City.

3456 The MSS read *ilā* (to); *min* (from) is the Leiden editor's emendation.

3457 That is, al-Amīn.

Sulaymān was captured. [Ṭāhir sent him]<sup>3458</sup> and the others taken prisoner with him to al-Ma'mūn.

Ṭāhir al-Ṣan'ānī had been there only a few days when 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Jahhāf al-Sulamī rebelled against him, rising up among<sup>3459</sup> the people of al-Baylaqān. They trapped Ṭāhir in the city of Bardha'a, where he remained besieged for a number of months. When word of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he appointed Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī, who arrived in the province while Ṭāhir was under siege. He brought him out, dismissed him, and granted a guarantee of safety to 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>3460</sup> Order in the region was restored. Al-Ma'mūn then appointed Ḥātīm b. Harthama b. A'yan over Armenia. He arrived in the province after strife had broken out between the Mu'tazila and the Jamā'a,<sup>3461</sup> with members of each faction killing one another. The factions nearly destroyed each other before a settlement was reached between them. Ḥātīm b. Harthama was in the province for only a few days before he received word of the death of his father Harthama and the circumstances in which he perished. He left Bardha'a and settled in Kisāl,<sup>3462</sup> where he built a fortress and took steps to renounce (his allegiance). He wrote to the leaders (*baṭāriqa*) and notables of Armenia and to Bābak and the Khurramiyya,<sup>3463</sup> disparaging the rule of the Muslims in their eyes.

3458 Added by the Leiden editor.

3459 Accepting the emendation of the Leiden editor (*fī*); the MSS read *min* (from).

3460 The referents of the pronouns in this very terse sentence are unclear. It is quite possible that they do not all refer to the same subject, Sulaymān, but rather that *Sulaymān* brought Ṭāhir out of siege, whereupon Ṭāhir dismissed *Sulaymān* and granted a guarantee of safety to 'Abd al-Malik. This, however, is not the obvious sense of the Arabic.

3461 That is, between those who adhered to the theological positions of the Mu'tazilite school and those who adhered to the Jamā'a (Consensus, Unity). The central point of difference between the two groups at this time was the question of whether the Qur'ān had been created or whether it was eternal. Over this question al-Ma'mūn would institute a test (*miḥna*) for judges in 218/833, requiring judges to swear to the Mu'tazilite position that the Qur'ān was created, not eternal. See the article by M. Hinds in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Miḥna.

3462 As corrected by the Leiden editor. The MSS here read "Kaysān," but subsequently refer to the place as Kisāl. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 207, refers to a place named Kisāl 40 farsakhs from Bardha'a and 20 farsakhs from Tiflis.

3463 On this religious movement with roots in the teachings of Mazdak and on the major anti-Arab rebellion led by Bābak in its name, see the articles by W. Madelung in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khurramiyya, and by Patricia Crone in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bābak; also, Crone, *Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran*, 46–76.

Bābak and the Khurramiyya became active, and Bābak gained control in the province of Azerbaijan. When news of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he appointed Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh b. Muslim, a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Dhuhl, over Armenia. [...] <sup>3464</sup> and he did so. Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh launched a series of attacks but failed each time to defeat Bābak. Al-Ma'mūn had given safe-conduct to <sup>3465</sup> 'Īsā | b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālīd, the officer who had taken part in the fighting in the days of the Deposed One (al-Amīn). When Yaḥyā (b. Mu'adh's) efforts came to nothing, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Īsā over Armenia and Azerbaijan, ordering him to equip the men and pay their salaries from his own funds. 'Īsā b. Muḥammad therefore equipped them using his own funds. These were the forces whose district was located in the City of Peace (Baghdad); when he marched out, there remained in Baghdad not a single member of the army of al-Ḥarbiyya who had participated in the civil war. 2:564

When 'Īsā b. Muḥammad reached the province, Muḥammad b. al-Rawwādī <sup>3466</sup> b. al-Muthannā <sup>3467</sup> and all of the chiefs of the region joined him. He set out energetically against Bābak, but he took a route through a narrow pass where Bābak attacked him and defeated him. 'Īsā retreated quickly, stopping for nothing, whereupon one of the toughs <sup>3468</sup> from al-Ḥarbiyya shouted to him, "Where are you headed, Abū Mūsā?" He replied, "We have no luck fighting these people; we are feared only when we fight the Muslims." He withdrew from Azerbaijan to Armenia, where Sawāda b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jahḥāfi had risen in revolt. 'Īsā proposed appointing him as governor of Armenia but al-Jahḥāfi refused, choosing instead to do battle. So 'Īsā fought and defeated him, though with some difficulty. Armenia came under the control of 'Īsā b. Muḥammad.

The affair of Bābak reached formidable proportions <sup>3469</sup> in al-Badhdh. Al-Ma'mūn appointed Zurayq b. 'Alī b. Ṣadaqa al-Azdī, but he accomplished nothing. He then appointed Ibn Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī. When Zurayq learned that he had been stripped of his post, he renounced his allegiance and rose in rebellion. When Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd reached the province, Zurayq fought him, but

3464 Text has apparently dropped out of the MSS, although there is no visible lacuna.

3465 Reading with M, *ammana*; ed. Leiden (following C), reads *amara* (had ordered), adding in a note: "The context requires: to bring him aid with al-Ḥarbiyya."

3466 Suggested reading.

3467 Sic apparently M.

3468 Arabic *shuṭṭār*. On the term, see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 55 and note 178.

3469 The MSS read *ista'mala* (he/it used), which makes no sense; ed. Leiden emends to *ista'zama* (he deemed great, weighty). A more likely emendation based on the graphic similarity of the two words is *istafhala* (it became great, formidable).

2:565 Muḥammad killed his men. Zurayq sought a guarantee of safety, which Ibn Ḥumayd granted him and then sent him to al-Ma'mūn. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd remained until | he had rid the province of all whose malevolence he feared. When he was in a position to make war on Bābak, he readied his forces to fight him. He marched against him and engaged Bābak in heavy fighting, in all of which he gained victory. Then, however, he ventured into a narrow, rugged place, and so Ibn Ḥumayd and a contingent of his troops went on foot.<sup>3470</sup> At this point Bābak's men attacked them, killing Muḥammad (b. Ḥumayd) and a number of his officers, and the army was routed.

Mahdī b. Aṣram, a relative of Ibn Ḥumayd, assumed command of the army—this was early in the year 214.<sup>3471</sup> When Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd was killed, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, entrusting him with the regions of al-Jibāl, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. The caliph wrote to the judges and tax officials, ordering them to carry out 'Abdallāh's orders. 'Abdallāh set out and stayed at al-Dīnawar. He wrote to Mahdī b. Aṣram, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, the commanders who had been with Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd, asking them to remain where they were.

2:566 When Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir died in Khurāsān, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abdallāh (b. Ṭāhir) to succeed him and sent him his document of appointment with Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm and Yaḥyā b. Aktham, the chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*).<sup>3472</sup> 'Abdallāh proceeded to Khurāsān in this year, and al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Alī b. Hishām over Azerbaijan and the campaign against Bābak. He appointed 'Abd al-A'lā b. Aḥmad b. Yazīd b. Asīd al-Sulamī over Armenia. He arrived in the province after Muḥammad b. 'Attāb had wrested control over Jurzān and had won the backing of the Ṣanāriyya. 'Abd al-A'lā fought him, but since he had no discipline or knowledge of warfare Ibn 'Attāb defeated him. Al-Ma'mūn then appointed Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mazyad. He led out those of his kinsmen who had been in the army<sup>3473</sup> in Iraq and marched to the Jazīra, where a large number of Rabi'a tribesmen joined him. | Then he proceeded to the province.

When Khālīd reached Khilāt, Sawāda b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Jaḥḥāfi came to him and Khālīd granted him a guarantee of safe-conduct. Khālīd then pro-

3470 Reading with M, *tarajjala*; ed. Leiden (following C) has *tarahḥala* (journeyed).

3471 214 A.H. = March 11, 829 – February 27, 830.

3472 According to the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1102: "They offered him the choice between Khurāsān on the one hand, and Jibāl, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the conduct of the war against Bābak on the other; 'Abdallāh chose Khurāsān, and set off towards it." (Trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 182).

3473 Reading with M, *al-jaysh*, although the first and last letters are undotted and ambiguous; ed. Leiden (apparently following C) reads *al-ḥabs* (imprisonment).



ceeded to al-Nashawā, where Yazīd b. Ḥiṣn, a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Muḥārib, had taken control, but Yazīd b. Ḥiṣn fled from him. Having arrived at Kisāl, he encamped there and sent a message to Muḥammad b. 'Attāb, who, feigning submission, came to him seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct. Khālīd [...] <sup>3474</sup> and then said to him, "The Ṣanāriyya are obedient to you!" Muḥammad b. 'Attāb replied, "They have no obedience to me!" Khālīd therefore marched against them. He fell on them near Jurzān, defeated them, and seized their herds. He then offered a settlement, which he granted them for a tribute of three thousand stud-mares and twenty thousand sheep. Only a short time later they [...]. <sup>3475</sup> The Qaysiyya rebelled with them and made trouble for Khālīd. Among them was 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī. Khālīd captured him and some others and dispatched them to al-Ma'mūn, who sent them on to Abū Ishāq al-Mu'taṣim, placing them under his command and assigning them a regular stipend.

Afterward, al-Ma'mūn replaced Khālīd with 'Abdallāh b. Maṣād al-Asadī. He summoned Khālīd, who feared he had fallen into disgrace <sup>3476</sup> with the caliph, but when he arrived, al-Ma'mūn joined him to his brother al-Mu'taṣim. 'Abdallāh b. Maṣād al-Asadī arrived in the province but died shortly thereafter, and (al-Ma'mūn) <sup>3477</sup> appointed his son 'Alī to succeed him. The province grew unstable, and al-Ma'mūn appointed al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Bādhghisī, who was known as al-[Ma'mūn]i. <sup>3478</sup> When he arrived, the province was in turmoil. He fought the people of Qal'at [\_\_\_], <sup>3479</sup> which he overran. He proceeded to Dabīl, where he set up camp. He wrote to Ishāq b. Ismā'īl b. Shu'ayb al-Tiflīsī, requesting the delivery of funds. Ishāq rebuffed him | and sent his messengers back. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī therefore marched on Tiflīs, but when he drew near to him, Ishāq came out and gave him some money, and so al-Ḥasan withdrew.

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In 214, al-Ma'mūn appointed his brother Abū Ishāq governor of Egypt and the Maghrib and his son al-'Abbās governor of the Jazīra. When al-'Abbās arrived in the Jazīra, Bilāl the Khārijite (*al-shārī*) had risen in rebellion. Al-

3474 Both MSS show a lacuna here. The Leiden editor conjectured that the missing word is *fa-āmanahu* (so he granted him a safe-conduct).

3475 Both MSS show a lacuna here.

3476 Reading with M *shanū'a*; ed. Leiden emends unnecessarily to *su'ya* (had been slandered).

3477 The subject of the verb is unclear, but the syntax makes al-Ma'mūn likely.

3478 Both MSS show a lacuna, with only the last two letters of the name (... *nī*) being written. The Leiden editor restored the name on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 211.

3479 The name is undotted in both MSS. One possibility is *Dābiqayn*; cf. Yāqūt, s.v. *Dābiq*.

‘Abbās and Abū Ishāq, along with a number of their commanders, joined forces against him, defeated him, and killed him.

The Qaysiyya and Yamāniyya rebelled in the Ḥawf region of Egypt. ‘Īsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī fought them, but they defeated him several times. Abū Ishāq (al-Mu‘taṣim) sent ‘Umayr b. al-Walīd as governor of Egypt to replace al-Julūdī. ‘Umayr fought the tribal forces with great brutality, but then was killed. Al-Ma’mūn ordered Abū Ishāq to proceed in person against them, so he set out from al-Raqqa. He offered them a guarantee of safe-conduct, but when they rejected his offer he attacked and defeated them. He captured ‘Abdallāh b. Julays<sup>3480</sup> al-Hilālī, the head of the Qaysiyya, and ‘Abd al-Salām al-Judhāmī, the head of the Yamāniyya. He beheaded both men and hung their bodies from the Egypt Bridge. He also captured a large number of others, whom he transported to Baghdad. Then Yaḥyā b. Aktham<sup>3481</sup> slandered al-Mu‘taṣim to al-Ma’mūn, saying to him, “I have received word that he is working to depose you.” Al-Ma’mūn sent for Abū Ishāq, ordering him to proceed to him and saying he would not move until (Abū Ishāq) appeared before him. Abū Ishāq set out with two hundred mules that he had purchased and whose tails he had clipped. As his deputy in al-Fuṣṭāṭ he appointed ‘Abdawayh b. Jabala.

2:568 Al-Ma’mūn set out for the land of the Byzantines in Muḥarram of the year 215.<sup>3482</sup> Leading the summer campaign, he seized Ankara, partly through a negotiated agreement, partly by the sword; he laid it waste, and the Patricius Manuel fled from it. Al-Ma’mūn took the fortress of Shamāl,<sup>3483</sup> then withdrew and set up residence | in Damascus. There he received word that the people of al-Basharūd, a district in Egypt, had risen in rebellion. He ordered his brother Abū Ishāq to send out al-Afshīn Ḥaydar b. Kāwūs. He therefore dispatched al-Afshīn, who put an end to their mischief and then marched on to Barqa, whose people had become disobedient. He took Barqa, captured Muslim b. Naṣr b. al-A‘war, and returned to Egypt in the year 216.<sup>3484</sup> When the people of the Ḥawf and al-Basharūd resumed their disobedience, he marched against them.

Al-Ma’mūn led an expedition into the land of the Byzantines in the year 216, overrunning twelve fortresses and a number of underground storehouses.<sup>3485</sup>

3480 On this form of the name, see Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 159.

3481 The chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of Baghdad.

3482 Began February 28, 830.

3483 Sic MSS; possibly to be identified with the fortress Sinān mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1103 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 186).

3484 216 A. H. = February 18, 831 – February 6, 832.

3485 Arabic *maṭāmūr* (singular, *maṭmūra*). See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 188, n. 580.

Then he received word that the Byzantine emperor (*tāghiyat al-Rūm*) was on the march, so he sent out his son al-'Abbās, who met him and routed him, and God rewarded the Muslims with victory. Theophilus, the Byzantine king (*malik al-Rūm*), dispatched his companion al-Astabāq<sup>3486</sup> to al-Ma'mūn with a letter which he began with his own name. Al-Ma'mūn said: "I will not read a letter from him that he begins with his name," and he sent it back. Then Theophilus, the son of Michael, wrote: "To the Servant of God, the Most Noble of Men, the King of the Arabs, from Theophilus, the son of the late Michael, King of the Romans (*malik al-Rūm*)."<sup>3487</sup> He asked al-Ma'mūn to accept from him 100,000 dinars and the (Muslim) prisoners, 7,000 in number, who were in his possession; he would leave to the Muslims the Byzantine towns and fortresses that (al-Ma'mūn) had conquered, and he would cease hostilities against them for five years. Al-Ma'mūn did not accept this from him. He departed for Kaysūm in the province of the Jazīra in Diyār Muḍār.

Umm Ja'far [bt. Ja'far]<sup>3488</sup> b. al-Manṣūr died on Monday, four (nights) remaining in Jumādā I in the year 216.<sup>3489</sup> The announcement of the death of 'Amr b. Mas'ada in Adhana arrived on the same day. Ṭawq b. Mālik al-Rabā'ī also died in this year in the month of Ramaḍān.<sup>3490</sup>

The strength of those fighting al-Afshīn in Egypt—the people of the Ḥawf, al-Biyamā, and al-Basharūd, all of which are areas of Lower Egypt—increased. Having sent al-Afshīn ahead to fight the people of the Ḥawf, al-Ma'mūn set out for the lands of Egypt and marched against them in person. He slew and took prisoners at al-Biyamā—they were Copts from al-Basharūd. Al-Ma'mūn sought the opinion of a Mālikī jurist (*faqīh*) in Egypt named al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn<sup>3491</sup> on the matter. He declared: "If they rebelled because of some wrong done to them, their lives and property may not be harmed." Al-Ma'mūn replied: "You are a jackass and Mālik<sup>3492</sup> is even more of a jackass. These are unbelievers (*kuffār*) who have a right to protection (*dhimma*). When they are wronged, they are to

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3486 This is the apparent reading of M; ed. Leiden, *al-Usqf* (the bishop) is unlikely.

3487 There may be a lacuna in the text.

3488 Added by ed. Leiden; this was Zubayda, the mother of al-Amīn and stepmother of al-Ma'mūn.

3489 26 Jumādā I 216 = July 11, 831.

3490 Ramaḍān 216 = October 12 – November 10, 831.

3491 Al-Ḥārith was among the Egyptian scholars persecuted later in the Miḥna. See, for example, al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, 12:54–58. Also El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*, 140 and note 117, and Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 164–165.

3492 That is, Mālik b. Anas, the founder of the Mālikī legal school.

appeal to the Imam;<sup>3493</sup> they do not have the right to seek support by [...] <sup>3494</sup> or to shed the blood of Muslims in their own homes." Al-Ma'mūn seized their leaders and had them transported to Baghdad.

Muḥammad b. Abī l-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī<sup>3495</sup> and Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād<sup>3496</sup> slandered Yaḥyā b. Aktham to al-Ma'mūn in order to curry favor with Abū Ishāq (al-Mu'taṣim). Al-Ma'mūn therefore turned against him; he ordered him banished from his camp and stripped of his black garments, and he sent him back to Baghdad and commanded him not to leave his house. Ibn Aktham was escorted out of Egypt by deputies assigned to guard him. Al-Ma'mūn also turned against the commander 'Īsā b. Maṣṣūr al-Rāfiqī,<sup>3497</sup> whom he banished from his camp. His turning against both men took place on the same day.

Al-Ma'mūn's stay in Egypt lasted forty-seven days: he arrived on 10 Muḥarram and left with three (nights) remaining in Ṣafar of the year 217.<sup>3498</sup> He went to Damascus on his way back from Egypt and remained there for a number of days. He then proceeded to the Byzantine frontier (*al-thaḡhr*) and stayed at Adhana, where he established his camp. Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṭā'i, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, and other associates of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-  
2:570 Ṭūsī who | had been in Azerbaijan came to al-Ma'mūn's court and denounced 'Alī b. Hishām, charging him with disloyalty and rebelliousness. Al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī, 'Alī b. Hishām's intelligence chief (*ṣāhib barīd*), wrote in the same vein. Al-Ma'mūn dispatched 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa, one of his highest commanders, and Aḥmad b. Hishām. 'Ujayf escorted 'Alī to Adhana, where al-Ma'mūn ordered him and his brother, al-Ḥusayn b. Hishām, to be beheaded. The person charged with carrying out the deed with his own hand was their nephew, Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl b. Hishām. 'Alī b. Hishām's head was impaled on a lance for several days, then sent to Barqa, where it was placed in a catapult (*manjanīq*) and hurled into the sea.

3493 That is, the head of the Muslim community.

3494 There is a lacuna in both MSS; the Leiden editor suggested filling it with *bi-asyāfihim* (by their swords) or *bi-anfusihim* (by themselves).

3495 A Khurāsānian commander in al-Ma'mūn's army, from a family which had been prominent in the 'Abbāsīd revolution, and brother-in-law of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn; see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 174.

3496 Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād (the name is pointed as Duwād in the text of ed. Leiden, but as Du'ād in the index; M wrongly writes Dāwūd) was a Mu'tazilī scholar who later served as chief judge for al-Mu'taṣim; see the article by John P. Turner in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād.

3497 Al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, has "al-Rāfi'ī."

3498 That is, from February 16 to April 3, 832.

Al-Ma'mūn invaded Byzantine territory in this year, 217<sup>3499</sup>—as far as a Byzantine fortress known as Lu'lu'a.<sup>3500</sup> He besieged it for a time but was unable to capture it. He had two fortresses built there, to which he assigned Abū Ishāq and the infantry. Then he turned back to a village called Salaghūs.<sup>3501</sup> Over his fortress he assigned Aḥmad b. Bisṭām; Abū Ishāq (al-Mu'taṣim) assigned Muḥammad b. Faraj b. Abī l-Layth b. al-Faḍl over his fortress. Al-Ma'mūn provided them with a year's worth of supplies. Al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa over the entire army.<sup>3502</sup> But the Byzantines defending Lu'lu'a outwitted 'Ujayf and captured him, and he remained in their hands for a month. They sent a letter to their emperor, who set out toward them, but God routed him without a fight. The Muslims in the two fortresses took possession of his camp and seized all it contained. When the defenders of Lu'lu'a saw this, and given the toll the siege was exacting upon them, their chief sought a way out. He said to 'Ujayf, "I will let you go provided that you get me a safe-conduct from al-Ma'mūn." 'Ujayf gave him his word that he would do so. | The Byzantine chief added, "I want a hostage," to which 'Ujayf replied, "I will have my sons brought to you." He ordered his deputy to send him two Christian houseboys clad in breastplates<sup>3503</sup> and mounted on horses and to send with them a group of young Christian slaves dressed as Muslims. His deputy carried out the order. 'Ujayf gave the hostages to the Byzantines and left. When he reached camp, he wrote back: "The hostages in your hands are Christians and you can do what you like with them." The Byzantine chief wrote back to 'Ujayf: "Keeping faith is a good thing, better than *your* religion!" 'Ujayf got them the safe-conduct; then he took the fortress and settled Muslims there.

2:571

In the year 218,<sup>3504</sup> al-Ma'mūn went to Damascus, where he tested people concerning God's justice and unity.<sup>3505</sup> He sent letters to have jurists from Iraq

3499 217 A.H. = February 7, 832 to January 26, 833.

3500 Greek Loulon, a fortress whose site is marked today by Ulu Kişla northwest of Adana (Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 194, note 603).

3501 The name is corrupt in both MSS; the Leiden editor restored it on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1111, and other citations of the name. Salaghūs was a fortress beyond Tarsus (Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 197, note 614).

3502 Arabic *jam'ā al-nās* (all the men) is a bit cryptic.

3503 The reading is uncertain.

3504 218 A.H. = January 27, 833 – January 15, 834.

3505 Arabic *imtaḥana l-nās fī l-adl wa-l-tawḥīd*. Thus al-Ya'qūbī begins his account of the episode usually referred to as the Miḥna. The verb *imtaḥana* (he tested) is related to the word *miḥna* (a testing), which is used to describe this attempt to enforce uniformity, particularly among holders of judicial office (*al-nās*, 'the people' here should be taken

and elsewhere sent to him, and he interrogated them about the createdness of the Qur'ān and condemned as an unbeliever anyone who abstained, saying that the Qur'ān was uncreated.<sup>3506</sup> He wrote that such a person's testimony should not be accepted.<sup>3507</sup> All but a small handful affirmed this position. In the headings of his letters al-Ma'mūn wrote: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." He was the first caliph to affix the formula to documents issued by the caliphs and to pronounce the formula "God is great" at the close of every canonical prayer, which henceforth became customary practice (*sunna*). He also altered (the hanging of) banners at the times of prayer and removed the enclosures<sup>3508</sup> from the congregational mosques, declaring this to have been a practice introduced by Mu'āwiya.

Bishr b. al-Walid al-Kindī, al-Ma'mūn's judge in Baghdad, had ordered that a man charged with having cursed Abū Bakr and 'Umar be beaten and paraded around on camelback in public.<sup>3509</sup> When al-Ma'mūn arrived (in Baghdad), he assembled the jurists and declared, "I have looked into your ruling,<sup>3510</sup> Bishr, and I find that you committed fifteen errors in it." He then turned to the jurists and asked, "Is there any among you who has realized this?" They replied, "What are they, Commander of the Faithful?" | Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Bishr, on what

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in the sense of officials, not the populace generally), on certain theological questions. The question of God's justice (*'adl*) was raised by the Mu'tazilite school to defend man's free will; for if God predestined human actions and then punished the sinner, He would be acting unjustly, and it would be blasphemous to attribute injustice to God. The question of the Qur'ān's creation had implications for God's unity and uniqueness (*tawhīd*); for if the Qur'ān was uncreated, it would be coeternal with God, and this, according to the Mu'tazilite school, would violate the principle of *tawhīd*. See the article by M. Hinds in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mihna*, and the article by Richard C. Martin in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Createdness of the Qur'ān.

3506 The Arabic as it reads now appears to mean "those who abstained from saying the Qur'ān was uncreated." Various emendations have been proposed, but the above translation, taking the clause "saying ..." as in apposition to the verb "abstained," not as its object, is possible and avoids the need to emend.

3507 In other words, such a person, being an unbeliever, was unqualified to deliver trustworthy testimony in court and *a fortiori* unqualified to be a judge of others.

3508 Arabic *maqāṣīr*, plural of *maqṣūra*: the enclosure meant to screen the caliph from the eyes of ordinary worshippers.

3509 The cursing of Abū Bakr, 'Umar (and 'Uthmān) as usurpers of the leadership of the community that ought to have devolved immediately on 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was a mark of the Shī'a.

3510 Reading with M, *qaḍā'ika*; ed. Leiden, *qaḍiyyatika* (your case).

grounds did you carry out the punishment of this man?"<sup>3511</sup> Bishr replied, "For his having cursed Abū Bakr and 'Umar." Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Did the parties aggrieved by him<sup>3512</sup> appear before you?" "No," he replied. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Did they appoint you as their agent?" "No," he replied. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Is it permissible for a judge to carry out the punishment for slander<sup>3513</sup> without a plaintiff in attendance?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Were you sure that some member of the family would not yield what he was entitled to, so that the punishment would be cancelled?" "No," he replied. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "And were the mothers of the parties in question unbelievers or Muslims?"<sup>3514</sup> "No," he replied, "they were unbelievers." Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Is the punishment regarding (slandering) a Muslim woman to be imposed for (slandering) an unbelieving woman?"<sup>3515</sup> "No," he replied. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Suppose that you carried out the punishment in accordance with the rightful claims of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, did two sound witnesses testify before you?" Bishr replied, "The good standing of one of the two witnesses was attested." Al-Ma'mūn asked, "But can such a sentence be imposed in the absence of *two* reliable witnesses?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Furthermore, you executed the sentence during Ramaḍān: Are *ḥadd* punishments carried out during the month of Ramaḍān?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Also, you had the defendant flogged while he was standing: Is the person who receives the *ḥadd* to be punished while standing?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Then you had him suspended between two posts: Is the person who receives the *ḥadd* to be thus suspended?" "No" replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Furthermore, you had him flogged while naked: Is the person who receives the *ḥadd* to be stripped naked?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Then you had him put on a camel and paraded around: Is the person who receives the *ḥadd* to be paraded around?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Then you imprisoned him after carrying out the *ḥadd* punishment against him: Is the person who receives the *ḥadd* punishment to be jailed after receiving the *ḥadd*?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn declared: "God shall not see me assume the burden of your sin

3511 Literally, "impose the *ḥadd* punishment," specifically, the punishment prescribed for slander (*qadhf*).

3512 That is, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

3513 Reading with M *fīrya*, common synonym in *fiqh* works for *qadhf*.

3514 That is, the mothers of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Apparently their mothers died before they had a chance to accept Islam.

3515 From this one can infer that the alleged insult against Abū Bakr and 'Umar was that their mothers were adulteresses.

and be party to your crime. Take off his clothes, and bring out the one he had flogged,<sup>3516</sup> so that he can exact his due from him.”

The jurists in attendance said to al-Ma'mūn: “All praise be to God who has led you to exact His justice and to know His law. You speak the truth and act in accordance with it; you command justice and chastise those who would stray from it. This man, Commander of the Faithful, is a judge who used his judgment but erred. Do not impugn the magistrates because of him or shame the judges because of him.” Al-Ma'mūn therefore ordered that Bishr be kept under house arrest until his death.

2:573 A group of the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn petitioned al-Ma'mūn, saying that Fadak<sup>3517</sup> had been given to Fāṭima by the Messenger of God and that Fāṭima had asked Abū Bakr, following the death of the Prophet, to hand over the property to her; Abū Bakr had asked that she bring witnesses to support her claim, and she had brought 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Umm Ayman.<sup>3518</sup> Al-Ma'mūn assembled the jurists and asked them about ...<sup>3519</sup> They reported that Fāṭima had indeed said this and that the persons in question had testified on her behalf, but that Abū Bakr had not accepted their testimony. Al-Ma'mūn asked them, “What do you say regarding Umm Ayman?” They replied, “A woman to whom the Messenger of God promised Paradise!” Al-Ma'mūn spoke at great length on the matter, pressing his argument on them, until they granted that 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn never testified except truly. Once they had reached consensus about this, al-Ma'mūn returned Fadak to the descendants of Fāṭima and put it in writing. Fadak was handed over to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Al-Ma'mūn invaded the land of the Byzantines in the year 218. He had made preparations to lay siege to Amorion,<sup>3520</sup> declaring, “I will send messengers to

3516 Reading with M, *al-majlūd*; ed. Leiden, *al-maḥdūd* (the person subjected to the *ḥadd*).

3517 Fadak was a small town in the northern Ḥijāz, two or three days' journey from Medina. The lawsuit described here was part of a long controversy going back to the days of Abū Bakr and extending beyond the reign of al-Ma'mūn. For a summary of it, see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fadak.

3518 Umm Ayman (Baraka) was an Abyssinian woman who had been Muḥammad's nurse and who became the wife of his adopted son Zayd b. Ḥāritha, to whom she bore Usāma b. Zayd. See Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, 70–71.

3519 Lacuna in both MSS.

3520 Arabic *ʿAmmūriyya* (also known by the Latin form Amorium). This was a Byzantine stronghold in Phrygia, situated on the great Byzantine military road from Constantinople to Cilicia, southeast of Dorylaeum, southwest of Ankara, and south of the Upper



the Arab tribes, bring them from the deserts, and settle them in each town that I conquer until I reach Constantinople itself." An envoy from the Byzantine ruler came to him to propose a cessation of violence and a truce and the handing over of the prisoners in his possession, but al-Ma'mūn did not accept. Having drawn near Lu'lu'a, he advanced.<sup>3521</sup> He remained there for a few days and then died at a place called al-Budnadūn between Lu'lu'a and Tarsus. His death occurred on Thursday, thirteen (nights) remaining [in Rajab in the year]<sup>3522</sup> 218. He was forty-eight years and four | months old. His brother Abū Ishāq (al-Mu'taṣim) prayed over him, and he was buried in the house of Khāqān the Eunuch (*al-khādim*). His caliphate from the day he was greeted as caliph during the lifetime of the Deposed One (al-Amīn) until his death had lasted twenty-two years, and from the slaying of the Deposed One twenty years, five months, and twenty-five days.

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The persons with the greatest influence over al-Ma'mūn during his caliphate were Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn (al-Faḍl b. Sahl), then a number of others, including al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd, and Aḥmad b. Yūsuf. Al-'Abbās b. al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr was in charge of his security services (*shurāt*); then he dismissed him and appointed Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, then 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. He<sup>3523</sup> appointed Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm as his deputy in Baghdad, and Ishāq in turn sent his brother [Ṭāhir] b. Ibrāhīm as his deputy over his security services (*shurāt*). In charge of his palace guard (*ḥaras*) was Shabīb b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba; then he dismissed him and appointed him over Qūmis, and to replace him he selected Harthama b. A'yan, followed by 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Salāma al-Ṭaḥāwī,<sup>3524</sup> a relative of Harthama; then 'Alī b. Hishām, whom he later killed; then he appointed 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa. The post of chamberlain (*ḥijāba*) was held by Aḥmad b. Hishām, and 'Alī b. Ṣālīḥ was the keeper of the prayer rug (*ṣāḥib al-muṣallā*).

He left sixteen sons: Muḥammad, Ismā'īl, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, Hārūn, 'Īsā, Aḥmad, al-'Abbās, al-Faḍl, al-Ḥusayn, Ya'qūb, Ja'far, Muḥammad

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Sangarios. The circumstances of its ultimate capture and destruction by the Muslims under al-Mu'taṣim in 223/838 will be described by al-Ya'qūbī below, ed. Leiden, 2:580–581.

3521 Possible lacuna in the text.

3522 The words in brackets have fallen out of the MSS and were restored by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:218. 17 Rajab 218 = August 8, 833; other dates, all within the month of Rajab, are given by other sources.

3523 Probably 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

3524 Suggested reading for M; ed. Leiden gives the name as al-Ṭaḥlāzī.

the elder (whose mother was Mu'allala and who died during his lifetime), Muḥammad the younger, and 'Ubaydallāh—the mother of the last two was Umm 'Īsā, the daughter of Mūsā l-Hādī.

### The Days of al-Mu'taṣim Bi-llāh

2:575 Abū Ishāq Muḥammad b. al-Rashīd, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named | Mārīda, assumed office. The commanders and troops that had accompanied al-Ma'mūn swore allegiance to him, as did al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn, on Friday, 12 nights remaining in Rajab of the year 218.<sup>3525</sup>

On that day the Sun was in Leo, 13° 40'; Saturn in Libra, 15° 40'; Jupiter in Sagittarius, 1° 10'; Mars in Sagittarius, 4° 35'; Mercury in Leo, 26° 20', retrograde; Venus in Virgo, 8° 20', retrograde; and the Ascending Node in Aries, 10°.

Some commanders held off from swearing allegiance because of the presence of al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn.<sup>3526</sup> Al-'Abbās came out from his tent to meet them and addressed them with words on account of which they deemed him to be a fool; so they reviled him and swore allegiance to Abū Ishāq.

Al-Mu'taṣim left the frontier for Iraq. When he reached al-Raqqā, he appointed Ghassān b. 'Abbād over the Jazīra, Qinnasrīn, and al-'Awāṣim and went on to Baghdad, arriving on Saturday, the first day of the month of Ramaḍān.<sup>3527</sup> His troops were wearing gilded embroidery.<sup>3528</sup> He retained al-Ma'mūn's officials in their offices for three months before replacing them.

The Muḥammira rose in revolt in al-Jabal.<sup>3529</sup> They murdered, committed highway robbery, terrorized travelers, and waylaid the pilgrimage caravan from Khurāsān, attacking the pilgrims and killing a number of them. Al-Mu'taṣim sent Hāshim b. Bānījūr<sup>3530</sup> against them, but in the ensuing clash they defeated

3525 18 Rajab 218 = August 9, 833.

3526 The implication is that although al-Ma'mūn had not formally designated his son al-'Abbās as heir, the general expectation was that he was to succeed his father. Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1164 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 1 and note 2).

3527 September 20, 833.

3528 The likely reference is to al-Mu'taṣim's Turkish troops (see below). Other Arabic sources contain references to their golden belts.

3529 Al-Ya'qūbī has already mentioned a revolt by this group of Iranian rebels ("wearers of red") during the reign of al-Mahdī (see above, ed. Leiden, 2:479, and the note there). Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1165.

3530 The name of the man's father, who has been mentioned above (ed. Leiden 2:465), is

Hāshim. Al-Mu‘tašim therefore sent Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm at the head of an army. Ishāq appointed his brother<sup>3531</sup> Ṭāhir as his deputy over the police forces and set out. He met their forces in battle, killed a great number of them, | and stayed long enough to establish order in the province, but only after having considerable difficulty with them. 2:576

Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī stirred up trouble in al-Ṭālaqān and attracted a following.<sup>3532</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir therefore sent one of his lieutenants against him. When the latter caught up with him, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim fled from al-Ṭālaqān to Nishāpūr. According to some reports the people seized him and he had no choice in the matter. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir arrested him and took him to al-Mu‘tašim, who imprisoned him in his palace. He escaped from it on the eve of (the Feast of) al-Fiṭr in the year 219,<sup>3533</sup> and though they pursued him they could not capture him.

The Zutt<sup>3534</sup> rebelled in the marshlands (*al-baṭā’ih*) between Basra and al-Wāsiṭ and waylaid travelers. Al-Mu‘tašim sent Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd b. [Salm b. Qutayba]<sup>3535</sup> al-Bāhili against them, but they defeated him. Al-Mu‘tašim therefore assigned the task to ‘Ujayf (b. ‘Anbasa) in Jumādā I of the year 219.<sup>3536</sup> They sued for a guarantee of safety and made their way to him, having accepted the

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written without dots in the MSS, and various readings have been proposed. Ed. Leiden has Bātījūr, but Bānījūr is more likely; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bānījūrīds.

3531 The MSS here read “his son,” but elsewhere correctly identify Ṭāhir as Ishāq’s brother (ed. Leiden, 2:574, and below 2:577). Mongi Kaabi provides a useful genealogical chart of the Ṭāhirid family in *Les Ṭāhirides*, 1:409.

3532 On the revolt of this ‘Alid, a descendant of al-Ḥusayn through the fourth Imam, ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, see the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1165–1166 (where his grandfather’s name is omitted). He is known as *Ṣāhib al-Ṭālaqān* (the Master of al-Ṭālaqān) after the place of his revolt. For his genealogy, see Kaj Öhrnberg, *The Offspring of Fāṭima*, Table 47.

3533 I.e., the evening at the close of the last day of Ramaḍān 219 = the night of October 8–9, 834.

3534 Al-Ya‘qūbī has already mentioned this ethnic group as having caused difficulties for the governor of Sind during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (above, ed. Leiden, 2:479–480). Members of the same ethnic group had been transported to the marshes of lower Iraq as laborers as early as Sasanian times, and their numbers were increased during Umayyad times. Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1166–1171 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 7–14).

3535 The bracketed words were added by the Leiden editor.

3536 Jumādā I 219 began on May 14, 834.

authority of al-Mu‘taṣim. He transported them to Baghdad, where al-Mu‘taṣim sanctioned the guarantee of safe-conduct that had been given to them and then settled them in Khāniqīn.

Al-Mu‘taṣim became angry with his vizier, al-Faḍl b. Marwān, and seized a number of his associates and confiscated their possessions.<sup>3537</sup> Al-Mu‘taṣim sent al-Faḍl to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm in Baghdad, ordering the latter to seize his possessions.<sup>3538</sup> Ishāq rode with al-Faḍl to the latter’s residence, from which he extracted many valuables. Al-Faḍl was then exiled. Rāshid b. Ishāq said in reference to al-Faḍl:

Learn all you need to know of Time’s vicissitudes  
from what Fortune’s accidents did to al-Faḍl b. Marwān.

Al-Mu‘taṣim interrogated Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal with regard to the createdness of the Qur’ān.<sup>3539</sup> Aḥmad said, “I am a man who has acquired knowledge, but in what I have acquired there is nothing concerning this.” Al-Mu‘taṣim therefore brought the jurists before him. He debated with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq and others, but refused to declare that the Qur’ān was created. He was flogged with a number of stripes. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm said, | “Commander of the Faithful, put me in charge of debating him.” He replied, “Do with him as you wish.” Ishāq said to Aḥmad, “This knowledge that you have acquired, was it revealed to you by an angel or did you learn it from men?” Aḥmad replied, “No, I learned it from men.” Ishāq asked, “Bit by bit, or all at once?” Aḥmad replied, “I learned it bit by bit.” Ishāq asked, “And is there anything left that you have not learned?” Aḥmad replied, “Yes, there is.” Ishāq said, “Then here is one thing you have not learned, and the Commander of the Faithful has taught it to you!” Aḥmad said, “I hold what the Commander of the Faithful holds.” Ishāq asked, “Regarding the createdness of the Qur’ān?” Aḥmad replied, “Regarding the createdness of the Qur’ān.” He was made to bear witness on the matter, a robe of honor was conferred upon him, and al-Mu‘taṣim allowed him to return home.

3537 Cf. the more detailed account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1182–1186 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 28–35).

3538 Following M; ed. Leiden has “their possessions.”

3539 The sufferings of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (the eponymous founder of the Ḥanbalī school of jurisprudence) at the hands of the Miḥna became a frequent theme for Arabic historians and biographers (although curiously al-Ṭabarī does not mention the episode). For an overview of the literature, see the article by Livnat Holtzman in *ET* 3, s.v. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Al-Mu‘tašim departed for al-Qāṭūl on 15 Dhū l-Qa‘da 220.<sup>3540</sup> He mapped out the site of the city that he built and distributed land grants to the notables. He devoted himself to construction until the elite had built fine residences and homes and the marketplaces had been set up. He then departed from al-Qāṭūl for Surra-man-ra’ā.<sup>3541</sup> He stopped at the place where the Dar al-‘Āmma now stands—there was a monastery belonging to the Christians there. He bought the land from the inhabitants of the monastery and mapped it out. Then he went to the site of the palace known as al-Jawsaq on the Tigris, and there he built a number of palaces for the commanders and secretaries, giving each site the name of its recipient. He had canals dug on the east side of the Tigris, lands cultivated, waterworks established along the canals, and date palms and other seedlings imported from other regions. Construction commenced in the year 221.<sup>3542</sup> Al-Mu‘tašim built villages to which he brought people from every region, ordering them to cultivate the crops of their native region. He brought in people from the land of Egypt to cultivate papyrus. They produced papyrus there, but it did not turn out to be of the same quality.

Bābak’s strength increased—Muḥammad b. al-Ba‘īth had allied himself with him and ‘Išma<sup>3543</sup> al-Kurdī, the lord of Marand,<sup>3544</sup> had become obedient to him. Al-Mu‘tašim sent out Ṭāhir b. | Ibrāhīm, the brother of Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, the governor of the region, ordering him to campaign against the hostile forces. When he reached the area, Ibn al-Ba‘īth wrote back to al-Mu‘tašim, informing him of his obedience and that he was devising a plot against Bābak and his supporters. He tricked ‘Išma al-Kurdī, the lord of Marand: he married ‘Išma’s daughter and made his way to Marand to join him. He invited ‘Išma to his encampment, where he encouraged him and his retinue to drink. As soon as they were drunk, he had them carried at night to his fortress, called Shāhī, and then packed them off to al-Mu‘tašim.<sup>3545</sup> Al-Mu‘tašim rewarded him hand-

2:578

3540 November 10, 835.

3541 That is, for Samarra, given here with its fanciful official spelling, which means ‘Delighted Is He Who Has Seen.’ Al-Ya‘qūbī devotes a long section of the *Geography* to its history and description (ed. Leiden, 255–268); see the article by A. Northedge in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sāmarrā’.

3542 221A.H. = December 26, 835 – December 13, 836.

3543 The MSS here and below read *Uqba*; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1172.

3544 The MSS here and below read *Marthad*.

3545 In the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1172, most of the drunken guests are murdered on the spot or flee, with only ‘Išma being sent on to al-Mu‘tašim.

somely, showed him special favor, and gave to him [...].<sup>3546</sup> That [was because he informed]<sup>3547</sup> Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm of what he had done and asked him to send him irons and mules, so that he might transport them to him. Ṭāhir did so, and so Ibn al-Baʿīth had them transported to al-Muʿtaṣim and wrote to inform him about them.

Al-Muʿtaṣim became angry with Ishāq (b. Ibrāhīm), saying, “Your brother has shown me nothing; I see daring<sup>3548</sup> on the part of no one except Ibn al-Baʿīth.” He dispatched al-Afshīn Ḥaydar b. Kāwūs al-Uṣrūshānī, assigned him the entire region,<sup>3549</sup> and had funds and stores of weapons sent with him. Following his arrival in al-Jabal, al-Afshīn gathered together all the available irregulars<sup>3550</sup> and local chiefs and then marched on. Battles took place between him and Bābak. Al-Afshīn’s<sup>3551</sup> camp was at a place called Barzand; then he made his way to a place called Sādrasb<sup>3552</sup> and continued to battle Bābak for a year, until the snows became great, whereupon he returned to Barzand. He then dispatched his deputy commander to Sādrasb while he himself marched off and sent into each area [...].<sup>3553</sup> [Al-Afshīn proceeded then to Rūdh]<sup>3554</sup> al-Rūdh, where he dug a trench, raised a defensive wall, and set ambushes. Then he marched toward al-Badhdh, on Thursday, 9 Ramaḍān 222.<sup>3555</sup>

2:579 Bābak sent a message to al-Afshīn, requesting a parley, | and al-Afshīn agreed. They faced each other across a river. Al-Afshīn offered him a promise of safe-conduct, but Bābak asked for a day’s delay. He replied: “You only want to fortify your city. If you want the safe conduct, cross the valley!” Bābak turned away, and the fighting became intense. The Muslims entered the town of al-Badhdh, and Bābak and six of his companions fled. Al-Afshīn released the Muslim prisoners,

3546 A word may have fallen out.

3547 The bracketed words are the conjectural addition by the Leiden editor.

3548 Reading with M, *al-jur’a*; ed. Leiden, *al-rijla* (strength, vehemence).

3549 Literally, “all that he would pass through.”

3550 Arabic *ṣaʿālik*. See note 3447 above.

3551 The pronoun in al-Yaʿqūbī’s text (“his camp”) is ambiguous, but the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1172, makes it clear that al-Afshīn’s camp is intended.

3552 Sic MSS (but undotted); the Leiden editor conjectures that it may be a copyist’s corruption of the place name Hashtādsar (‘Eighty Peaks’ in Persian) that occurs in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1187, as the site of one of Bābak’s encampments.

3553 Lacuna in both MSS.

3554 Conjectural reading by the Leiden editor. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 37, note 135, argues for a reading Dhū l-Rūdh, which is mentioned by the geographer Ibn Khurdādhbih as being one farsakh from al-Badhdh. In al-Ṭabarī, it appears in the form Darwadh, but elsewhere as Rūdh al-Rūdh.

3555 August 15, 837.

7,600 in number, who had been held in al-Badhkh. Bābak, wearing woolen garments, rode away on a she-mule.<sup>3556</sup>

In an effort to locate Bābak, al-Afshīn wrote to the local chiefs (*baṭāriqa*) in Armenia and Azerbaijan; he promised one million dirhams to anyone who turned him over and that he would forgive their region. Bābak made his way to one such local prince named Sahl b. Sunbāt,<sup>3557</sup> who seized him and wrote to al-Afshīn to tell him. Bābak then was sent on; al-Afshīn took possession of him and wrote (to al-Mu‘taṣim) of his victory and of the strategies he had used.<sup>3558</sup> The victory letter was read out, and copies were dispatched to every province in [...],<sup>3559</sup> until (al-Afshīn) pacified the region.<sup>3560</sup> He departed after appointing Minkajūr al-Farghānī, the maternal uncle of his sons, as his deputy and presented himself to al-Mu‘taṣim, who was at Samarra.<sup>3561</sup> Having been greeted by the commanders and notables at various stages along the way, he entered Samarra on 2 Ṣafar 223,<sup>3562</sup> with Bābak before him on an elephant. He came before al-Mu‘taṣim, who ordered that Bābak’s hands and feet be cut off, after which he had him killed and his body gibbeted in Samarra. He had Bābak’s brother ‘Abdallāh sent to Baghdad, where Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm executed him and gibbeted his body at the head of the bridge on the east side of Baghdad.

Al-Afshīn, upon his arrival in Azerbaijan, had appointed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Azdī al-Samarqandī over Armenia. Al-Samarqandī arrived in the province with Sahl b. Sunbāt already in revolt in Arrān, over which he had taken control. When al-Samarqandī entered his territory, Sahl attacked him by night and defeated him.

Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Warthānī rebelled in Warthān. Al-Afshīn sent Minkajūr to subdue him, but ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī intervened on his behalf; al-Mu‘taṣim granted him safe-conduct, and ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā brought him (to Samarra). Al-Afshīn then appointed Muḥammad b. Khālīd, the Bukhārā-khu-

2:580

3556 Meaning, it seems, that he disguised himself as a mendicant.

3557 On this figure see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1223 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 76, n. 205).

3558 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1222–1226, for an extended account of the plot leading to Bābak’s arrest.

3559 Lacuna in both MSS.

3560 Due to the lacuna, it is unclear whether the text is related to the letters announcing the victory.

3561 On Minkajūr, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1301–1302 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 174–175).

3562 January 3, 838.

dāh,<sup>3563</sup> over Armenia. Following his arrival, he campaigned against<sup>3564</sup> the Ṣanāriyya and got as far as Tiflīs. Iṣḥāq b. Ismāʿīl received him cordially and generously. Afterward, al-Afshīn appointed ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sibāʿ al-Qaysī over Armenia. The inhabitants of the province held such a low view of him that he used to be called “the orphan” because of his ineffectiveness and inability. Al-Muʿtaṣim then appointed Khālīd b. Yazīd over Armenia and an area of Diyār Rabīʿa. When news of his appointment reached Armenia, each local chief strengthened his fortifications; their fear of him intensified, and they prepared to revolt. Maṣṣūr b. ʿIsā al-Sabīʿī, the head of the intelligence and postal service (*ṣāhib al-barīd*) in Armenia, wrote of these developments to al-Muʿtaṣim, who recalled Khālīd and ordered that ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn retain his post. But only a few days later, the troops rioted against him in Bardhaʿa demanding their pay from him. He replied, “I have nothing; the funds are in the hands of the local people.” He demanded payment from the local people, but they refused, took to their fortresses, exchanged messages with each other, and, joining forces, besieged him in Bardhaʿa. Al-Muʿtaṣim sent Ḥamdawayh b. ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl to the region. He proceeded to al-Nashawā,<sup>3565</sup> where Yazīd b. Ḥiṣn came out to him under guarantee of safe-conduct.<sup>3566</sup> He did not act rashly against them out of fear that they would overwhelm him.

2:581 The Byzantines entered Zibaṭra<sup>3567</sup> in the year 223,<sup>3568</sup> killing or carrying into captivity everyone in it. When word of this reached al-Muʿtaṣim, he rose from his seat in agitation and sat down on the ground.<sup>3569</sup> Having issued a call to arms and prepared the pay roster, | he established his camp that very day at a place called al-ʿUyūn on the west bank of the Tigris. He put Ashnās al-

3563 A Persian title (Lord of Bukhārā) borne by the hereditary rulers of Bukhārā. As his name indicates, his family had converted to Islam and now served the caliphate. On the role of similar eastern elements in the ʿAbbāsīd armies of the time, see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 49–50, note 159.

3564 Reading *ḥāraba*, the emendation suggested by the Leiden editor; the MSS read *ṣārat* (they [the Ṣanāriyya] came/became).

3565 On the reading of the name, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v.

3566 The Leiden editor assumed a lacuna between this sentence and the next, but there is no break in the MSS and the sense does not seem to require the assumption.

3567 A town in southeastern Anatolia (Greek, Zapetra or Sōzopetra). For a parallel account of the taking of Zibaṭra and the campaign by al-Muʿtaṣim that it provoked, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1234–1256 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 93–121).

3568 223 A.H. = December 3, 837 – November 22, 838.

3569 Al-Muʿtaṣim's reaction may have signaled that he would suspend normal activity until the Byzantine attack was avenged.



Turkī<sup>3570</sup> in charge of his vanguard and marched off on Thursday, 6 Jumādā I 223,<sup>3571</sup> and entered Byzantine territory. He proceeded toward the region of Amorion, which was one of their greatest cities and well supplied with equipment and troops, and he imposed a tight siege on the city. When word reached the Byzantine monarch,<sup>3572</sup> he marched out at the head of a huge army. When he drew near, al-Mu‘taṣim dispatched al-Afshīn with a large army. He met the Byzantine monarch, attacked him, defeated him, and slaughtered a great number of his men.

The Byzantine monarch dispatched a delegation to al-Mu‘taṣim that was instructed to say: “Those who did what they did in Zibaṭra transgressed my command. I will rebuild the city with my own funds and men, return its inhabitants who were taken away, free all prisoners held in Byzantine territory, and send you the parties who acted against Zibaṭra, with the local nobles (*baṭāriqa*) held responsible.”

Amorion was taken on Tuesday, 13 nights remaining in Ramaḍān of the year 223.<sup>3573</sup> Al-Mu‘taṣim killed or took captive all who were in the town, and he seized Yāṭis, the Byzantine monarch’s maternal uncle.<sup>3574</sup> He visited destruction and fire upon all the lands that he passed through as he made his way out of Byzantine territory.

When al-Mu‘taṣim reached Adana, he imprisoned al-‘Abbās b. al-Ma’mūn because of what he had been told of al-‘Abbās’s disobedience and sedition and of the gathering of support for him among the commanders. In al-‘Abbās’s possession he discovered 116,000 dinars; these he ordered distributed to the troops, who were commanded to curse al-‘Abbās. The troops were counted, and 80,000 were found to be on the rolls. Each of them was paid two dinars, with al-Mu‘taṣim filling out the balance from his own funds. He handed al-‘Abbās in shackles over to al-Afshīn for him to be taken away, but when he reached [...],<sup>3575</sup> he died. Some have said that al-Afshīn fed him highly salted food on a very hot day and then denied him water. He was taken to Manbij and buried | there. Al-Mu‘taṣim became angry with ‘Ujayf b. ‘Anbasa, because he was responsible for al-‘Abbās’s sedition. He ordered him transported from

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3570 On Ashnās the Turk see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiii, 98, note 281.

3571 April 5, 838.

3572 Arabic *ṭāghiyat al-Rūm* (the tyrant of the Romans); that is, Theophilus son of Michael.

3573 17 Ramaḍān 223 = August 12, 838.

3574 That is, Aetius, the *stratēgos* of the Anatolikon theme; see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiii, 109.

3575 The name, written without dots in the MSS, is too ambiguous to identify.

Adana bound in heavy chains in a litter of felt<sup>3576</sup> sealed around him and with a massive yoke around his neck. After reaching a place called Bāʿaynāthā, a day's journey from Naṣībīn, Ibn ʿAnbasa died and was buried there. His son, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿUjayf, asked that his relationship to his father be disavowed and that he be called Ṣāliḥ al-Muʿtaṣimī. He cursed his father and rejected all association with him.

Al-Māzyār—he was Muḥammad b. Qārin b. Bundādhurmuz<sup>3577</sup>—was the Iṣbahbadh of Ṭabaristān. He had come to al-Maʿmūn following the death of his father and his paternal uncle's assumption of authority over the kingdom of Ṭabaristān. Al-Maʿmūn assigned him two of the towns of Ṭabaristān and wrote to his uncle ordering him to turn them over to him. Al-Māzyār departed for Ṭabaristān, but when word of this reached his uncle, the latter, troubled and angry, came out as if to meet with him. Accompanying al-Māzyār was a client (*mawlā*) of his father's, a man of experience. He said to him: "Your uncle has appeared in this manner only to attack you suddenly. So as soon as you approach him and separate from your companions, I will hand you a spear. Thrust it into his chest." And so he did, killing his uncle. The kingdom united behind him, and he asserted his control over the region. He then wrote to al-Maʿmūn to report that his uncle had challenged the caliph's authority over the region.

When al-Māzyār's position grew strong, he took to writing:<sup>3578</sup> "From Jil Jilān, Iṣbahbadh of Khurāsān,<sup>3579</sup> Muḥammad b. Qārin, Client (*Mawlā*) of the Commander of the Faithful." Then, in a show of pretension, he changed this to: "Partner (*Muwālī*) of the Commander of the Faithful."<sup>3580</sup> Finally the affair reached such proportions that he rebelled openly and repudiated his allegiance. Some say that al-Afshīn corresponded with him and incited him to

3576 Reading with M, *fī qubbat labūd*; ed. Leiden (following C), *fī fihi labūd* (in his mouth a felt).

3577 See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 135. Bundādhurmuz corresponds to an Iranian form Wandād-hurmuz. On his family, see the article by M. Rekaya in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḳārinids.

3578 That is, using the following elaborate titulature to head his letters.

3579 Following M; ed. Leiden emends to follow al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:1298 ("From the Jil-i Jilān, Iṣbahbadh-i Iṣbahbadhān, Bishwār Khurshād"), but the reading in M can be left as it is, although the implied claim to be Iṣbahbadh of *Khurāsān* is problematic. See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 172, notes 483–484.

3580 The change from *mawlā* to *muwālī* involves the addition of only one letter in Arabic, but implies a change from a subordinate status to one of equality. See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 172, note 484.

repudiate his allegiance. | Al-Mu‘taṣim dispatched Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm<sup>3581</sup> with an army to campaign against him. He also wrote ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir that he should supply Ibn Ibrāhīm with troops. Ibn Ibrāhīm fought al-Māzyār, while ‘Abdallāh increased the pressure on him by sending forces, which fought him and gained control over the valleys and mountains. Finally, al-Māzyār went out one night and surrendered to a relative of ‘Abdallāh, who escorted him (to Samarra) in the year 226.<sup>3582</sup> Al-Māzyār was flogged to death, and his body was gibbeted beside Bābak’s.

2:583

Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā related to me: “At the time when al-Māzyār arrived, al-Afshīn was in prison. Ibn [Abī] Du‘ād<sup>3583</sup> brought al-Afshīn and al-Māzyār face to face, and said to al-Māzyār, ‘This is al-Afshīn, who you claim incited you to rebel.’ Al-Afshīn said to him: ‘By God, lying is repugnant even in ordinary people; how much more so in kings! By God, your lying will not save you from death; so do not make lying the crowning achievement of your life!’ Al-Māzyār therefore said, ‘By God, he neither wrote nor sent messages to me; however, Abū l-Ḥārith, my deputy, reported to me that when he approached him he received him with warmth and kindness.’ Al-Afshīn was returned to prison, and al-Māzyār was beaten to death.”

The initial reason for al-Afshīn’s imprisonment was that Minkajūr al-Farḡhānī, the maternal uncle of al-Afshīn’s sons and his deputy governor in Azerbaijan, rebelled there. He gained the support of Bābak’s followers and proceeded to Warthān, where he killed Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Warthānī<sup>3584</sup> and a group of supporters of the government. Al-Mu‘taṣim said to al-Afshīn, “Bring Minkajūr before me!” Al-Afshīn dispatched a strong force against him under the command of Abū l-Sāj, who was called Dīwdād.<sup>3585</sup> Afterward, however, al-Mu‘taṣim was told that Minkajūr had rebelled only under orders from al-Afshīn and that al-Afshīn had dispatched Abū l-Sāj to him only to reinforce him. Al-Mu‘taṣim therefore sent Muḥammad b. Ḥammād to take charge of the

3581 Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ‘ab of the Muṣ‘abī line parallel to that of the Ṭāhirids. See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiii, 98, note 282, and Kaabi, *Ṭāhirides*, 1:409.

3582 226 A.H. = October 31, 840 – October 20, 841.

3583 He was the chief judge, who was playing an important role in the Miḥna. Ed. Leiden, following C (M similarly), omits *Abī*. M reads Ibn Dāwūd, but the part played by the chief judge, Aḥmad b. Abī Du‘ād, in the interrogations is confirmed by al-Ṭabarī.

3584 Note that according to an earlier passage al-Warthānī had left the province for Samarra.

3585 Or “Dēwdād”: on the career of this military commander of Central Asiatic origin (Ushrūsana), see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1656–1657 (trans. G. Saliba, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxv, 121), and the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sādījids.

2:584 postal and intelligence service (*barīd*) and dispatched Bughā al-Turkī,<sup>3586</sup> who campaigned against Minkajūr. When Bughā gained the upper hand, Minkajūr, humbled, | requested a guarantee of safe-conduct. Bughā granted him safe-conduct and escorted him to Samarra. By this time al-Afshīn was already in prison, his imprisonment having taken place in the year 226. He died in prison, and his body was hung naked for an hour during the day on the Bāb al-Āmma in Samarra; then it was taken down and burnt.

The persons with the greatest influence over al-Muʿtaṣim were Aḥmad b. [Abī] Duʿād al-Iyādī, the chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*), and al-Faḍl b. Marwān, the secretary. Afterward, al-Muʿtaṣim became angry with al-Faḍl, exiled him, and confiscated his wealth. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt<sup>3587</sup> then acquired influence over him. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm headed his security services (*shuraʿ*). Over the palace guard (*ḥaras*) were ʿUjayf b. ʿAnbasa, then al-Afshīn, and finally Ishāq b. Yahyā b. Muʿādh. His chamberlains (*ḥajaba*) were a number of Turks, including Waṣīf, Sīmā al-Dimashqī, Sīmā al-Sharābī, and Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. D.n.q.sh.<sup>3588</sup>

Al-Muʿtaṣim died on Thursday, 11 nights remaining in Rabīʿ 1 of the year 227.<sup>3589</sup> His son Hārūn (al-Wāthiq) prayed over him, and he was buried in his palace known as al-Jawsaq. He was 49 years of age; his caliphate had lasted eight years. He left six sons: Hārūn al-Wāthiq, Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil, Muḥammad, Aḥmad, ʿAlī, and al-ʿAbbās.

### The Days of Hārūn al-Wāthiq Bi-llāh

Hārūn al-Wāthiq bi-llāh b. Abī Ishāq, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Qarāṭīs, assumed office on the day of al-Muʿtaṣim's death. This was Thursday, 11 nights remaining in Rabīʿ 1 of the year 227,<sup>3590</sup> correspond-

3586 On the career of this commander of Central Asian Turkish origins, see the article by Matthew S. Gordon in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bughā al-Kabīr.

3587 On the career of the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt see the article by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Zayyāt, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

3588 The name is written without dots in the MSS; the consonants can be determined from the parallel sources, but the vocalization is unknown. See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiii, 184, note 520.

3589 19 Rabīʿ 1 227 = January 6, 842; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1323, where it is dated one day earlier.

3590 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1329, where a date of 8 Rabīʿ 1 227 (December 26, 841) is given.

ing to the non-Arab month, | of Kānūn II (January). On that day the Sun was in 2:585  
Capricorn, 15° 22'.

As soon as he had rendered his allegiance, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm set out for Baghdad. He traveled all night, reaching Baghdad just before daybreak. He appointed men over the city's quarters<sup>3591</sup> and prisons, and, assembling the commanders and dignitaries, he had them swear allegiance. The rank and file of the army and the local toughs<sup>3592</sup> rose up against Shu'ayb b. Sahl, the judge (*qāḍī*) of the East Side of Baghdad, and plundered his residence. Ishāq dispatched Ja'far [\_\_\_\_]<sup>3593</sup> and Ibrāhīm al-Dayraj and a contingent of troops with them. They brought out Shu'ayb b. Sahl and escorted him to Ishāq's residence.

Al-Wāthiq intended to go on pilgrimage in this year, but although his determination was sincere, his pilgrimage was postponed. He gave his mother permission, and she set out accompanied by Ja'far b. al-Mu'taṣim, but she died after reaching Kufa. Al-Wāthiq gave his brother Ja'far permission to continue. He did so and led the people in the pilgrimage.

The first of his commanders for whom al-Wāthiq made an appointment was Ashnās al-Turkī, whom he put in charge of a region extending from the capital<sup>3594</sup> to the farthest limit of the Maghrib. Ashnās dispatched his officials and wrote to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Aghlab, appointing him over the Maghrib on his behalf. Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb [was charged with administering affairs for him].<sup>3595</sup> Al-Wāthiq assigned Khurāsān to Ītākh al-Turkī,<sup>3596</sup> along with al-Sind and the districts along the Tigris. Al-Sind had grown unstable, and its governor, 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid, had been killed. Ītākh dispatched 'Anbasa b. Ishāq al-Ḍabbī to al-Sind, and he arrived in the province, which had fallen under the control of a number of local princes. When 'Anbasa arrived,

3591 Arabic *aṭrāf*; possibly meaning "army units."

3592 Arabic *'awāmm al-jund wa-l-ghawghā'*, the last word of which might also be rendered as "mob"; see David Waines, *The History of al-Tabarī*, xxxvi, 4–5 and note 17, where a similar collocation occurs.

3593 In the MSS the name is written with an undotted middle letter as *M-ʿ-ʔ-sh-h*, which corresponds to no known name.

3594 Arabic *min bābihi* (from his gate).

3595 Both MSS contain a lacuna which the Leiden editor proposed treating as *al-mudabbir lahu* (the one charged with his affairs). As noted further on, Ibn al-Khaṣīb served as Ashnās's secretary (*kātib*) and administered on his behalf the provinces assigned to him.

3596 Also vocalized as Aytākh. He was a Turkish army commander who rose to prominence under al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq. He fell out of favor during the reign of al-Mutawakkil and was killed in 235/849–850. See the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Aytākh al-Turkī.

the princes signaled their loyalty and obedience and placed themselves at his disposal—all except ‘Uthmān [...].<sup>3597</sup> ‘Anbasa marched against him [... and remained]<sup>3598</sup> in charge of the province for nine years.

2:586 In Damascus, Ibn Bayhas al-Kilābī<sup>3599</sup> rebelled with a great host gathered from the tribes of Qays. In Palestine, a man named Tamīm al-Lakhmī, who was known as Abū Ḥarb and given the nickname al-Mubarka‘,<sup>3600</sup> rebelled with support from the Lakhm, Judhām, ‘Āmila, and Balqayn.<sup>3601</sup> He proceeded to the district [of Jordan].<sup>3602</sup> In Barqa, a group of Berbers threw off their allegiance; they were joined by a group from the Quraysh, from the Banū Asīd b. [Abī]<sup>3603</sup> l-‘Īṣ, and they rose against their governor, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdawayh b. Jabala. Al-Wāthiq dispatched Rajā’ b. Ayyūb al-Ḥiḍārī. He began in Damascus, where he attacked Ibn Bayhas and captured him. Then he proceeded to Palestine, where he attacked Tamīm al-Lakhmī. He captured him and had him transported to Samarra, where he was put on display at the Bāb al-‘Āmma and a public proclamation was made. Rajā’ marched to Egypt in the year 228,<sup>3604</sup> stopped in Giza, and then proceeded to Barqa. Those who were there fled; he got hold of a number of them and had them transported away; then he departed.

‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir died in Khurāsān in the year 230<sup>3605</sup> at the age of 47. His residence there was Nishāpūr, and his time as governor lasted 14 years. Al-Wāthiq appointed Ṭāhir b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir<sup>3606</sup> to the post. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir had governed Khurāsān as no one ever had. The province submitted to him, and under him order prevailed.

The tribes of the Qays had begun to cause trouble on the road to the Ḥijāz. They so obstructed the road that people were reluctant to make the pilgrimage.

3597 Lacuna in both MSS; in M the letters *al-S* ... are visible.

3598 Another lacuna occurs here. ‘Remained’ is the Leiden editor’s conjecture.

3599 The MSS have the word *ahl* (the family of) before Ibn Bayhas. The Leiden editor saw the word as a copyist’s attempt to make sense of the badly written name of Ibn Bayhas.

3600 That is, the Veiled One. A longer account of his rebellion comes at the end of al-Ṭabarī’s account of the reign of al-Mu‘taṣim (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1319–1322); see also the article by H. Eisenstein in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mubarka‘, and the discussion in Cobb, *White Banners*, 116–118.

3601 The tribal name is also given as Bulqayn.

3602 Lacuna in the MSS, which the Leiden editor conjectured was to be filled in this way. M seems to have a different word, which is only partially visible.

3603 Addition by the Leiden editor.

3604 228 A.H. = October 10, 842 – September 29, 843.

3605 230 A.H. = September 18, 844 – September 6, 845.

3606 Following M; *b. Ṭāhir* is absent from C and ed. Leiden. On the circumstances of the appointment, see al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāq*, 559.

They set up a certain man from the Sulaym, someone named ‘Uzayza al-Khufāfi,<sup>3607</sup> and addressed him as caliph. In response, al-Wāthiq dispatched Bughā the Elder in the year 230, with orders to kill every tribal Arab that he found. | Bughā set out before the pilgrimage season. The Qays gathered from every direction—most of them were of the Banū Sulaym—with ‘Uzayza as their leader. Bughā encountered them, and they fought him. He killed a large number of them and hung their bodies from trees. Others he took captive and imprisoned in the Palace of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya in Medina. They broke out and attacked the people of Medina, but the people of Medina turned on them and killed most of them. Bughā transported the rest away in shackles.<sup>3608</sup> Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm went on the pilgrimage in that year. 2:587

Al-Wāthiq became angry with Ibrāhīm b. Rabāḥ. Ibrāhīm had acquired influence with al-Wāthiq because of his relationship with him when al-Wāthiq was a prince. He had appointed Ibrāhīm to head the department of estates (*dīwān al-dīyā’*), but Ibrāhīm, squandering his time on diversions, delegated his duties to Najāḥ b. Salama, his secretary (*kātib*), and to Yamān b. [...] <sup>3609</sup> the Christian (*al-Naṣrānī*). The two men ceded large sums to the people.<sup>3610</sup> When (complaints) to al-Wāthiq about Ibn Rabāḥ became many,<sup>3611</sup> the caliph ordered his estates and wealth to be seized and transferred his duties to ‘Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī.

Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb was the secretary of Ashnās al-Turkī, who governed the Jazīra, the Syrian provinces, Egypt, and the Maghrib; the administrator of all this was Aḥmad. It was brought to al-Wāthiq’s attention that Ibn al-Khaṣīb had accumulated vast wealth, and so the caliph, infuriated with him, seized his wealth and that of his brother Ibrāhīm. The two men were tortured, as was their mother.

Ashnās died in this year. His position and most of his offices were transferred to Ītākḥ al-Turkī, but his estates and wealth were left intact to his sons. The administration of these properties was returned to ‘Abdallāh b. Ṣā‘id, who continued to administer them until his death.

3607 As conjectured by the Leiden editor. The *nisba* is corrupt in both MSS. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1336, refers to him as ‘Uzayza b. Qaṭṭāb al-Sulamī.

3608 Details of Bughā’s harsh treatment of the rebels in al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāq*, 558.

3609 Lacuna in both MSS.

3610 Arabic *al-nās*, perhaps to be understood as “notables”. The suggestion may be that they failed to collect appropriate revenue from estate-holders and were the target of complaints from government officials as a result.

3611 This seems to be the sense of the Arabic (following M): *fa-kathura ‘alayhi ‘inda l-Wāthiq*. There is some uncertainty about the text.

2:588 Armenia rose up with seditious activity by Arab tribesmen, Armenian leaders (*baṭāriqa*), and those who wielded local influence. The kings of Jibāl and Bāb al-Abwāb gained control over adjacent lands, | and the government's authority waned. Al-Wāthiq appointed Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mazyad and ordered him to proceed to the region. He assigned him certain districts of Diyār Rabī'a. Khālīd set out with a large army. Once news of him reached those who had taken control in those regions, they grew fearful of him. Most of them wrote to him; each said that he remained loyal, and they sent gifts. Khālīd replied, "I will accept the gift only of him who comes to me." This only increased their anxiety. Khālīd wrote to Ishāq b. Ismā'īl and ordered him to come to him. When he did not, Khālīd marched against him. Ishāq was on the verge of submitting, but Khālīd [fell ill]<sup>3612</sup> and died several days later. He was borne in a coffin to Dabīl,<sup>3613</sup> where he was buried. His supporters dispersed, and so the province again became as unsettled as ever. Al-Wāthiq appointed Muḥammad b. Khālīd to his father's position. Muḥammad wrote to report how his father's supporters had left, and he asked that they be sent back to him. Al-Wāthiq dispatched Aḥmad b. Bisṭām to Naṣībīn, where he flogged, imprisoned, and burned homes. His father's associates and clients then rallied to Muḥammad. He fought the Ṣanāriyya and Ishāq (b. Ismā'īl) until he expelled the latter, defeated the former, and remained in control of the province.

Al-Wāthiq interrogated people<sup>3614</sup> regarding the createdness of the Qur'ān. He wrote to the judges, ordering them to do the same in all the other provinces and to admit only the testimony of those who supported the doctrine of God's unity.<sup>3615</sup> He imprisoned many people on this basis.

The Byzantine monarch (*tāghiyat al-Rūm*) wrote mentioning the large number of Muslim prisoners in his possession and proposing an exchange.<sup>3616</sup> Al-Wāthiq agreed to this, and dispatched Khāqān the Eunuch (*al-Khādīm*).

3612 Lacuna in both MSS; the bracketed words are the conjecture of the Leiden editor.

3613 Unpointed in the MSS; the reading is that of ed. Leiden.

3614 Arabic *al-nās* probably refers to dignitaries and office-holders; there is little evidence that the Miḥna ever directly targeted the populace at large.

3615 Arabic *tawḥīd*. One argument advanced in support of the created nature of the Qur'ān was that an uncreated Qur'ān, being eternal, would imply the existence of something co-eternal with God, and this would be contrary to a strict belief in God's unity and uniqueness (both subsumed in the word *tawḥīd*).

3616 Arabic, "calling for a *fidā'* (literally, 'a ransoming')." The episode is described at length in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1351–1357 (trans. Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiv, 38–44).



[...].<sup>3617</sup> [One was ...,]<sup>3618</sup> who was known as Abū Ramla, and the other was Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, who was head of the (local) army. Al-Wāthiq appointed Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Salm al-Bāhilī over the frontier region (*al-thaghr*). They proceeded to a place called the Lamos River,<sup>3619</sup> two days' journey from Tarsus. Present at the prisoner exchange | were 70,000 lancemen, as well as others without lances. Abū Ramla and Jaʿfar al-Ḥadhdhāʾ stood at the bridge that spanned the river. As each male prisoner approached, they interrogated him regarding the Qurʾān. Anyone who said that it was created was ransomed and given two dinars and two garments. The number of those who were ransomed came to 500 men and 700 women. This took place in Muḥarram in the year 231.<sup>3620</sup>

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Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzāʾī went to Ibn Abī Duʿād on a matter of concern to him, but the latter dismissed him, and so he went away blaming him. He took to disparaging Ibn Abī Duʿād and referring to him as an unbeliever. A group of people<sup>3621</sup> supported him, never doubting that it was righteous anger on behalf of the faith. Suspicion turned their hearts to disobedience because of the offense to the Qurʾān.<sup>3622</sup> Some men came out, beat a drum, and made

3617 Although the MSS show no lacuna, the Leiden editor inferred the presence of one, probably lengthy. His note calls attention to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:353, where another person, Yahyā b. Ādam al-Karkhī, an associate of the judge Ibn Abī Duʿād, is given the *kunya* Abū Ramla and is mentioned as having been sent with Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ to be present at the prisoner exchange in addition to Khāqān. This makes sense in the context of al-Ṭabarī's longer account. The exchange was overseen by a palace official, a judicial official, and a military official.

3618 The conjectured words are based on the context.

3619 The Lamos River, on the border between Islamic and Byzantine territory, had been the site of earlier prisoner exchanges between al-Rashīd and Nicephorus I in 805 and again in 192/808. See Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiv, 38 and note 134.

3620 Muḥarram 231 A.H. = September 7, 845 – August 28, 846.

3621 Al-Yaʿqūbī's language (*qawmun minhum*, a group of them) is vague; the nuance would seem to be "a group of you-know-who." The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:344, identifies "them" as ḥadīth scholars (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) and deniers of the doctrine of the created Qurʾān.

3622 The translation follows the apparent reading of M. In ed. Leiden, the Arabic reads: *fa-shraʿabbat qulūbuhum li-l-maʿṣiyati li-sababi l-qurʾān* (ed. Leiden); literally, "their hearts stretched out (i.e., they exalted themselves) to/toward disobedience/transgression because of the [offense to] the Qurʾān." In M, the word that the Leiden editor read as *fa-shraʿabbat* looks more like *fa-starābat* (their hearts became filled with suspicion, or with evil opinion), and then the two following phrases beginning with *li-* can be seen as stating the cause of their evil opinion: "because of the transgression, because of the

their way the area of Ṣaḥrā' Abī l-Sarī.<sup>3623</sup> They were arrested but continued their support for him.<sup>3624</sup> Al-Wāthiq wrote to Ishāq (b. Ibrāhīm) ordering him to send al-Khuzā'ī to him, and he did so. Al-Wāthiq addressed him with angry words, and some people came and submitted statements of testimony against him. Al-Wāthiq interrogated al-Khuzā'ī regarding the Qur'ān, and he refused to state that it was created. Al-Wāthiq reviled him, and al-Khuzā'ī replied in kind. Al-Wāthiq therefore beheaded him and had his body gibbeted in Samarra.<sup>3625</sup> He had his head sent to Baghdad, where it was placed on display on the East Side.

Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Shaybānī the Khārijite rebelled in Diyār Rabī'a, where Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf was in charge. Abū Sa'īd proceeded against him with the army. Muḥammad b. 'Amr was joined by three to four hundred Khārijites. He got as far as Sinjār, but then he fled in defeat toward Mosul, with Abū Sa'īd in pursuit. The latter captured him and took him into Naṣībīn seated on a cow; then he transported him [...] <sup>3626</sup> to al-Wāthiq. He <sup>3627</sup> wrote to him saying, "He ought not be killed, for no Khārijite will rebel as long as he is alive." He remained imprisoned through the rest of al-Wāthiq's reign.

2:590 Al-Wāthiq distributed large sums in Mecca, Medina, and the other provinces to the Hāshimites, the rest of Quraysh, and the people generally.<sup>3628</sup> He made many distributions to the people of Baghdad, time after time, to the heads of

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defaming (restoring the MSS reading *li-sabb*, which the Leiden editor emended to *li-sabab*) of the Qur'ān."

3623 A *ṣaḥrā'*, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v., Ṣaḥrā' Umm Salama, is a flat piece of land without trees, hills, or mountains; however, he mentions no place with this name in Baghdad. Al-Yā'qūbī, *Buldān* (ed. Leiden), 311, uses the word to designate what Wiet in his translation (p. 145, note 2) identifies as three cemeteries in Kufa and therefore sees *ṣaḥrā'* as a synonym of *jabbāna* (cemetery). However, no known cemetery in Baghdad was named after someone called Abū l-Sarī. The location probably was on the East Side of the city, since that is where al-Khuzā'ī's head was set up for public display after his execution.

3624 That is, for al-Khuzā'ī. An alternate translation: "and confessed (i.e., testified) against him."

3625 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1348, al-Wāthiq attempted to carry out the execution with his own hand but, when he bungled the task, required the assistance of a Turkish officer.

3626 Lacuna in both MSS.

3627 The referent of the pronoun is not clear.

3628 Arabic *al-nās kāffatan*, to be taken in the sense of "important people, dignitaries, courtiers" as contrasted with the *ahl Baghdād* (the people/populace of Baghdad), mentioned in the next sentence.

the leading families as well as to the population at large. Many fires having occurred in Baghdad, he distributed generous amounts of money to a number of merchants and had (the properties) of others rebuilt. He also waived the tithe that used to be collected from those arriving from the Sea of China.

Those who wielded the greatest influence over al-Wāthiq were Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik, and 'Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm headed his security services (*shuraṭ*), and Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān b. Yahyā b. Mu'adh his palace guards (*ḥaras*).

Al-Wāthiq fell ill, and his sickness became so severe that a pit like an oven was dug for him in the earth and heated<sup>3629</sup> with tamarisk wood. He was placed in it repeatedly. He would say in his illness, "I wish I had forgiven slips and that I were a porter carrying loads on my head."<sup>3630</sup> The question of having allegiance sworn to his son was raised with him, but he replied: "I would not have God see me assuming responsibility for the caliphate both alive and dead."

Al-Wāthiq had moved out of the palaces of al-Mu'taṣim after having a palace known as al-Hārūnī built for him on the bank of the Tigris.<sup>3631</sup> He had two ceremonial platforms (*dakkatayn*) attached to it: the western and the eastern platform. It was among the finest of palaces.

His death occurred on Wednesday, 6 (nights) remaining in Dhū l-Ḥijja of the year 232.<sup>3632</sup> His age on that day was 34 years. His caliphate lasted five years, nine months and thirteen days. He left six sons: Muḥammad, 'Alī, 'Abdallāh, Ibrāhīm, Aḥmad, and Muḥammad the Younger.

### The Days of Ja'far al-Mutawakkil

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Ja'far b. al-Mu'taṣim, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Shujā', was given the oath of allegiance on Wednesday, 6 nights remaining in

3629 Reading with M, *sujira*; the reading of ed. Leiden *sukhkhina*, is synonymous, but less idiomatic, though one could argue that the corresponding passage in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1363, uses the expression *tannūr musakhkhan*. The illness is identified there as *istisqā'* (dropsy)—edema caused by accumulation of fluid beneath the skin. The treatment was an attempt to draw off the fluid through perspiration in something like a sweat lodge.

3630 In other words, "instead of bearing the responsibility of the caliphate."

3631 Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264–265. The palace was named al-Hārūnī after al-Wāthiq, whose given name was Hārūn; al-Wāthiq bi-llāh (Who Trusts in God) was a regnal name.

3632 23 Dhū l-Ḥijja 232 = August 10, 847; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1363, gives the same date.

Dhū l-Ḥijja of the year 232.<sup>3633</sup> The first persons to swear allegiance were Simā al-Turkī, who was known as al-Dimashqī, and Waṣīf al-Turkī. Al-Mutawakkil rode to the Dār al-ʿĀmma<sup>3634</sup> immediately and ordered the distribution of the equivalent of eight months of salary to the army. The sons of seven caliphs greeted him as a group: Maṣṣūr b. al-Mahdī, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Hādī, [Abū]<sup>3635</sup> Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Amīn, Mūsā b. al-Maʿmūn and his two brothers,<sup>3636</sup> Aḥmad b. al-Muʿtaṣim and his two brothers, and Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq.

For forty days he kept everything as it had been.<sup>3637</sup> Then he turned against Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik,<sup>3638</sup> confiscated his wealth, and had him tortured to death. Al-Mutawakkil held many things against him. Muḥammad was a man of great severity and little mercy, given to aggression and scornful treatment of others, and from whom no one was known to have received charity or kindness. He was given to saying, “Shame is effeminacy, mercy weakness, and generosity folly.” His disgrace brought only expressions of malicious pleasure and joy at his misfortune.

Al-Mutawakkil wrote to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad that he should travel to him from Medina. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Hāshimī had written indicating that certain people were claiming that ʿAlī b. Muḥammad was the Imam.<sup>3639</sup> He journeyed from Medina accompanied by Yaḥyā b. Harthama, and made his way to Baghdad. When he was at a place called al-Yāsiriyya, he set up camp. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, who rode there to meet him, saw | the people’s deep yearning for him and how they gathered to catch sight of him. Ishāq waited until evening and brought him into the

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3633 That is, on the day of al-Wāthiq’s death, August 10, 847.

3634 Dār al-ʿĀmma (the Public Audience Hall), part of the palace complex in Samarra, was where the caliph sat in audience on Monday and Thursday; see the article by A. Northedge in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sāmarrāʾ.

3635 Added in the *Addenda et emendanda* of ed. Leiden to agree with the name given in the list of al-Rashīd’s sons at ed. Leiden, 2:521.

3636 Reading with M *wa-akhawayh* (and his two brothers), here and after the next name. C reads *wa-akhīh* (and his brother), which the Leiden editor emended to *wa-ikhwatih* (and his brothers). The reading of M is problematic, given that al-Maʿmūn, according to al-Yaʿqūbī, left sixteen sons, and al-Muʿtaṣim left six.

3637 That is, he made no changes in personnel or policy during the customary forty days of mourning.

3638 That is, Ibn al-Zayyāt, the vizier. Cf. the longer account in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:1370–1377.

3639 Both M and C read *al-amān* (safety); the translation follows the emendation of ed. Leiden.

city by night. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad remained in Baghdad for part of that night and then proceeded to Samarra.

Al-Mutawakkil forbade the people from arguing about the Qurʾān.<sup>3640</sup> He set free from the prisons those from the provinces and those who had been seized during the caliphate of al-Wāthiq. He released them all and clothed them with garments. He dispatched letters to the provinces forbidding debate and disputation, and the people refrained.

The caliph turned against ʿUmar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī and his brother, Muḥammad. Muḥammad b. Faraj was governor of Egypt at the time, so al-Mutawakkil dispatched a letter ordering that he be transported (to Iraq). Their wealth was seized—this occurred in the year 233.<sup>3641</sup> ʿUmar was imprisoned in Baghdad, Muḥammad in Samarra, and they remained in prison for two years.

Aḥmad b. Abī Duʿād was stricken with hemiplegia.<sup>3642</sup> Al-Mutawakkil appointed his son Muḥammad, who was known as Abū l-Walīd, in his place. On this occasion<sup>3643</sup> Abū l-ʿAynā commented, “He was imprisoned because his tongue had become worthless, and he was unable to speak.”<sup>3644</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil turned against al-Faḍl b. Marwān, confiscated his estates and wealth, and sent him into exile. Afterward, he showed him favor and had him reinstated. He also turned against Aḥmad b. Khālīd, known as Abū l-Wazīr, and seized his wealth in the year 234.<sup>3645</sup> He reconciled with him afterward. When al-Mutawakkil turned against the secretaries, he said to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, “Find me two men, one to run the department of the land tax (*dīwān al-kharāj*), the other the department of estates (*dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ*).” Ishāq replied: “I have them: Yaḥyā b. Khāqān and Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām.” Yaḥyā had been imprisoned by Ishāq on account of funds that (Ishāq) had sought from him in (Yaḥyā’s) capacity as governor of Fārs.<sup>3646</sup> Mūsā was also in prison. Al-Mutawakkil had them brought forth, and he appointed Yaḥyā b. Khāqān over the department of the land tax and Mūsā | over the department of estates.

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3640 That is, any further debate on the createdness of the Qurʾān.

3641 233 A.H. = August 17, 847 – August 4, 848.

3642 Arabic *fālīj*: paralysis on one side of the body, usually the result of a stroke.

3643 Ed. Leiden suggests a lacuna here; M has no indication of one. The text is obscure.

3644 This obscure comment seems to refer not directly to Ibn Abī Duʿād’s stroke, but to the confiscation of his estates and imprisonment of his sons some three and a half years later; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:379, 1410–1411.

3645 234 A.H. = August 5, 848 – July 25, 849.

3646 Suggested reading. An alternative is “Yahya had been imprisoned *before* Ishaq (had taken power or spoken up) for moneys that had been sought *from him* in his capacity as governor of Fārs.”

Al-Mutawakkil ordered that his son Muḥammad<sup>3647</sup> be addressed as *amūr* and that he be prayed for from the pulpits.<sup>3648</sup> He sent letters to this effect to the provinces. This occurred in Dhū l-Qa'da in the year 234.<sup>3649</sup>

Ītākh al-Turkī sought permission to make the pilgrimage in this year. Al-Mutawakkil granted him permission, and Ītākh set out dressed in his finest attire. But then al-Mutawakkil received word that Ītākh had been about to initiate a plot against him, but finding himself unable to do so had asked to go on the pilgrimage. Al-Mutawakkil therefore wrote to Ja'far b. Dīnār, known as al-Khayyāt, who was governor of Yemen; he was to go to Mecca and urge Ītākh to hasten his return. When Ītākh reached Mecca, Ja'far went to him, and so Ītākh departed for Iraq. Al-Mutawakkil dispatched Sa'īd b. Šāliḥ the chamberlain to him, and the latter met Ītākh in Kufa. When Ītākh neared Baghdad, Iṣḥāq met him and ordered him to remove his black garb, his sword, and his ceremonial belt. Ītākh was escorted into Baghdad attired in a white gown and a white turban. Iṣḥāq took him as far as the Palace of Khuzayma (b. Khāzim) at the head of the bridge, imprisoned him, and bound him in chains. Ītākh's estates and wealth were seized. Sulaymān b. Wahb and Qudāma b. Ziyād, his two secretaries, and his son Maṣṣūr were sent to Baghdad, where they were brought before Ītākh. They (were made to) censure and humiliate him on the basis of the charges laid against him, and his son Maṣṣūr was ordered to spit in his face. He refused and said, "The Commander of the Faithful has slaves whom he can order to do whatever he wishes." Ītākh remained in prison for a number of days, then died and was thrown into the Tigris. The possessions of Harthama b. al-Naṣr, the governor of Egypt, were seized because of what reached al-Mutawakkil concerning his correspondence with Ītākh and his collusion with him. All of Ītākh's duties relative to Egypt were now assigned to Abū Iṣḥāq.<sup>3650</sup> When news of these developments reached 'Anbasa b. Iṣḥāq, Ītākh's resident governor in al-Sind, he traveled to Iraq. Al-Mutawakkil appointed Hārūn b. Abī Khālīd to replace him and took no measures against 'Anbasa.

2:594 Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl died in this year. He had retired to his residence before this and thus no longer carried out any responsibilities on behalf of the government.

3647 Muḥammad would reign as al-Muntaṣir (247–248/861–862) in Samarra.

3648 That is, as heir to the caliphate.

3649 Between May 27 and June 25, 849.

3650 As noted in the *Addenda et emendanda* of the Leiden edition, the reading "Abū Iṣḥāq" is likely corrupt. It probably should be emended to "Iṣḥāq b. Yahyā," who became governor of Egypt under al-Muntaṣir. Al-Kindī and Ibn Taghribirdī indicate that al-Muntaṣir was assigned Egypt (his *kunya* was Abū 'Abdallāh).

Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth held sway over a region of Azerbaijan known as Marand.<sup>3651</sup> Ḥamdawayh b. ʿAlī, the governor of Azerbaijan, shunned him<sup>3652</sup> but then [...],<sup>3653</sup> and he had him transported to the capital. When he arrived there, a complaint was lodged against Ḥamdawayh b. ʿAlī. Ḥamdawayh was beaten and held responsible for certain funds on account of which the complaint against him had been lodged. Ibn al-Baʿīth was set free.<sup>3654</sup> Ibn al-Baʿīth remained some months, then fled from Samarra to Marand. He rallied to himself the irregulars (*ṣaʿālīk*) in his region and openly rebelled and became disobedient. Ḥamdawayh b. ʿAlī was released [from prison] and appointed over the province. He set out against him, but (Ibn al-Baʿīth) engaged him in battle and killed him.

Ibn al-Baʿīth having become stronger, al-Mutawakkil sent against him Zīrak al-Turkī, who fought him. Then al-Mutawakkil sent ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb against him—the province was assigned to Bughā the Younger. He kept fighting Ibn al-Baʿīth for several months, and then offered him a safe conduct. As soon as Ibn al-Baʿīth came to him, Bughā had him transported to the capital, where he was imprisoned in the custody of Ishāq (b. Ibrāhīm). This occurred in the year 235.<sup>3655</sup> He remained in prison for only a short while before dying. Yaḥyā b. Rawwād was also transported (to Iraq). He<sup>3656</sup> was given a title<sup>3657</sup> and a military command.

Also in this year, al-Mutawakkil ordered that Dhimmīs<sup>3658</sup> should wear yellow hoods,<sup>3659</sup> that they should ride mules and donkeys with wooden stirrups

3651 The name is corrupt in both MSS. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1380–1382 (trans. Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiv, 77–81, and note 267).

3652 The sense of Arabic *nāfarahu* is problematic, especially as the context cannot be determined due to the following lacuna. In al-Ṭabarī's account, Ḥamdawayh rallies a force of 10,000 men, but is unsuccessful in dislodging Ibn al-Baʿīth, and al-Mutawakkil sends additional forces who eventually capture the town and Ibn al-Baʿīth. Al-Ṭabarī's account does not mention any subsequent complaint against Ḥamdawayh.

3653 Lacuna in both MSS but it probably refers to his capture.

3654 On the freeing of Ibn al-Baʿīth, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1387–1389. According to one account, he escaped imminent execution because his literary talent in Persian and Arabic so impressed al-Mutawakkil that he freed him.

3655 235 A.H. = July 26, 849 – July 14, 850.

3656 The referent of the pronoun is unclear.

3657 Arabic *ism*.

3658 Arabic *ahl al-dhimma*: Christians and Jews who had the status of protected monotheistic minorities.

3659 Arabic *ṭayālisa* (pl. of *ṭaylāsān*). Evidence for this being a kind of hood or cowl is presented by Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiv, 89, note 304. For further discussion

and with saddles bearing pommels; that they should ride neither thoroughbred horses (*khayl*) nor hackneys (*birdhawn*); and that they should affix to their doors wooden boards bearing images of devils.

Al-Mutawakkil had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son Muḥammad (al-Muntaṣir) as his heir apparent, followed by his sons Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Mu‘tazz  
2:595 bi-llāh and Ibrāhīm al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh. He brought the notables | of every province to Samarra and for their oaths of allegiance presented them with gifts. He also gave the army the equivalent of ten months’ salary and dispatched preachers to deliver sermons announcing the news.

Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir performed the pilgrimage in this year accompanied by al-Mutawakkil’s mother. He led the people in performing the pilgrimage rites and displayed commendable virtue along the route.

[...] <sup>3660</sup> to each of the heirs apparent an area of territory. To al-Muntaṣir he assigned Egypt and the Maghrib; his secretary was Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. To Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Mu‘tazz bi-llāh he assigned Khurāsān and al-Jabal; his secretary was Aḥmad b. Isrā’īl. To Ibrāhīm al-Mu‘ayyad he assigned the Syrian districts, Armenia, and Azerbaijan; his secretary was Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, known as [...]. <sup>3661</sup>

At this time al-Mutawakkil ordered that no Dhimmī should be employed in any government office, that any newly built churches and synagogues should be razed, and that they should be prevented from constructing. <sup>3662</sup> He sent letters to this effect to all of the provinces.

Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm died, and al-Mutawakkil transferred to his son Muḥammad all of his responsibilities for the revenue of the districts (*ṭasāsij*) of the Sawād, the provinces of Egypt, the villages of the Tigris and other areas, along with offices in [...] <sup>3663</sup> and Fārs. For seven days al-Mutawakkil bestowed robes of honor on him—seven robes on each day—and assigned him a large number of standards. <sup>3664</sup> Muḥammad assumed a highly favored place in the eyes of

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of the requirement that non-Muslims wear distinctive clothing (Arabic *ghiyār*), see the article by M. Perlmann in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ghiyār*.

3660 Apparent lacuna in both MSS. The sense is “He assigned ...”

3661 The name is missing; M has a short space that may or may not be a lacuna. See Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIV, 223, note 727, for evidence that the missing word(s) may be “Bard al-Khiyār” or “al-Ṣūlī.”

3662 Arabic *‘imāra*, which would include the upkeep of existing buildings.

3663 Based on the parallel in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7:36, the Leiden editor inferred the presence of a lacuna here, although the MSS show none.

3664 Arabic *ahwīya* (pl. of *līwā*): military commands.



the caliph. [Muḥammad]<sup>3665</sup> retained his father's officials. His secretary for tax revenue (*kharāj*) was ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Yazdānirūdih;<sup>3666</sup> for correspondence (*rasāʾil*) it was Maymūn b. Ibrāhīm; and for appeals (*maẓālim*) it was Ishāq b. Yazīd, a relative of Hārūn b. Jabghūyah.<sup>3667</sup>

(Muḥammad b. Ishāq)<sup>3668</sup> sent<sup>3669</sup> al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl to Fārs to replace his uncle Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. He ordered him to torture his uncle until he extracted the revenue that had accrued to him. He was tortured to death. 2:596

ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Yahyā, known as Ḥawṭ,<sup>3670</sup> a relative of Ṭāhir (b. al-Ḥusayn), was responsible for the land tax (*kharāj*) and supplementary imposts (*maʿāwīn*) of Egypt. Muḥammad b. Ishāq confirmed him in his position.<sup>3671</sup>

Muḥammad (b. Ishāq) survived his father for a year, then died. ʿAbdallāh b. Ishāq succeeded him, but only over the security services (*shuraṭ*). He sent Muḥammad b. Ishāq's secretaries who had previously served his father to al-Mutawakkil, who had his officials flogged. He brought ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm's secretary over the districts of the Sawād, from Samarra and put him in charge of the Supreme Tax Bureau (*Dīwān al-Kharāj al-Aʿẓam*), a post in which he remained for two months. Then (al-Mutawakkil) dismissed him and replaced him with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mudabbir.<sup>3672</sup> The wealth of (ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's) two sons, al-Ḥusayn and Ismāʿīl, was confiscated. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mudabbir arrested his officials from the districts of the Sawād and reached a settlement with them only when they agreed to pay large sums of money. Al-Mutawakkil appointed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mudabbir over seven departments (*dawāwīn*): the department of land tax, the department of estates, the department of private expenditures, (the department of) public (expenditures),<sup>3673</sup> the department of religious alms (*ṣadaqāt*), the depart-

3665 Added by the Leiden editor.

3666 Name corrupt in both MSS. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 1:186, note 5.

3667 On the likely form of the name, see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, 103, note 322.

3668 Context suggests him and not the caliph.

3669 Both MSS read *wa-waṣala*, which, with the following preposition *bi-*, gives the same sense as the emendation in ed. Leiden (*wa-wajjaha*), which is unnecessary.

3670 The name occurs as Khūṭ in al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarāʾ*, 199, 200, 464–466, with a note (p. 464) that the MS sometimes omits the dot on the initial letter, which would yield Ḥūṭ or Ḥawṭ, as in al-Yaʿqūbī.

3671 Suggested reading following M; ed. Leiden, *ʿalā jundihi* (over his army).

3672 Normally written as “al-Mudabbir.”

3673 The wording of M, *wa-l-naḥqāt nafaqāt al-khāṣṣa wa-l-ʿamma* (the [department of] expenditures, private expenditures and public) suggests that this was one *dīwān*, but the list requires seven departments.

ment of clients (*mawālī*) and slave soldiers (*ghilmān*), and the department of the regular army (*jund*) and Shākiriyya.<sup>3674</sup> He increased the flow of revenue considerably.

Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir came to Baghdad from Khurāsān in the year 237,<sup>3675</sup> and everything that had been assigned to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm was assigned to him. The administrative functions in Egypt were assigned to ‘An-basa b. Ishāq al-Ḍabbī on behalf of al-Muntaṣir.<sup>3676</sup> He had resided in Egypt for no more than a few months before the Byzantines laid siege to Damietta with 85 ships.<sup>3677</sup> They killed many Muslims and burned 1,400 houses. | The enemy leader was named [...].<sup>3678</sup> They captured 1,820 Muslim women, 1,000 Coptic women, and 100 Jewish women. The weapons and naphtha<sup>3679</sup> that were in Damietta were taken. The inhabitants fled and some 2,000 of them drowned in the sea. The Byzantines remained for two days and two nights and then departed.

Al-Mutawakkil turned against Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, the secretary (*kātib*) in charge of the department of edicts,<sup>3680</sup> when he was apprised of something the latter had done, and he replaced him with ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān. He promoted the latter, raised his rank and status, appointed him to the post, and directed him to write (as his signature) “Client of the Commander of the Faithful” (*Mawlā Amīr al-Mu’minīn*)—his client affiliation (*walā’*) had been to

3674 On the last two government departments, see Matthew Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords*, 188, note 298.

3675 237 A.H. = July 5, 851 – June 22, 852.

3676 Who had been appointed over Egypt as part of his father’s succession arrangement.

3677 See the parallel account of this Byzantine raid in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1417–1418, along with the notes provided by Kraemer in his translation, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiv, 124–127, esp. note 414.

3678 The undotted name is too ambiguous to read. In M it looks like Qaṭūnārīs (or Faṭūnārīs), which corresponds to al-Ṭabarī’s “Ibn Qaṭūnā,” one of three Byzantine admirals, each of whom is said to have come with 100 ships, but the name cannot be identified with any known Greek commander.

3679 Reading with the MSS *al-naft*; ed. Leiden changes it to *al-saqat* (refuse, goods of little value), which makes little sense. Naphtha was the main component of Greek fire, an incendiary mixture of naphtha (Arabic *naft*) and other chemicals that could be projected at enemy ships to set them on fire. On the use by Muslims of such incendiary weapons, see the article by V. Christides in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Naft.

3680 Arabic *dīwān al-tawqī’*. The word *tawqī’*, originally meaning “to indite, register the decree of a ruler,” gradually came to mean the ruler’s decision on a petition, his written decree or edict on a matter, and then the office or bureau concerned with drawing up such documents. See the article by F. Babinger and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tawqī’.

the Azd.<sup>3681</sup> He also directed him to order the secretaries of the departments to date documents in his own name,<sup>3682</sup> but ʿUbaydallāh asked the caliph to excuse him from this—although in fact it was he who would appoint the officials of the land tax, estates, post and intelligence, supplementary imposts (*maʿāwīn*), and the judiciary throughout the realm, with no one else sharing his responsibilities. This notwithstanding, ʿUbaydallāh was held in high regard by the people.<sup>3683</sup> He appointed his father over the department of appeals (*mazālim*), and when his father died he appointed his uncle ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to replace him.

Al-Mutawakkil turned against Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Duʿād and his father and appointed Yaḥyā b. Aktham al-Tamīmī as chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*). Ibn Abī Duʿād's estates and wealth were confiscated, and he was brought to Baghdad, where he remained but a short time before dying. [...] <sup>3684</sup> his eldest sons. Al-Mutawakkil retained Yaḥyā [for a short time; then he appointed] <sup>3685</sup> in his place Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Hāshimī.

Al-Mutawakkil departed for Baghdad (*Madīnat al-Salām*) in the year 238. He stayed in tents at al-Shammāsiyya and then entered Baghdad. Crossing straight through it, he went on to al-Madāʾin for recreation.

3681 It was still customary for a non-Arab convert to Islam to be given the status of client (*mawlā*) to the person who had witnessed his conversion to Islam and, by extension, to that person's tribe. (The role of godparents in Christian baptism is analogous.) Such a relationship was called *walāʾ* (literally, "proximity") and passed to the person's descendants. By changing ʿUbaydallāh's clientage from the tribe of Azd to himself personally, al-Mutawakkil was raising his status. See the article by P. Crone in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mawlā*, and D. Sourdél, *Vizirat*, 1:277, and notes.

3682 Arabic *an yuʿarrikhū l-kutuba bi-smihi* (to date the documents in his name): apparently meaning that they were to write the concluding formula of official documents as "Written by ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān, client of the Commander of the Faithful, on such and such a date."

3683 Arabic *al-nās*; again, referring as usual to "important people, dignitaries." The introductory phrase *maʿa dhālika* is ambiguous: it may have its usual adversative meaning (this notwithstanding) or it may simply mean "with all this" or "given all this." So it is impossible to determine whether al-Yaʿqūbī means that ʿUbaydallāh was held in esteem *because of* his many offices or *in spite of* them.

3684 The Leiden editor inferred a lacuna here, although the MSS show no break. From the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:1410–1411, which mentions that other sons of Aḥmad b. Abī Duʿād were imprisoned, one can infer that the missing phrase was something like "He imprisoned ..."

3685 The bracketed words were added by the Leiden editor to fill what he inferred was a lacuna, although the MSS show none.

2:598

The situation in Armenia became unstable. A group of local chiefs (*baṭāriqa*) and others became active, taking control of their areas. Al-Mutawakkil therefore appointed Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, who set out for the province. Abū Saʿīd called for his robe and put it on, then he called for one of his sandals and put it on, and then he dropped dead with no sign of illness. Al-Mutawakkil appointed his son Yūsuf, who set out and reached the province. He wrote to the local chiefs, and some of them responded positively. Buqrāt b. Ashūṭ went to him under a guarantee of safe-conduct. Yūsuf sent him to al-Mutawakkil and [...].<sup>3686</sup> [...] b. [...] <sup>3687</sup> met (Yūsuf) in battle and killed him, and the situation in the province worsened. Al-Mutawakkil therefore dispatched Bughā the Elder. When he reached Arzan,<sup>3688</sup> Mūsā b. Zurāra, who had taken control of Badlis,<sup>3689</sup> approached him under a guarantee of safe-conduct. Bughā had him bound and transported to al-Mutawakkil. Then he made his way to a place called Albāq,<sup>3690</sup> where Ashūṭ b. Ḥamza was located. He laid siege to him; then he gave him a guarantee of safe-conduct and had him transported to Samarra, where he was beheaded. Then he made his way to [...] b. [...] <sup>3691</sup> and fought him for some days; he defeated him without granting him a safe-conduct and sent him to Samarra, where he was beheaded at the Bāb al-ʿĀmma and his body gibbeted.<sup>3692</sup> Bughā then wrote to Ishāq b. Ismāʿīl, who held sway in Tiflis, ordering that he come to him. Ishāq wrote back that he had never been disobedient;<sup>3693</sup> if Bughā desired revenue he would provide it, and if he desired men he would supply them, but he could not come in person. Bughā marched

3686 Visible lacuna in both mss.

3687 The name (apart from "b.") is too corrupt to be read.

3688 Arzan: the most important city with this name was located in eastern Anatolia on the east bank of the Arzanšū River (modern Garzansu), a tributary of the Euphrates. See the article by R. N. Frye in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Arzan.

3689 Badlis (modern Bitlis) is in eastern Anatolia, about 25 km southwest of Lake Van. See the article by G. L. Lewis in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bidlis.

3690 Although the Arabic geographers do not mention this town, a modern town of the same name exists in the Salmās region of northwestern Iran, near the Turkish border. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salmās.

3691 The same unreadable name as occurs earlier in the paragraph.

3692 The preceding sentence is found only in M; it has dropped out of C (and hence ed. Leiden) by homeoteleuton.

3693 The Leiden editor inserted the word *al-sultān*, thinking it demanded by Arabic grammar; but the indefinite form in the phrase *lam yukhrīj yadan min tāʿatīn* (had not withdrawn his hand from any obedience) seems possible. On the meaning of *sultān* at the end of the paragraph, see the following note.

against him, fought him, and defeated him. He was beheaded, and his head was transported to the ruler (*sultān*).<sup>3694</sup>

Bughā marched against the Ṣanāriyya and and fought them, but they defeated him and routed his troops, so he turned away from them in disarray. He tracked down those to whom he had extended a guarantee of safe-conduct and seized them; but a group of them managed to escape and wrote to the ruler of the Byzantines, the ruler of the Khazars, and the ruler of the Slavs (*Ṣaqāliba*), and they came together with a large force. Bughā wrote regarding this to al-Mutawakkil, and he appointed | Muḥammad b. Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī over the province. When he arrived, the troublemakers ceased their activity, so he renewed their guarantees of safe-conduct.

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The inhabitants of Ḥimṣ rose up in the year 240.<sup>3695</sup> They drove out their resident governor, Abū l-Mughīth Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm, who made his way to Hama. Al-Mutawakkil dispatched ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh b. Jabala, designating Muḥammad as the governor of the province. The latter pacified them and remained in their area for a number of months, until they rose up again and rioted against him. He again pacified them and, using deception, arrested a number of their notables and bound them in irons. They were transported to al-Mutawakkil but then returned to Muḥammad, who had them flogged to death and gibbeted on the doors of their houses. He tracked down the men who were causing the civil strife and annihilated them.

Al-Mutawakkil appointed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (b. Mudabbir) to administer the land tax of Damascus and Jordan. This took place because the secretaries in the government departments intrigued against him because of their fear of him. They argued that the taxes of the province required a fiscal investigation (*taʿdīl*)<sup>3696</sup> and that the only person who could make such an investigation was the one who was in charge of the department of land tax. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was dispatched in the year 240 to make that adjustment for Damascus and Jordan; he imposed on each area what it could rightfully bear.

3694 Strictly speaking, *sultān* at this period meant “power, authority,” and not the ruler or sovereign who possessed that power. “Sultān,” in other words, was an attribute of the caliph, not his title. Perhaps the safest way of understanding the phrase here is to take it as meaning that the head was transported back to the *residence* of the ruler, the seat of government. On the development of the word *sultān* in Arabic, see the article by J. H. Kramers in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sultān.

3695 240 A.H. = June 2, 854 – May 21, 855.

3696 On this use of *taʿdīl* (setting right, adjustment, equalization) as a technical term for reassessment of tax obligations, see Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 43, 153, 246.

Hārūn b. Abī Khālīd, the governor of al-Sind, died in the year 240. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Sāmī, a descendant of Sāma b. Lu’ayy<sup>3697</sup> and the dominant figure there, wrote saying that if he were appointed governor over the province, he would administer its affairs and set it in order. Al-Mutawakkil responded positively, and so al-Sāmī held the post throughout the days of al-Mutawakkil.

The Byzantine ruler (*tāghiyat al-Rūm*) sent envoys and gifts. These were small, and al-Mutawakkil sent him several times as much. He dispatched Shunayf<sup>3698</sup> the Eunuch (*al-Khādīm*), who was responsible for his [...],<sup>3699</sup> and put him in charge of the prisoner exchange. Shunayf went to Tarsus in the year 241<sup>3700</sup>—the governor of the frontier regions (*thughūr*) was Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā | al-Armanī. Shunayf went out to the Lamos River bridge and announced that he had prisoners in his possession. He had transported Byzantine prisoners from every province in which they were found, and he purchased slaves of the Christians.<sup>3701</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil constructed palaces on which he spent tremendous sums. These included al-Shāh, al-‘Arūs, al-Shibdāz,<sup>3702</sup> al-Badī‘, al-Gharīb, and al-Burj. He spent 1,700,000 dinars on al-Burj.

There was a meteor shower the eve of Thursday, 1 Jumādā 11 241.<sup>3703</sup> They continued to rain down from the beginning of night until the break of day. Earthquakes occurred in Qūmis and in Nishāpūr and vicinity in the year 242; in Qūmis many people died. The people were struck by a powerful quake on Tuesday, 10 nights remaining of Sha‘bān;<sup>3704</sup> some 200,000 persons died, and after it some towns in Khurāsān were swallowed up. In the same month, a hot

3697 Al-Ya‘qūbī has given an account of this son of Lu’ayy (one of the progenitors of the Quraysh) above, ed. Leiden, 1:270.

3698 Both MSS read “Sayf,” emended by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1427.

3699 Both MSS have a single word here that is corrupt and cannot be read.

3700 241 A.H. = May 22, 855 – May 9, 856.

3701 This seems to mean that he not only exchanged prisoners, but used money to ransom Muslims who had been enslaved by the Byzantines.

3702 The palace was named after the Sassanian ruler Aparvīz’s famous horse, whose image was said to have been carved into a mountain near Qarmāsīn in Dīnawar. Al-Mas‘ūdī, who calls it “one of the wonders of the world,” gives the name in the form Shabdāz (*Murūj*, 1:314 [§ 635]; the vocalization Shibdāz is given by Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, s.v.). For a list of al-Mutawakkil’s palaces, the cost of each, and poems praising them, see al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāq*, 489–494.

3703 October 17, 855. The Orionid meteors peak around this date.

3704 19 Sha‘bān 242 = February 18, 857.

gale from the direction of [...] <sup>3705</sup> reached the populace of Fārs, along with dust that choked people's throats. People and animals died and trees caught fire. The people of Egypt were struck by an earthquake so strong that the columns of mosques were rocked and homes and mosques collapsed—this in Dhū l-Ḥijja of this year. <sup>3706</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil decided to travel to Damascus after its cool climate was described to him, because he was sensitive to the heat. He wrote to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mudabbir <sup>3707</sup> ordering him to requisition palaces and to ready houses. He also sent letters about repairing the road and constructing stage-camps and sleeping places. He left Samarra on Monday, 10 nights remaining in Dhū l-Qaʿda of the year 243. <sup>3708</sup> He arrived in Damascus on Wednesday, 8 nights remaining in | Šafar of the year 244. <sup>3709</sup> He took up residence in these palaces and remained for 38 days. He then heard something that disturbed him from one of the Turkish clients (*mawālī*), so he left Damascus for Iraq. During his reign he made no journeys except this one, apart from pleasure outings. During this journey, he saw nothing and attended to no one's welfare, although all of Syria had been struck by earthquakes that destroyed Latakia and Jabala and led to the deaths of so many inhabitants that people fled into the desert and abandoned their homes and everything in them. This continued without interruption for several months into the year 245. <sup>3710</sup>

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Al-Mutawakkil moved to a site known as al-Māḥūza, which was located three farsakhs from the Samarra palace. <sup>3711</sup> There he built a city that he named al-Jaʿfariyya, and he dug a canal to it <sup>3712</sup> from al-Qāṭūl. He moved the secretaries, the government offices, and the people (*al-nās*) entirely to the new site, where

3705 The mss have an undotted word too ambiguous to read.

3706 Began March 31, 857.

3707 Ed. Leiden originally read (with C), "Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Mudabbir," and the editor corrected it in the *Addenda et corrigenda*. The mistake can be explained from M, which originally read simply, "Aḥmad b. Mudabbir." Someone corrected the omission by writing "Muḥammad b." in the margin, but apparently neglected to indicate where "Muḥammad b." was to be inserted. A later hand added "Aḥmad" after the marginal correction and inserted a small "x" above "Aḥmad" in the text, further confusing the issue, and the copyist of C produced the reading "Muḥammad b. Aḥmad."

3708 20 Dhū l-Qaʿda 243 = March 10, 858.

3709 21 Šafar 244 = June 8, 858.

3710 245 A.H. = April 8, 859 – March 27, 860.

3711 Reckoning a farsakh as 3 Arab miles, this would come to approximately 18.0 km (11.2 mi.) to the north of Samarra.

3712 Reading with M, *ilayhā* (sloppily written); ed. L, *minhā* (from it).

he built a palace whose like had never been heard of before. This occurred in Muḥarram in the year 246.<sup>3713</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil turned against the secretary Najāḥ b. Salama,<sup>3714</sup> who was the secretary who had wielded the greatest influence over him, except for ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā. He had persisted in [...] <sup>3715</sup> people’s money. Al-Mutawakkil turned him over to Mūsā b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām, the head of the department of land tax, and to al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Jarrāḥ, the head of the department of estates. The two men had guaranteed him payment of 2,000,000 dinars. Mūsā b. ‘Abd al-Malik had him tortured for a number of days, and he died under his hands. His estates, homes, and wealth were seized. This took place in Dhū l-Qa‘da in the year 246.<sup>3716</sup>

2:602 Al-Mutawakkil had behaved coarsely toward his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir, and so they<sup>3717</sup> incited Muḥammad against him and plotted to attack him. On Tuesday, 3 Shawwāl 247,<sup>3718</sup> a group of Turks that included Bughā the Younger, Ūtāmish | the companion (*ṣāhib*) of al-Muntaṣir, Bāghir, Baghlūn,<sup>3719</sup> [...] <sup>3720</sup> Wājīn, [...] <sup>3721</sup> and Kindāsh broke in. Al-Mutawakkil was in a private audience chamber.<sup>3722</sup> They set upon him and killed him with their swords. They killed al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān along with him.

3713 Began March 28, 860.

3714 For two not always reconcilable accounts of the fall of Najāḥ b. Salama, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1440–1447 (trans. Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIV, 158–164). Both versions situate the episode in the context of rivalry at court between Najāḥ and the vizier ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān and al-Mutawakkil’s need for money to finance his building projects.

3715 The word, which from the context must be a verb, is undotted and too ambiguous to read. The Leiden editor conjectured *yatanaḍḍakh* (sprinkle himself with), but the conjecture makes little sense.

3716 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1443, gives a date of 23 Dhū l-Qa‘da 246 (February 18, 860) for his death.

3717 “They” refers to the group of Turks mentioned in the next sentence. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1452–1465, gives examples of the caliph’s coarse behavior and intentional snubs toward his son.

3718 December 10, 861.

3719 M, Baghlū, corrected by ed. Leiden.

3720 The name is too ambiguous to be read.

3721 Another name too ambiguous to be read.

3722 Arabic *majlis khalwa*. This might also mean “a private gathering,” but the parallel accounts contain frequent occurrences of the word *majlis* in the sense of an audience chamber. Perhaps “private sitting-room” would fit the context. The account in al-Ṭabarī has al-Mutawakkil eat and drink a great deal, so that he was drunk at the time of the assassination.



Al-Mutawakkil's caliphate lasted for 14 years, 9 months, and 9 days. He was 42 years old. He was buried in his palace known as al-Ja'farī that he had named al-Māhūza.<sup>3723</sup> The persons with the greatest influence over him were al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā the secretary. His security services (*shuraṭ*) were headed by Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, followed by Muḥammad b. Ishāq, followed by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. His palace guard (*ḥaras*) was headed by Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh, followed by Rajā' b. Ayyūb, followed by Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh. His chamberlains (*ḥujjāb*) were Waṣīf and Bughā.<sup>3724</sup>

### The Days of Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir

The oath of allegiance was sworn to Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir b. Ja'far al-Mutawakkil, whose mother was a Byzantine slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Ḥubshiyya, on the night that his father was killed. This was the eve of Wednesday, 6 Shawwāl 247.<sup>3725</sup>

On that day the Sun was in Scorpio, 15° 52'; the Moon in Libra, 26° 4'; Saturn in Virgo, 21° 20'; Jupiter in Taurus, 2° 35'; Mars in Sagittarius, 25° 2'; Venus in Scorpio, 2° 25'; | and Mercury in Scorpio, 3° 22'.

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Al-Muntaṣir brought together his brothers [Abū]<sup>3726</sup> 'Abdallāh al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh and Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad and had them swear the oath of allegiance, along with all the other people (*al-nās*) in attendance. He rode to the Dār al-Āmma, where he presented the army with the equivalent of ten months pay (*rizq*). He left the Ja'farī palace for Samarra<sup>3727</sup> and ordered the destruction of

3723 The text seems to be disturbed. One would expect, "in his palace *at al-Māhūza* that he had named *al-Ja'farī*."

3724 The text does not specify which of the two Bughās is meant.

3725 Sic. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫh*, 3:1455, the events leading to the assassination of al-Mutawakkil took place on Tuesday, 3 Shawwāl (the date that al-Ya'qūbī has just given for the assassination), but the assassination itself took place after dark and therefore according to Arabic reckoning on Wednesday, 4 Shawwāl, with al-Muntaṣir receiving the oath of allegiance the same night (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫh*, 3:1465, 1471). Since al-Ya'qūbī himself has given Tuesday as the *third* day of the month, his saying that Wednesday was the *sixth* is strange. The MSS are very clear. On the reign of al-Muntaṣir, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muntaṣir.

3726 As corrected in the *Addenda et emendanda* of ed. Leiden. The MSS read "his two brothers (*dual*) 'Abdallāh, and al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh, and al-Mu'ayyad, and had them (*plural*) swear ..."

3727 That is, he left the new district constructed by his father, al-Mutawakkil, and moved back to the older center of the city.

those palaces. He had the people (*al-nās*) move away from them; that city was abandoned and fell into ruins, and the people (*al-nās*) returned to their homes in Samarra.

He removed his brothers al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad from the succession and made them testify that they had removed themselves.<sup>3728</sup>

He transferred Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir from the Syrian districts to Egypt. The Syrian districts were distributed among a group (of officials).

The persons with the greatest influence over him were Ūtāmish and Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. His caliphate lasted for six months. He died on Saturday, 4 Rabī' II 248.<sup>3729</sup> He was 25 years and 6 months old.

### The Days of Aḥmad al-Musta'in

The oath of allegiance was sworn to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim on the day that al-Muntaṣir died. This was Saturday, 4 Rabī' II.<sup>3730</sup>

On that day the Sun was in Gemini, 15° 11'; Saturn in Virgo, 16° 7'; Jupiter in Gemini, 15°; Mars in Gemini, 3° 27'; Venus in Cancer, 14° 22'; and Mercury in Cancer, 4° 22'.

2:604 Al-Musta'in was not qualified to hold the office of caliph; however, when al-Muntaṣir died, the Turks distrusted the sons of al-Mutawakkil, fearing evil consequences.<sup>3731</sup> Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb advised them to swear allegiance to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim, which they did. Some of the commanders refused. Disputes broke out between the Turks and the Abnā', and they ended up fighting for three days until the situation of the Abnā' weakened. Al-Musta'in distributed large sums to the people (*al-nās*), and his situation stabilized.

Ūtāmish al-Turkī, Shujā' b. al-Qāsim—he was Ūtāmish's secretary—and Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb exerted such influence over al-Musta'in that no one else had any say at all. Afterward, the Turks moved against Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. Al-Musta'in turned against him and exiled him to the Maghrib four months after taking office. He was transported by sea to Crete and then to al-Qayrawān.

3728 That is, that they had done so voluntarily.

3729 June 7, 862.

3730 Other dates are given; see the article by K. V. Zetterstéen and C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Musta'in.

3731 That is, the consequences of their murder of al-Mutawakkil: any of the slain caliph's surviving sons might be tempted to exact vengeance on them.

No person was feared more by the companions of al-Mustaʿin than the master of Khurāsān.<sup>3732</sup> Therefore when Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir died in Rajab 248<sup>3733</sup> at the age of 44, their anxiety was dispelled, and they schemed to send Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh away from Iraq to Khurāsān. Al-Mustaʿin asked him to proceed to Khurāsān, but he replied, “My brother appointed his son to succeed him, and therefore I fear that with my departure the situation in the land will deteriorate.” Al-Mustaʿin wrote to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, appointing him governor of Khurāsān in his father’s stead.

The Khārijite Abū l-ʿAmūd rebelled in Diyār Rabīʿa in this year. Al-Mustaʿin dispatched [...] <sup>3734</sup> al-Farghānī against him. He engaged him in battle, killed him, and dispersed his following.

When Ṭāhir (b. ʿAbdallāh) died | and his son Muḥammad was appointed governor—he was quite young when he was appointed—a group of Khārijites and others rose up in Khurāsān. The Khārijites became so numerous that they nearly wrested control over Sijistān. Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth came before him <sup>3735</sup>—known as al-Ṣaffār,<sup>3736</sup> he was a daring and courageous man. He asked Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir to grant him leave to march against the Khārijites and to gather volunteers. Muḥammad granted him permission to do so. Yaʿqūb proceeded to Sijistān and drove out the Khārijites there. He then marched to Kirmān and did the same until he had purged the province of them. His standing rose, and [al-Mustaʿin] <sup>3737</sup> wrote to Muḥammad that he should appoint al-Ṣaffār as governor of Kirmān. He took up residence there and had an excellent effect on the province.

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3732 Arabic *ṣāhib Khurāsān*. One is tempted to see this as referring to Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, the governor of Khurāsān, whose death is reported in the next sentence. However, the context makes it likely that “master of Khurāsān” was a way of referring to Ṭāhir’s brother Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, originally from Khurāsān, who had been serving as military governor of Iraq since his appointment by al-Mutawakkil in 237/851 and whose presence members of al-Mustaʿin’s entourage might well fear because of his power and former closeness to al-Mutawakkil. For other accounts, see Kaabi, *Tahirides*, 1:333–334; Sourdel, *Vizirat, passim*; and Saliba, *The History of al-Ṭabari*, xxxv, 6 and note 20.

3733 The month began on August 31, 862.

3734 The name is too ambiguous to be read. In M it looks like “... *kājūr*.” Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 3:1506 gives the name as Unūjūr al-Turkī.

3735 Both MSS have *qāla lahu* (said to him); ed. Leiden emends to *qāma lahu* (came before him).

3736 That is, the Coppersmith; on him, the founder of a line that displaced the Ṭāhirids, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār.

3737 Added by the Leiden editor to avoid ambiguity.

A man from the Lakhm rose up in Jordan. The governor of Jordan pursued him, and so he made his way to [...] <sup>3738</sup> and fled. One of his officials, known as al-Quṭāmī, <sup>3739</sup> rose in his stead and his following became substantial. He collected the land tax and crushed one army after another that was sent against him by the governor of Palestine. He continued in this way until the arrival of Muzāḥim b. Khāqān al-Turkī at the head of a contingent of Turks and other troops. Muzāḥim dispersed his followers and drove them from the province.

The people of Ḥimṣ rebelled against their governor, Kaydar b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ushrūsānī, who marched against them with a contingent of troops. They defeated these troops—he himself went to Hama—killing a number of the troops and gibbeting their bodies. Al-Musta‘īn then appointed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Azdī over Ḥimṣ. He set out toward the city, but he died when he was four stages from it. <sup>3740</sup> Al-Musta‘īn then appointed al-Faḍl b. Qārin al-Ṭabarī. When he reached the province, its inhabitants received him with expressions of loyalty and obedience, but they complained about how Kaydar had mistreated them. Al-Faḍl entered | the city and remained for some days, the province being quiet. Then he discovered that they were planning to rise up against him, and so he seized a group of them and beheaded them.

Al-Musta‘īn exiled ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā to Mecca, then to Barqa. This occurred early in the year 249. <sup>3741</sup>

The army in Samarra rose up time after time. They fought among themselves and struggled against Ūtāmish. They said, “He has taken our salaries (*arzāq*) and denied our promotions (*marātib*).” A mob of Turks and freedmen (*mawālī*) marched to al-Karkh, and when Ūtāmish came out to appease them, they killed him and his secretary, Shujā‘ b. al-Qāsim. This occurred in the month of Rabī‘ II in the year 249. <sup>3742</sup> Their homes were plundered. This took place with the support of al-Musta‘īn, who sent letters cursing him to all the provinces.

In the year 249, al-Musta‘īn sent Ja‘far al-Khayyāṭ at the head of the summer campaign. Accompanying him was ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh al-Aqṭa‘, the governor

3738 The reading is uncertain. M appears to read Nābulus, but the last letter does not look like a normal final *sīn*. The Leiden editor conjectured that it should be read as the fortress of “Bāb Ufayq.”

3739 Suggested reading in ed. Leiden; the name is undotted in both mss.

3740 The stage (Arabic *marḥala*, plural *marāḥil*) was the distance that a traveler could cover in one day, and therefore varied in length, depending on the terrain. The geographer al-Muqaddisi gives a normal range of between 6 and 7 farsakhs (approximately 35.9 to 41.9 km). See *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Marḥala*.

3741 249 A.H. = February 24, 863 – February 12, 864.

3742 The month began on April 24, 863.

of Malatya. Having entered Byzantine territory, ʿUmar requested permission to push ahead—he was with 8,000 troops. The enemy surrounded him, and in Rajab of the year 249 he and those with him were wiped out.<sup>3743</sup>

Al-Mustaʿīn appointed ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī over Armenia in this year. The situation in the province had become unsettled. He made his way to Mayyāfāriqīn. The Byzantines attacked and penetrated deeply into Muslim territory. A group of the inhabitants of the province met with ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, demanding that he confront the Byzantines and urging him on. He marched out with them, met the Byzantine army, and engaged them in a fierce battle. He was killed, and the Byzantines made off with his corpse.<sup>3744</sup> The Byzantines deemed it a tremendous victory because of all the trouble he had caused them.

In this year, the people of Ḥimṣ rose up against al-Faḍl b. Qārīn al-Ṭabarī, their governor, and gathered forces against him from clans of the Kalb. He fortified himself against them in the palace of Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, which he had renovated, and they besieged him. Those with him seized him and turned him over to his opponents, who took him, butchered him, and hung his corpse on al-Rastan Gate.<sup>3745</sup> Having killed him, they grew fearful of the governor of Damascus, so they marched against him—he was Nūsharā<sup>3746</sup> b. Ṭājīl al-Turkī. He attacked them with a force composed of al-Bābakiyya<sup>3747</sup> and others. These routed them, and they retreated to Ḥimṣ. Al-Mustaʿīn then dispatched Mūsā b. [Bughā]<sup>3748</sup> the Elder with a force of 6,000 freedmen (*mawālī*) to Ḥimṣ. When he reached the city, a man named Dābir al-ʿAffār<sup>3749</sup> led a large number of Kalb tribesmen and others against him and engaged him in battle. When the tide turned against them, Mūsā entered Ḥimṣ by force and permitted it to be plundered for three days. It was sacked, its houses set

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3743 The month began on August 20, 863. In the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:1509, the name of the leader of the summer campaign is given as Jaʿfar b. Dīnār, apparently the same person.

3744 Reading *badanahu*, as corrected by the Leiden editor; C and M read *yadahu* (his hand).

3745 This gate in Ḥimṣ is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:1464; M reads *Bāb al-Rasīn*.

3746 Undotted in both mss. See Gordon, *Thousand Swords* (index), and Cobb, *White Banners*, 100, who reads the name as al-Nawsharī.

3747 This is a curious name, if it is indeed the correct reading. In C the word is undotted; M has a dot only under the third letter. Sourdél, *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bābak, mentions “Bābakiyya” in the sense of “followers of Bābak.” It seems odd that his followers or former followers would be fighting under a Turkish commander on behalf of the government in Syria.

3748 Lacuna in both mss; ed. Leiden completes the name on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, 3:1533; cf. Cobb, *White Banners*, 100.

3749 The name is undotted in both mss. The translation follows the suggested reading in ed. Leiden.

afire, and the merchants' goods pillaged. Leading the uprising in Ḥimṣ was al-ʿUṭayf<sup>3750</sup> b. Niʿma al-Kalbī.

In al-Maʿarra, a person known as al-Qaṣīṣ<sup>3751</sup>—Yūsūf b. Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī—rose up as well. He gathered contingents of the Tanūkh and made his way to the city of Qinnasrīn, where he fortified himself. He remained there until Muḥammad al-Muwallad, the client of the Commander of the Faithful (*Mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn*), arrived. Al-Muwallad won al-Qaṣīṣ over and also won over ʿUṭayf b. Niʿma. (Al-Muwallad) marched toward him, but then turned on ʿUṭayf b. Niʿma and killed him. Al-Qaṣīṣ fled and made his way to Jabal al-Aswad. Tribal groups of the Kalb gathered near Ḥimṣ in opposition to al-Muwallad. He marched against them and engaged them in battle. At first the tide of battle was against them, but they rallied against him and routed him, killing a large number of his men. He retreated to Aleppo with his routed force.<sup>3752</sup> | Al-Qaṣīṣ returned to Qinnasrīn, where a clash occurred between him and the Kalb. Al-Muwallad was dismissed (by al-Mustaʿīn, who then) appointed Abū l-Sāj al-Ushrūsānī as governor. He wrote to al-Qaṣīṣ, promising him safe-conduct, and extended to him access to the roads and official protection. He then appointed him over Latakia and its environs.

Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar [b. Yaḥyā]<sup>3753</sup> b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was in Samarra. He approached a certain official on some business of his, but the latter dealt with him in a manner not to his liking,<sup>3754</sup> so he left for Kufa, where the people rallied to him. He rose up in Kufa, opened the prison, and released everyone in it. He drove off the governor of Kufa, consolidated his position, and his followers grew in number. Al-Mustaʿīn dispatched a Turk named Kalkātekīn,<sup>3755</sup> while Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir dispatched al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, a relative of his. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar marched out at the head of a large force and an enormous following. The armies met at a place called Shāhī<sup>3756</sup> between Kufa and Baghdad, 13 nights remaining in Rajab in the year

3750 M, Ghutaʿyf; C, undotted; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1533, ʿUṭayf.

3751 Suggested reading in ed. Leiden (alternate reading, al-Fuṣayṣ, in Cobb, *White Banners*, 100).

3752 Following ed. Leiden, *fi fallihi*; M, *fi qillatin* (with a small number).

3753 Present in M (written between the lines); absent in C and ed. Leiden.

3754 Reading *bi-mā lā yuḥibbu*; the last word is scarcely legible in M, only partially complete in C.

3755 Or Kalbātekīn. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1523.

3756 The MSS have simply “S/Sh ...” followed by a lacuna. The reading “Shāhī” is based on al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1519.

249,<sup>3757</sup> and fought fiercely. Then Yahyā's men deserted him, and he was killed in the battle. His head was carried to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. It was placed before him on a shield, and the people came in to congratulate him. However, one of the Banū Hāshim said to him, "You are being congratulated for an act such that had the Messenger of God witnessed it, he would have received condolences for it."

The army of Fārs rose up in this year against their governor, al-Ḥusayn b. Khālid. They rioted against him and, seizing revenue that just had been delivered, they took their salaries (*arzāq*) from it. Their leader was ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh al-Bukhārī.<sup>3758</sup> Fārs had been joined to the lands under the authority of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. When the news reached him, he appointed | ʿAbdallāh b. Ishāq, who went to the province with supplies and troops. When he reached it, the army offered him obedience. His target was Ibn Quraysh. He treated him harshly at first, but then showed him favor and assigned him the task of campaigning against a group of Khārījites near al-Fursh<sup>3759</sup> and al-Rūdhān,<sup>3760</sup> which are on the border separating Fārs and Kirmān. Ibn Quraysh proceeded to the environs of Iṣṭakhr. He corresponded with the army, informing them that he had rebelled against ʿAbdallāh b. Ishāq. They voiced support for him because of the mistreatment they had received at the hands of ʿAbdallāh and his failure to deliver their salaries to them. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn returned, and (the troops) rose up against ʿAbdallāh. They evicted him from his home, plundered his valuables and household effects, and appointed ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn as their chief. ʿAbdallāh departed for Baghdad. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh dispatched [ʿAbdallāh]<sup>3761</sup> b. Naṣr b. Ḥamza al-Khuzāʿī (against Ibn Quraysh). When he reached the province, he made overtures to ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, but the latter did not accept a settlement. He continued to elude him in an area in the countryside of Fārs.

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Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Ṭālibī rose up in the area of Medina because of a matter that arose there between him and the governor. The latter had behaved unfairly in regard to a *waqf* property belonging to Ismāʿīl. He gathered a band of Arab tribesmen and proceeded to the area of al-Rawḥā. He seized government

3757 17 Rajab 249 = September 5, 863.

3758 Neither MS has dotting on "Quraysh" or "al-Bukhārī." Also, neither al-Ṭabarī nor Ibn al-Athīr provide this *nisba*; they have "Ibn Shibl," but they do agree on "Quraysh."

3759 M writes the name of the place without dots; the reading of ed. Leiden is based on Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 10:324, and Iṣṭakhrī, 109.

3760 Undotted in both MSS; M apparently has "al-Rūzān."

3761 Missing in both MSS, but has to be assumed.

revenue that had been brought in from various places, and then made his way to Mecca, where Ja'far b. al-Faḍl, who was known as Bashāshāt, was the governor. Engaging him in battle, Ismā'īl defeated Bashāshāt and entered Mecca where he remained for three days. He then went to al-Muzdalifa and reached Minā in the morning. The people there had scattered in flight and those in the company of Ibn Ya'qūb<sup>3762</sup> entered Mecca, but the people of Mecca assumed that they were Ismā'īl's men and attacked them with swords, killing a great number of them. Ismā'īl approached Mecca, but the people of Mecca denied him | entry, and so his men turned their swords on them until he was able to enter. He performed the *Ṭawāf* and the *Sa'y*, then returned to complete the *Ṭawāf*.<sup>3763</sup> He then proceeded to Minā. In Mecca there was a man named Muḥammad b. Ḥātim who was responsible for the expenses of construction projects. He said to Ya'qūb, "Tear off the gold and silver from the lintel<sup>3764</sup> and threshold of the Ka'ba, distribute it to the people, and fight Ismā'īl." Ya'qūb stripped off the gold. Ismā'īl, however, remained in Minā through the Days of Minā; then he departed.

[...]<sup>3765</sup> Prices rose so much in Baghdad and Samarra that the price of a *qafiz*<sup>3766</sup> (of wheat) reached 100 dirhams. Fighting persisted, the grain supply was disrupted, and money became scarce.<sup>3767</sup> Envoys hurried between them<sup>3768</sup> in the year 252.<sup>3769</sup> Al-Musta'in finally proposed a settlement. Its terms were that he would abdicate, yield authority to al-Mu'tazz, and proceed to some location where he and his children might reside in safety; also, an agreed stipend would be provided to him, as well as estates to sustain him.

3762 Identity unclear; an Ibn Ya'qūb appears a bit later in the text.

3763 That is, he circumambulated the Ka'ba (the *ṭawāf*), ran between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (the *sa'y*), and performed the circumambulation again. These rites are part of the pilgrimage (*hajj*) and the lesser pilgrimage (*'umra*).

3764 The MSS show a lacuna after the word *darwandā* (lintel), but nothing seems to be missing.

3765 The Leiden editor inferred a lacuna here, but none is visible in M, where there is a small *nūn* at end of preceding sentence, marking the end of a section.

3766 A measure of capacity for wheat. It varied between cities and regions. In Baghdad, it contained 120 raṭls or 48.2 kg of wheat. See the article by E. Ashtor in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mawāzīn*.

3767 The reference is likely to the civil conflict between al-Mu'tazz and al-Musta'in of this year. As the Leiden editor suggests, the lacuna appears to be very large; it may have been as much as a folio.

3768 Presumably between al-Mu'tazz and al-Musta'in although the Arabic pronoun is plural, not dual.

3769 252 A.H. = January 22, 866 – January 10, 867.



His offer was accepted, so he abdicated. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh<sup>3770</sup> swore the oath of allegiance (to al-Mu‘tazz). Al-Musta‘īn wrote the letter of abdication and had it witnessed; then he proceeded to Wāsiṭ with his mother, his children, and the rest of his family, there to establish his residence.

### The Days of al-Mu‘tazz Bi-llāh

Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Mu‘tazz bi-llāh b. al-Mutawakkil, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Qabiḥa,<sup>3771</sup> was given the oath of allegiance in Samarra on Thursday, 7 Muḥarram 252.<sup>3772</sup> He wrote to all the governors, informing them of the agreement that had been reached concerning Ibrāhīm al-Mu‘ayyad and ordering them to pray for Ibrāhīm immediately after him. The provincial governors swore the oath of allegiance to al-Mu‘tazz after learning | that Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir and others in Baghdad had sworn it. Ibn Mujāhid, the master (*ṣāhib*) of Shimshāt,<sup>3773</sup> declined to do so, as did ‘Īsā b. Shaykh<sup>3774</sup> in Palestine, Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh in Egypt, and ‘Imrān b. Mihrān in Isfahan. Al-Mu‘tazz dispatched Ḥātim b. Zayrak<sup>3775</sup> to Shimshāt, where he attacked Ibn Mujāhid and the people there. He took him and a group of its leading men to Āmid and beheaded them.

2:611

Nūsharā<sup>3776</sup> b. Ṭājil al-Turkī, the governor of Damascus, marched on ‘Īsā b. Shaykh as ‘Īsā, the governor of Palestine, marched toward him. Their forces met in Jordan, where a series of heavy clashes occurred in which Nūsharā’s son was

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- 3770 That is, in his capacity as governor of Baghdad and, until that point, an ally of al-Musta‘īn.
- 3771 *Qabiḥa* means “Ugly.” Pellat in the index to his edition of al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 7:570, assembles the references to her and concludes that the name was apotropaic: meant to ward off the bad luck that might be attracted by her beauty. The name may reflect, however, nothing more than the playful intent behind some slave names.
- 3772 January 28, 866. On his caliphate, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mu‘tazz Bi-llāh.
- 3773 Shimshāt (not to be confused with Sumaysāt farther south) was an Islamic town on the left bank of the southern headwater of the upper Euphrates in the borderland between the Arabs and the Greeks; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shimshāt*.
- 3774 On his career, see the article by M. Canard in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Īsā b. al-Shaykh; also Cobb, *White Banners*, 37–41.
- 3775 Ed. Leiden, Zarīk or Zurayk; M is too ambiguous to read. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1881, mentions a Ḥātim b. Zayrak b. Salām.
- 3776 So written in al-Ya‘qūbī; other versions of the name are al-Nūsharī or al-Nawsharī. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nūsharī.

killed. The army deserted ʿĪsā, leaving him alone; he fled to Palestine and then made his way to Egypt, carrying away all that he could. Nūsharā entered al-Ramla, while al-Muʿtazz dispatched a Turk to Egypt to administer the oath of allegiance. Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh, the governor of Egypt, detained him at al-ʿArīsh for several days, then permitted him to enter Egypt, where (Yazīd) and those in his presence, along with ʿĪsā b. Shaykh, swore the oath of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz.

Al-Muʿtazz dispatched a Turk named Muḥammad b. al-Muwallad to Palestine after receiving a report about ʿĪsā b. Shaykh and what had happened between him and Nūsharā. When Muḥammad b. al-Muwallad reached Ḥimṣ, where ʿUṭayf<sup>3777</sup> al-Kalbī had taken control, he summoned ʿUṭayf to obedience and offered him a guarantee of safe-conduct. ʿUṭayf accepted, but when al-Muwallad got hold of him, he beheaded him. The Kalb therefore rose against him from every side and drove him away. Muḥammad b. al-Muwallad made his way to Palestine, and on his arrival Nūsharā left. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh made his way  
2:612 from Egypt with a well-supplied force. When he arrived in Palestine, | he settled in a palace that he had built between Ramla and Lod. He gave [Ibn]<sup>3778</sup> al-Muwallad no opportunity to act against him, and each was afraid to attack the other. Both men afterward went back to Iraq.

(Al-Muʿtazz) dispatched Muzāḥim b. Khāqān to Malatya, where the Byzantines had appeared several times.

In Egypt, a man from the Kināna named Jābir, known as Abū Ḥarmala, rose up. [...] <sup>3779</sup> He dispatched him to Lower Egypt, and he himself stayed where he was. Support for him increased, and he levied the land tax.

Ṣafwān al-ʿUqaylī had risen up in Diyār Muḍar in the days of al-Mustaʿīn, as we have mentioned in our previous account of him. <sup>3780</sup> He had proclaimed his support for al-Muʿtazz and had fought against Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, known as Abū l-Ṣāqr. <sup>3781</sup> As soon as the conflict had ended <sup>3782</sup> and the officials on hand in al-Rāfiqa had sworn allegiance, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, the head of the intelligence service (*ṣāḥib al-barīd*) in Diyār Muḍar, wrote to

3777 As in M, C; the Leiden editor emended to Ghuṭayf. In any case, it is not certain that this is the same person as al-ʿUṭayf b. Niʿma al-Kalbī mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:606.

3778 Added by the Leiden editor.

3779 A lacuna must be assumed, although the mss show no break.

3780 The text as extant lacks any previous mention of Ṣafwān al-ʿUqaylī. It presumably occurred in the lacuna indicated at ed. Leiden, 2:610.

3781 The likely reading of M; ed. Leiden reads "Ibn al-Saghīr," noting that the name is undotted in C.

3782 Likely referring to the the conflict between al-Muʿtazz and al-Mustaʿīn.

al-Mu‘tazz, informing him of Ṣafwān’s disaffection and indicating that he was harboring thoughts of rebellion. Al-Mu‘tazz dispatched Sīmā al-Ṣa‘lūk against him with orders to transport Ṣafwān directly to him. Meanwhile, two men had risen up in Ḥarrān, one of them a descendant of Abū Lahab, the other an Umayyad. Each proclaimed his rightful leadership. Sīmā accordingly turned his attention first to the two men, and only after seizing them did he proceed to al-Rāfiqa. Meanwhile, Ṣafwān al-‘Uqaylī had attacked Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath al-Khuzā‘ī and killed him. When Sīmā arrived, [...] <sup>3783</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūs <sup>3784</sup> and a series of clashes occurred between them. Ibn ‘Abdūs then called for a settlement, on condition that he be allowed to govern his own province and that he would pay him 900,000 dirhams. <sup>3785</sup>

Mūsā b. Bughā remained in Hamadhān. He dispatched a deputy (*khalīfa*) of his to | the region held by al-Kawkabī b. al-Arqaṭ, and clashes took place between their forces. Mūsā marched against ‘Imrān b. Mihrān, who was in control of Iṣfahān, and fought him. Having designated a deputy over the province, he withdrew and returned to Hamadhān. 2:613

Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh <sup>3786</sup> b. Ṭāhir died in Baghdad in Dhū l-Qa‘da 253. <sup>3787</sup> Al-Mu‘tazz wrote to ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, appointing him to his brother’s offices: the security service (*shurṭa*) and the other offices that his brother had held. On the day of his death, Muḥammad was 44 years old. [...] <sup>3788</sup> Then Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad <sup>3789</sup> b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, the master (*ṣāhib*) of Khurāsān, dispatched Sulaymān b. ‘Abdallāh, his paternal uncle, after word reached him concerning the troubled situation (in Iraq) and the control exercised by Waṣīf, Bughā, and other Turks over the caliphate—al-Mu‘tazz is said to have written to Ṭāhir concerning this. Sulaymān proceeded to Baghdad at the head of a large contingent from the army of Khurāsān. Then he entered

3783 A lacuna is likely. The translation follows M, *fa-lammā qadima* [unmarked lacuna] *ibn ‘Abdūs*. The copyist of C left out the word *qadima* (arrived) and for *lammā* wrote *lahā*, which the Leiden editor emended to *laqīya* (met), yielding: “Sīmā met Ibn ‘Abdūs,” which makes sense but is probably not the original text.

3784 His identity is unclear though, by implication, it is al-‘Uqaylī.

3785 The MSS might be read as *wa-yadfa‘a ilayhi Bughā waḥdahu* ... (and that Bughā alone would pay him ...). But as the Leiden editor acknowledged in a note, the meaning of the passage is obscure.

3786 Both MSS have “Ibn ‘Abdūs”; corrected by ed. Leiden.

3787 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1691, gives the date of 14 Dhū l-Qa‘da (November 15, 867).

3788 The Leiden editor inferred the existence of a long lacuna here, based on comparison with the parallel in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7:121.

3789 Both MSS have “Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir”; corrected in ed. Leiden.

Samarra, where the people were in no doubt that he would take control. (Al-Mu'tazz) betowed a robe of honor [on him],<sup>3790</sup> while Waṣīf and Bughā plotted to get rid of him, and so he was ordered to return to Baghdad. He reached the city on Tuesday, 14 nights remaining in the month of Rabī' 11 in the year 254.<sup>3791</sup>

Bughā sent 'Īsā b. Shaykh to deal with the military district of Palestine. The Turks lay in wait for him,<sup>3792</sup> to kill him in retaliation for Nūsharā's son, whom Ibn Shaykh had killed in Jordan. Ibn Shaykh set out in disguise on a rainy day with a small cavalry detachment,<sup>3793</sup> eluded them, and made his way to Palestine. There he discovered funds that had been brought from Egypt. He impounded them and (with them) drafted | contingents of Arab tribesmen. He gathered to himself a good number of Rabī'a tribesmen, and he contracted a marriage alliance between himself and the Kalb tribes. He built himself a fortress outside of the city of al-Ramla that he named al-Ḥusāmī.<sup>3794</sup>

As the unrest increased,<sup>3795</sup> revenue deliveries from the provinces were delayed and the treasuries was exhausted. The Turks rose up in Karkh Samarra. Waṣīf rode out to quiet them, but they shot him with arrows, killed him, and severed his head. This occurred in the year 253.<sup>3796</sup> Bughā<sup>3797</sup> now stood alone in a position of authority. Then, however, Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf became active; his father's men gathered around him, and he assumed his father's standing. Al-Mu'tazz grew so weak that he could no longer command or forbid, and the provinces broke away. In Diyār Rabī'a, a Khārījite named Musāwir<sup>3798</sup> b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, known as Abū Ṣāliḥ, from the Banū Shaybān, rebelled. He made his way to Mosul, where he drove off the local governor. He then approached Samarra, where he took up residence in al-Muḥammadiyya,<sup>3799</sup> three farsakhs from the palaces of the caliph. He entered the palace, sat upon the furniture, and made use of the bath. Al-Mu'tazz sent officer after officer, army after army, against him, but he defeated all of them. His following increased, and his power grew.

3790 Not in the MSS; added by the Leiden editor.

3791 15 Rabī' 11 254 = April 13, 868.

3792 Reading *raṣadahu*, as emended by ed. Leiden; the MSS read *ṣaddahu* (barred his way).

3793 Arabic *khayl jarīda*; explained in the glossary to *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (ed. De Goeje), 8:xiv, as a troop containing less than 40 horsemen.

3794 Sic ed. Leiden (apparently following C); M, al-Ḥusāsī (undotted and ambiguous).

3795 That is, in Samarra.

3796 253 A.H. = January 11, 867 – December 31, 867.

3797 That is, Bughā the Younger.

3798 As corrected by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1688.

3799 Al-Muḥammadiyya was one of al-Mutawakkil's palaces. See Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIV, 154, note 510.

Muzāhim b. Khāqān died on 5 Muḥarram 254.<sup>3800</sup> A son named Aḥmad assumed his position<sup>3801</sup> for only a few days before he fell ill and died. His tenure in office lasted three months. He died in the month of Rabī‘ 11.<sup>3802</sup> Urkhūz b. Ūlugh Ṭarkhān al-Turkī took charge of the province.

‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib died in Samarra on Wednesday, 3 nights remaining in Jumādā 11 in the year 254.<sup>3803</sup> | Al-Mu‘tazz sent his brother, Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil, who 2:615 prayed over him, this taking place on the avenue known as Shārī‘ Abī Aḥmad. As the people grew in number and gathered together, their wailing and clamor increased. His funeral bier therefore was returned to his residence and he was buried there. He was 40 years of age. He left two sons behind, al-Ḥasan and Ja‘far.

Al-Mu‘tazz became hostile toward Bughā (the Younger) and showed favor to Ṣāliḥ (b. Waṣīf) and Bāyakkbāk.<sup>3804</sup> He transferred to Bāyakkbāk responsibility for the supplementary imposts (*ma‘āwin*) in Egypt, and Bāyakkbāk appointed Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn as his deputy. Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn proceeded to al-Fustāṭ in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 254.<sup>3805</sup>

Al-Mu‘tazz received word that Bughā had decided to move against him,<sup>3806</sup> and so he plotted to kill him. When Bughā received word of this, he fled and went to the region of Mosul, anticipating that most of the Turks and others would join him there, but no one did, and so he set out to return to Samarra in a small skiff. Armed guards<sup>3807</sup> seized him, and al-Mu‘tazz, notified of his arrest, ordered that Bughā be beheaded. He was beheaded, his residence was

3800 January 5, 868.

3801 Probably referring to the governorship of Egypt; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1693, where his death is said to have taken place in Egypt at the end of 253.

3802 The month began on March 30, 868.

3803 26 Jumādā 11 254 = June 22, 868; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1697, dates his death one day earlier. He was the tenth Imam of the twelver Shī‘a, and was known as ‘Alī al-Hādī. He was the son of Muḥammad al-Taḳī and the grandson of ‘Alī b. Mūsā, known as al-Riḍā.

3804 The name follows the spelling in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1697; it is written as Bānakyāl in M; ed. Leiden Bābakkbāk.

3805 The month began on August 24, 868. This is al-Ya‘qūbī’s first mention of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, the founder of a short-lived autonomous state in Egypt. On his life, see the article by Matthew S. Gordon in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn.

3806 Reading *al-wuthūb bihi*, as corrected in ed. Leiden; M and C read *al-wuqūf bihi* (to stand with him).

3807 Arabic *aṣḥāb al-masāliḥ* apparently refers to troops manning guard posts on road; see the *Glossarium* to the Leiden Ṭabarī, ccxcv.

sacked, and his son Fāris was banished to the Maghrib, this in the year 254.<sup>3808</sup> Fearing that the Turks would rise up, al-Mu‘tazz sent all the Hāshimites who were in Samarra—both sons of caliphs and others—to Baghdad to prevent the Turks from snatching any of them.

2:616 Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn and Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir, the head of the land tax department in Egypt, turned on each another. Shuqayr the Eunuch (*al-Khādīm*), known as Abū Ṣuḥba, stirred up hatred between the two men. Shuqayr was in charge of the intelligence service (*barīd*), a number of estates assigned as land grants,<sup>3809</sup> and the production of goods for use by the state (*sulṭān*)—from his name comes the name of Shuqayrī brocade.<sup>3810</sup> Each man wrote letters attacking the other. Bāyakkbāk, who backed Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, | exerted the greatest influence over the affairs of the caliphate, and he was supported in the matter by al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Jarrāḥ and Abū Nūḥ ‘Īsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ. He<sup>3811</sup> wrote to order the dismissal of Ibn al-Mudabbir and the appointment of an Egyptian notable named Muḥammad b. Hilāl. The latter took charge of the land tax. Ibn Ṭulūn had Ibn al-Mudabbir arrested and placed in irons. He clothed him in a woollen coat and stood him in the sun, a condition in which he remained for three months.

Ya‘qūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār gained strength. He marched on Fārs, where ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh held sway. He defeated the latter’s army and took him captive, and assumed control over Fārs.

Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf al-Turkī turned against the secretary Aḥmad b. Isrā’īl, al-Mu‘tazz’s vizier, against al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, the head of the department of estates, and against ‘Īsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ.<sup>3812</sup> He imprisoned them, seized their wealth and estates, had them subjected to various forms of torture, and assumed full control. Al-Mu‘tazz feared that the Turks would act in concert.<sup>3813</sup>

3808 254 A.H. = January 1 – December 19, 868.

3809 Arabic *ḍiyā‘ al-iqtā‘*.

3810 Arabic *al-dabīqī al-shuqayrī*. Dabīqī, named for the town of Dabīq near Damietta, was a kind of brocade produced in Egypt. See the article by G. Wiet in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dabīq.

3811 Apparently Bāyakkbāk, rather than the caliph himself.

3812 At this point, M inserts the words “and against Ibn Nūḥ.” This would seem to be a copyist’s error. The copyist of C, working from M, tried to make sense of this by turning it into “and ‘Alī b. Nūḥ”—interpreting *‘alā* (against) as the name *‘Alī*, which has the same spelling. As no such person is mentioned anywhere, the Leiden editor inferred that the name ought to be removed from the text as a scribal error. Note that in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1706, ‘Īsā b. Isrā’īl has the kunya Abū Nūḥ.

3813 Arabic *fa-hamma al-Mu‘tazz bi-jam‘ al-Atrāk*. This is quite cryptic, given the lack of context. It might possibly mean, “al-Mu‘tazz was about to act against the assemblage of the Turks.” Cf. the parallel account of the deposition in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1709–1711.

Then (Ṣāliḥ) burst in on him and removed him from his audience chamber. He was confined to an inner room, and obliged to draw up a document in which he declared his own abdication. He died two days later, and al-Muhtadī prayed over him. This occurred on Tuesday, 3 nights remaining in Rajab in the year 255.<sup>3814</sup> His tenure in office, from the day he was given the oath of allegiance to the day on which he abdicated, was four years and nine months. The time that elapsed from the abdication of al-Mustaʿīn and the taking of the oath of allegiance to him by those in Baghdad was three years and seven months. He was 22 years old and he left three sons: ʿAbdallāh, Muḥammad, and al-Muhtadī.

### The Days of Muḥammad al-Muhtadī b. Hārūn al-Wāthiq Bi-llāh

2:617

The commanders agreed that none among the sons of caliphs was more virtuous or intelligent than Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq. His mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Qurb. He had been among those who had been sent to Baghdad during the days of al-Muʿtazz. He was brought back,<sup>3815</sup> and when he arrived they swore allegiance to him. Their support for him was unanimous. The oath of allegiance to him was sworn on Tuesday, 3 nights remaining in Rajab in the year 255.<sup>3816</sup> He sat in open court on Thursday after allegiance had been sworn to him. The documents said that al-Muʿtazz had removed himself from office, and so he became known as “The One who Deposed Himself.”<sup>3817</sup>

Al-Muhtadī displayed the finest conduct and the most praiseworthy views. He presided in person over the sessions in which petitions and complaints were heard,<sup>3818</sup> personally dealt with matters of state, and signed official documents in his own hand. He put a stop to frivolous entertainments and gave precedence to people of learning. He would appear one day dressed in a certain way, and it would remain the same for many days without his changing it.

Ṣāliḥ (b. Waṣīf) and Bāyakkbāk wielded the greatest influence over him. Ṣāliḥ brought Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl and ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ from prison to the Bāb al-ʿĀmma, where they were flogged to death.

3814 27 Rajab 255 = July 11, 869. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1709, this was the date of his deposition; his death took place on 2 Shaʿbān (July 16).

3815 That is, to Samarra.

3816 That is, on the day of the deposition of al-Muʿtazz.

3817 Arabic *Khālīʿ Naḥṣīhi*. This may echo the title bestowed on the unfortunate al-Amīn, *al-Makhlūʿ* (the Deposed One).

3818 Arabic *mazālim*.

Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad was set free, and Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir was restored to the department of the land tax in Egypt, a position he retained for seventy<sup>3819</sup> days. Then Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn received a letter from Bāyakkāk ordering the dismissal of Ibn al-Mudabbir and the reappointment of Muḥammad b. Hilāl. He carried out the order.

The people of Ḥimṣ rose up against Muḥammad b. Isrā'īl. He left fleeing, but Ibn 'Akkār<sup>3820</sup> overtook him. A battle ensued between them in which Ibn 'Akkār was killed. Ibn Isrā'īl returned to the province.

(Al-Muhtadī) sent al-Mu'tazz's mother Qabiḥa, al-Mutawakkil's sons Abū Aḥmad and Ismā'īl, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tazz to Mecca. Later they were brought back to Iraq.

2:618 He wrote | to all of those who had been engaged in sedition or had seized local control with guarantees of safe-conduct. He wrote in similar fashion to 'Īsā b. Shaykh al-Rabā'ī and ordered him to send all that he held of the revenues of Egypt and other places as well. When Ibn Shaykh refused, al-Muhtadī wrote to Ibn Ṭulūn, ordering him to march against Ibn Shaykh. He did so, but on reaching al-'Arīsh he received a letter ordering him to withdraw, so he withdrew without having engaged in fighting.

Ibn Shaykh engaged Amājūr al-Turkī, the governor of Damascus, in battle. Amājūr defeated him and killed his son Manṣūr. Ibn Shaykh therefore retreated and took his family members to Tyre, where he fortified himself.

A Ṭālibid named Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, a descendant of 'Umar b. 'Alī, also known as al-Ṣūfī, rose up in the region of Upper Egypt. Also in the same region, a man claiming to be 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb rose up in arms against the government.

The position of the master of Basra<sup>3821</sup> became stronger. He marched on al-Ubulla and sacked the town. Factionalism<sup>3822</sup> caused such feuding among the people of Basra that they burned down each other's houses.

3819 Following M *sab'in* (clearly written); ed. Leiden (following C) has the graphically similar *tis'in* (ninety).

3820 Ibn 'Akkār: unidentified. None of the parallel sources mentions him.

3821 Arabic *ṣāhib al-Baṣra*. This was 'Alī b. Muḥammad, a figure of obscure origin; he is said to have laid claim to various genealogies. He is credited by al-Ṭabarī with having organized the so-called Zanj revolt, a rebellion by East African slaves and freedmen working in the salt-flats near Basra. Al-Ya'qūbī refers to him only in passing (here and at ed. Leiden, 2:620), but al-Ṭabarī provides a long account of the Zanj movement (*Ta'rikh*, 3:1742 ff.; trans. David Waines, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxvi, 29 ff.); see also the article by Alexandre Popovic in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zanjī, and by G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Zandj.

3822 Arabic *aṣabiyya*, usually implying tribal rivalries.



Al-Muhtadī turned against the Turks and decided to give preference to the Abnā’. When the Turks learned of this, they became estranged from him and began to slander him openly. He therefore had a group of them brought before him and ordered them beheaded, including Bāyakkbāk, their leader. When the Turks assembled and rioted, al-Muhtadī came out to confront them, sword in hand, with a copy of the Qur’ān hanging from his neck. He appealed to the populace<sup>3823</sup> and sanctioned killing Turks, seizing their property, and sacking their homes. However, the Turks overwhelmed him, | the populace abandoned him, and he was left standing alone. Having received a number of wounds, he fled into the home of one of the commanders, a man named Aḥmad b. Jamīl. The Turks overtook him, seized him, and bore him away on his mount, his wounds dripping blood. They called on him to abdicate, but he refused. He died two days later. His death took place on Tuesday, 14 nights before the end of Rajab in the year 256.<sup>3824</sup> His caliphate lasted one year less eleven days. 2:619

### The Days of Aḥmad al-Mu‘tamid ‘Alā-llāh

Aḥmad al-Mu‘tamid ‘alā-llāh b. Ja‘far b. al-Mutawakkil was given the oath of allegiance on the day that al-Muhtadī was killed: Tuesday, 14 nights remaining in Rajab in the year 256, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ḥazirān (June). On that day the Sun was in Leo, 27° 28’; the Moon in Aquarius, 8° 22’; Saturn in Sagittarius, 25° 30’, retrograde; Mars in Leo, 3° 40’; Venus in Leo, 1° 44’; and Mercury in Gemini, 9° 33’.

Al-Mu‘tamid appointed ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yahyā b. Khāqān as vizier and put him in charge over his affairs. The caliph sent letters announcing the oath of allegiance to the provinces. The oath of allegiance was administered in Khurāsān by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir; in the districts of the Euphrates by Mālik b. Ṭawq al-Taghlibī; in Diyār Muḍar, Diyār Rabī‘a, and the district<sup>3825</sup> of Qinnasrīn by Abū l-Sāj Dīwdād<sup>3826</sup> | al-Usrūshanī; and in Egypt by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn al-Turkī. In Palestine, ‘Īsā b. Shaykh b. al-Salīl al-Raba‘ī refused to take the oath. One of the Turks—his name was Amājūr—was dispatched against him with a force of 700 Turks. When Amājūr reached Damascus, ‘Īsā 2:620

3823 Arabic *al-‘amma*, the populace at large.

3824 16 Rajab 256 = June 19, 870; cf. the slightly different dates in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1813, 1831.

3825 Reading *jund*; both MSS have a corrupt reading.

3826 M, C, *ibn Dāwūd*; corrected by ed. Leiden (which mistakenly retains *ibn*); cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:583, and the note there.

b. Shaykh marched out against him from Palestine. Having reached the gate of Damascus, he besieged Amājūr. When the siege tightened around Damascus, Amājūr and his men left the city. One of ʿĪsā b. Shaykh's sons, named Manšūr, and one of his lieutenants, named Ẓafar b. al-Yamān, who was known as Abū l-Ṣahbā', pursued them. Amājūr and his men attacked them, killing Manšūr b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh and capturing the man known as Abū l-Ṣahbā'. He was beheaded and gibbeted. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh withdrew to al-Ramla.<sup>3827</sup>

The rebel leader in Basra, who claimed to be of the family of Abū Ṭālib—his name was ʿAlī b. Muḥammad<sup>3828</sup>—marched on al-Ubulla. He plundered the town, laid it waste, and set it on fire. Saʿīd b. Ṣāliḥ marched against him, engaging him near the [Abū] al-Khaṣīb River.<sup>3829</sup>

Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, the governor of Egypt, received letters from al-Muʿtamid ordering him to restore the offices of the land tax to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir. The latter was imprisoned in his custody, and Muḥammad b. Hilāl was administering the land tax. Ibn al-Mudabbir was released from prison on Saturday, 7 nights remaining in Dhū l-Qaʿda in the year 256,<sup>3830</sup> and assumed administration of the land tax. His imprisonment had lasted 9 months and 25 days.

In this year, some members of the Banū Hilāl<sup>3831</sup> and some of the people of Mecca clashed during the Station at Mount ʿArafāt.<sup>3832</sup> People from each group were killed. | The master of the pilgrimage that year was al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Ṭahirī, and Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Yaʿqūb, who was nicknamed Kaʿb al-Baqar,<sup>3833</sup> led the people in the pilgrimage rites.

3827 This is a slightly different and more detailed account of the event mentioned above in the reign of al-Muhtadī, ed. Leiden, 2:618.

3828 This was the head of the Zanj movement mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:618.

3829 Neither ms has "Abū" in the name of the river; corrected by the Leiden editor—see Waines, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxvi, pp. xix, 109, and index.

3830 23 Dhū l-Qaʿda 256 = October 22, 870.

3831 The Banū Hilāl were a tribe in Najd in the interior of the Arabian peninsula. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:1338, they had allied themselves with the Banū Sulaym in the depredations against Medina during the reign of al-Wāthiq and were pacified by Bughā al-Kabīr after he had pacified the Banū Sulaym in 230/845 (cf. the notice in al-Yaʿqūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:586–587, where, however, the Banū Hilāl are not mentioned). For the subsequent history of the tribe, its emigration to Egypt and then to North Africa, see the article by J. Schleifer in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hilāl.

3832 That is, at the ceremonial "standing" in the plain before Mount ʿArafāt that marks the climax of the pilgrimage. It falls on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijja, which in 256 would have fallen on November 7, 870.

3833 The name is written as Kīʿāb in the mss; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of

Following the death of Bāyakkbāk al-Turkī, al-Mu‘tamid transferred the latter’s appointments over Egypt and elsewhere to Yārjūkh<sup>3834</sup> al-Turkī. Yārjūkh al-Turkī wrote to Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn al-Turkī, the governor of Egypt, confirming him in his duties.

Al-Mu‘tamid appointed Muḥammad b. Harthama b. A‘yan over Barqa. Muḥammad reached al-Fuṣṭāṭ in the month of Rabī‘ 11 in the year 257,<sup>3835</sup> and then marched on to Barqa.

Al-Mu‘tamid sent al-Ḥusayn the Eunuch (*al-Khādīm*), who was known as ‘Araq al-Mawt,<sup>3836</sup> to ‘Īsā b. Shaykh, who had taken control of Palestine, with an offer of safe-conduct for his person, his property, and his children and a pardon for what he had previously done, along with his appointment over Armenia. ‘Īsā accepted the offer and departed from the province in Jumādā 11 in the year 257.<sup>3837</sup> He turned over all that was in his possession to Amājūr al-Turkī, but failed to return a single dirham of the revenue.<sup>3838</sup>

A great fire appeared in the sky, moving from east to west and then dispersing. It was followed by a great crash and an earthquake. This occurred at sunrise, eight nights remaining in Rajab,<sup>3839</sup> corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ḥazīrān (June).

Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn transported the revenue collected in the treasury in Egypt to the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mu‘tamid. It amounted to 2,100,000 dirhams. He led the cavalry personally and transported the *ṭirāz*, the *khaysh*, and the wax.<sup>3840</sup> He vouched for the amount of the payment himself and,

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al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:298 (§ 3653), where his name is given as Ka‘b al-Baqar Muḥammad [b. Aḥmad] b. ‘Īsā b. Ja‘far Ibn al-Manṣūr. As the Leiden editor notes, a similar name is given in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7:111; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 3:841, where the full name (but not the nickname) is given as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā b. Abī Ja‘far al-Manṣūr, making it clear that the man was the great-grandson of the caliph al-Manṣūr. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ya‘qūb and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā would seem to be two different people, with the name of the latter having fallen out due to a lacuna.

3834 Undotted in both MSS; the Leiden editor transcribed it as Yārjūj, but Yārjūkh is the form found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 3:1707, and *passim*.

3835 The month began on February 26, 871.

3836 The nickname means “Sweat of Death.”

3837 The month began on April 26, 871.

3838 Perhaps referring to the revenue from Egypt that he had seized; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:618.

3839 22 Rajab 257 = June 15, 871.

3840 *Ṭirāz* were the linen bands embroidered with the name of the caliph or his representative and worn as insignia of office (see the article by Sanders et al. in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v). *Khaysh* was a coarse, loose linen made with flax of poor quality and used in the manufacture

2:622 having delivering it to Amājūr al-Turkī and having his receipt of it witnessed, Ibn Ṭulūn departed for al-Fuṣṭāṭ. | Al-Mu‘tamid bi-llāh wrote to Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, appointing him over Alexandria in place of Ishāq b. Dīnār b. ‘Abdallāh. Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn proceeded to Alexandria in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 257.<sup>3841</sup>

Aḥmad al-Mu‘tamid bi-llāh appointed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir over the land tax of the Syrian districts, removing him from control of the land tax of Egypt. He appointed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b.<sup>3842</sup> Shujā‘, known as Ibn Ukht al-Wazīr,<sup>3843</sup> over the land tax of Egypt. He arrived in al-Fuṣṭāṭ in the month of Ramaḍān in this year. Al-Mu‘tamid removed Shuqayr the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*), known as Abū Ṣuḥba, from the office of the intelligence services (*barīd*) in Egypt and replaced him with Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī, who arrived (in Egypt) in Shawwāl of this year.<sup>3844</sup>

In this year, Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn sent a Turk named Māṭa‘ān<sup>3845</sup> with 1,000 horsemen to accompany the pilgrimage caravan from Egypt. He ordered him to enter Medina and Mecca armed and in the company of a guard and to do the same at Mount ‘Arafāt. He did so, appearing at ‘Arafāt with banners, drums, and arms.

In this year, the man who pretended to be of the Family of Muḥammad<sup>3846</sup> entered Basra. He plundered the city and burned the congregational mosque. One of the Turks, a man named Muḥammad al-Muwallad, was sent out against him, but when the pretender learned of this, he departed without confronting al-Muwallad.

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of sacks, wrappings, and rudimentary tents (Ch. Pellat in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v). For the last item, M clearly reads *al-sham‘* (wax)—the word is undotted in C. The mention of wax as a special product of Egypt is strange. A copyist’s error may have substituted *al-sham‘* for *al-ṣamgh*, the term for gum arabic, which was brought to Egypt from the Sudan.

3841 The month began on July 23, 871.

3842 “Ibn” is not present in ed. Leiden. In M, the copyist first wrote Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir Shujā‘. He or a reader drew a line through “al-Mudabbir,” but left “ibn” uncanceled. The copyist of C omitted both words. Cf. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā’*, 217, where his name is given as Abū Ayyūb Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Shujā‘.

3843 The name means “the Vizier’s Sister’s Son.”

3844 The month began on August 22, 871.

3845 Conjectured reading; the name is otherwise unknown.

3846 Following M, *al-mudda‘ī ilā ‘āl Muḥammad*; ed. Leiden, following C, omits *ilā ‘āl Muḥammad*, leaving simply “the man who claimed,” i.e., the pretender. This was the leader of the Zanj rebellion, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, who has been mentioned above.

In this year, the affair of the man known as Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Umarī became serious.<sup>3847</sup> Declaring himself at war against the government officials,<sup>3848</sup> he engaged Shu‘ba b. Ḥarkān,<sup>3849</sup> Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn’s companion, and clashed with him at Aswān.

In this year, factionalism<sup>3850</sup> arose in Palestine between the Lakhm and the Judhām. The ensuing conflict between them took lives on both sides. 2:623

In this year, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās b. al-Ḥasan b. Ismā‘īl b. al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad led the people on the pilgrimage.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir left al-Fuṣṭāṭ for the Syrian districts in Muḥarram in the year 258<sup>3851</sup> and took charge of the Syrian districts. [...] He made for the city of Dimyāṭ and assumed control over the offices of the land tax.<sup>3852</sup>

In this year, Muḥammad al-Muwallad al-Turkī entered Basra and expelled the man who pretended to be of the Family of Muḥammad and his following from it. Some people returned (to Basra), but they found not a single habitable dwelling.

In this year, the army in Barqa rose up against Muḥammad b. Harthama b. A‘yan, the head of the auxiliary security service (*ma‘ūna*) and drove him from the city. [...] <sup>3853</sup> to al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

In this year, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn made the Ṭālibids leave Egypt for Medina, sending people to escort them. Their departure took place in Jumādā 11.<sup>3854</sup> One of the descendants of al-‘Abbās b. ‘Alī stayed behind, desiring to go to the Maghrib instead. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn arrested him, had him flogged 150 strokes, and had him publicly paraded around al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

3847 Reading with M, *qawīya*; but the second letter of the word looks more like a *rā’* than a *yā’*. Ed. Leiden emends to *bada’a* (began).

3848 Arabic *aṣḥāb al-sultān*.

3849 The reading of the name is conjectural.

3850 Arabic *‘aṣabiyya*, implying tribal strife.

3851 The month began on November 18, 871.

3852 There is no record of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir’s having returned to Dimyāṭ or held office again in Egypt. Indeed, “When Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn occupied Damascus, in 264/877, Ibn al-Mudabbir was after a short time again arrested ..., sentenced to pay a *muṣāḍara* of 600,000 dirhams, sent to Egypt and kept in prison until his death” (H. L. Gottschalk in *Er*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Mudabbir). The easiest solution is to assume a lacuna before the sentence. Accordingly, the subject of “He made for the city of Dimyāṭ” would be someone whose name has dropped out of the text.

3853 A lacuna is visible in both MSS.

3854 The month began on April 14, 872.

In this year, pestilence broke out in Iraq and many people died. A man would leave his home and die before he could return. It is reported that 12,000 persons died in Baghdad in a single day.

In this year, Abū Ayyūb Aḥmad b. Muḥammad—Ibn Ukht al-Wazīr—the head of the department of land tax in Egypt, enlarged the congregational mosque in Egypt with an addition to the back of it.

2:624 In this year, Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā-llāh<sup>3855</sup> set out with a large force against the rebel in Basra, the man who pretended to be of the Family of Abū Ṭālib. The army, the supplies, and the weapons were on boats, but a fire broke out on the boats and they burnt up. Abū Aḥmad turned back.

In this year, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn exacted the oath of allegiance to himself from the army, the Shākiriyya, the freedmen (*mawālī*), and the rest of the people (*al-nās*): they were to treat as enemies all whom he treated as enemies, treat as friends all whom he treated as friends, and make war on whomsoever he made war.

In this year, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī led the summer campaign. Shuqayr<sup>3856</sup> the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*), al-Mutawakkil’s client, arrived to carry out a ransoming of prisoners. The opposing sides gathered at the Lamos River and carried out the ransoming, with (the Muslims) imposing as a condition on the Byzantines a truce of four months. This occurred in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 258.<sup>3857</sup>

In this year, Yārjūkh al-Turkī was killed in Samarra. The oath of allegiance was sworn to Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaq b. al-Mutawakkil as heir apparent, and he was given the title of al-Mu‘taḍid. Yārjūkh’s responsibilities regarding Egypt and other assignments were transferred to him and he was prayed for from the pulpits of Egypt.

Al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās b. al-Ḥasan led the people in the pilgrimage. Earthquakes, strong winds, and darkness struck the people of the areas around Medina—the Banū Sulaym, the Banū Hilāl, and other Qays tribes, along with the other Bedouins. They fled to Medina and to Mecca to seek refuge around the Prophet’s tomb and the Ka’ba. They brought with them some of the possessions of the pilgrims whom they had robbed along the way. They reported that a large number of them had perished in the desert. This occurred in the year 259.<sup>3858</sup>

3855 Known in the sources typically as al-Muwaffaq (d. 278/891), he served as regent and virtual caliph under al-Mu‘tamid, largely on the basis on his close relations to the military command. See the article by H. Kennedy in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muwaffaq Ṭalḥa b. Dja‘far.

3856 Following M (first two letters undotted); ed. Leiden reads Shanīf; cf. 2:615.

3857 The month began on July 11, 872.

3858 259 A.H. = November 7, 872 – October 26, 873.

In this year, the water of the Nile turned a yellowish color and remained in that state for days before it returned to its former color.

In this year, | Abū Ṣuḥba Shuqayr the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*) and Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ṣan‘ānī, the head of the intelligence services (*barīd*) in Egypt, died.<sup>3859</sup> 2:625

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3859 A short colophon follows in M: “Finished is what is extant of the History of Wāḍiḥ the Secretary, may God have mercy upon him and forgive him. God bless His Messenger our Master Muḥammad, his family, and his companions, and grant them peace.”





## *Indices*





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